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ABSTRACT

LOCAL LEADERSHIP IN THE PAULINE CHURCHES: THEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN ITS DEVELOPMENT -- A STUDY BASED ON 1 THESSALONIANS, 1 CORINTHIANS AND PHILIPPIANS

by
Allan Leslie Chapple

The effect of recent challenges to the modern consensus concerning the charismatic order of the Pauline churches is to demonstrate the crucial importance of methodology in the study of Pauline church order and to highlight the nature and forms of local leadership as the central issue to be investigated.

Chapter I therefore delineates an appropriate method for this research after examining the methodological defects apparent in the consensus-approach, and also (by drawing on the models and findings of sociology and social psychology) provides an analysis of the concept of group-leadership.

This provides the necessary foundation for a detailed study of 1 Th 5:12-13, 1 Cor 16:15-18, and Phil 1:1 in Chapters II-IV respectively. These passages are studied against the background of the situation in the church concerned, and the ministries referred to are examined in the context of Paul's own leadership and the mutual ministries and corporate responsibility of all church members.

We are able to show that all three passages do refer to local leaders. These are heads and hosts of house-churches who provide a leadership that is patronal in character as well as pastoral in orientation, and thus not "charismatic" in the modern sense. Parallel-ing the developing size and structures of the three churches concerned, there is a discernible tendency towards office in the position of these leaders. This process of institutionalisation is given additional impetus by Paul's appeals for the churches to give clear and continuing recognition to those who lead in this way.

Our study thus provides support for recent challenges to the consensus about Pauline church order, and also achieves significant new insights into the meaning and implications of the passages studied.

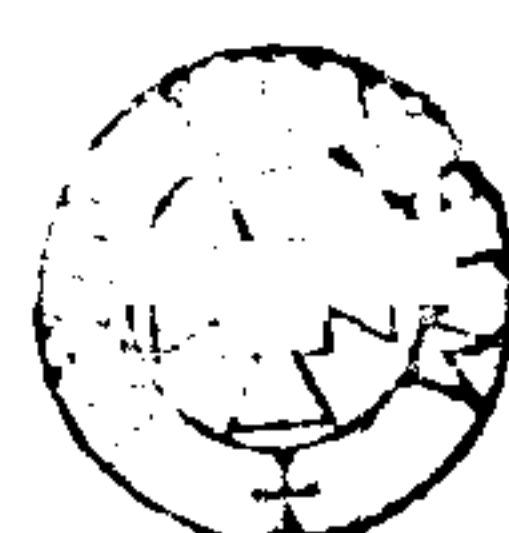
LOCAL LEADERSHIP IN THE PAULINE CHURCHES:
THEOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN ITS DEVELOPMENT
A STUDY BASED ON 1 THESSALONIANS, 1 CORINTHIANS
AND PHILIPPIANS

by

Allan Leslie Chapple

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A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Durham Department of Theology
1984



20 NOV 1984

DECLARATION

None of the material in this thesis has been submitted previously for a degree in any educational institution. The thesis is entirely the product of the author's own research.

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PREFACE

Many people have made very significant contributions to the writing of this thesis, and I am greatly in their debt.

My supervisor, the Reverend Professor C.K. Barrett, gave me complete freedom to pursue the research in my own way and to reach my own conclusions, and yet gave generously of his time and expertise in seeking to prevent me from confusion and error. The defects of this work do not reflect on him, but he must take due credit that they are not more numerous!

The staff of the Durham University Library were unfailingly courteous and helpful, and did much to make research both convenient and congenial.

Mrs Jean Turnbull has shown great expertise and generosity in typing this very lengthy work so neatly and quickly.

Throughout the period of my research and writing we have been loved and supported by our families and by friends in Durham, Kuala Lumpur, and Western Australia. We owe an enormous amount to their faithfulness in prayer and encouragement, and to their astonishingly generous financial and material support. There are too many to mention by name here, but their names are written in the book of life, and I gratefully acknowledge them as my *συνεργοί* (Phil 4:3).

Much greater than any of these is the debt I owe to my wife Allison. In the 7½ years since work began on this thesis we have had three children (who regard thesis-writing as the normal way of life for a father!), and have lived in three countries and seven homes. Through all the strains and demands of this period her selfless support, patience, and encouragement have never wavered. It was she who first weaned me from my preoccupation with the reflexive pronoun and introduced me to the joys of the reciprocal pronoun; now through these years of research and writing she has taught me more about the *διακονία* of which the New Testament speaks than I have learned from any book.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	: Anchor Bible
AGJU	: Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGSU	: Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums
AnBib	: Analecta Biblica
ANRW	: H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds.): <u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</u> (W. de Gruyter, Berlin, 1972-).
ASNU	: Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis
AThR	: Anglican Theological Review
BDF	: F. Blass and A. Debrunner: <u>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature</u> , ET (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1961).
BFCTh	: Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BGD	: W. Bauer: <u>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature</u> (Revised and augmented by F.W. Gingrich and F.W. Danker) (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1979).
BHT	: Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BJRL	: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BNTC	: Black's New Testament Commentary
BT	: The Bible Translator
BTB	: Biblical Theology Bulletin
BU	: Biblische Untersuchungen
BZ	: Biblische Zeitschrift
BZNW	: Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	: Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CD	: K. Barth: <u>Church Dogmatics</u> , ET
CGT	: Cambridge Greek Testament
CJT	: Canadian Journal of Theology

ABBREVIATIONS--(Continued)

CNT	: Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CRINT	: Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
EB	: Etudes Bibliques
EGT	: Expositor's Greek Testament
EKK	: Evangelisch-Katholisch Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EQ	: Evangelical Quarterly
ErfThSt	: Erfurter Theologische Studien
ET	: English Translation
ETHL	: Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EvTh	: Evangelische Theologie
ExpT	: The Expository Times
FRLANT	: Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GNC	: Good News Commentary
HNT	: Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HThKNT	: Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	: Harvard Theological Review
ICC	: International Critical Commentary
Int	: Interpretation
ITS	: Innsbrucker Theologische Studien
JAAR	: Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAC	: Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JBL	: Journal of Biblical Literature
JRH	: Journal of Religious History
JSNT	: Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSOT	: Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JTS	: Journal of Theological Studies
KEK	: Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue

ABBREVIATIONS--(Continued)

KuD	:	Kerygma und Dogma
LS	:	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott: <u>A Greek-English Lexicon</u> (a new edition revised by H.S. Jones and R. McKenzie) (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1940).
LXX	:	The Septuagint
MM	:	J.H. Moulton and G. Milligan: <u>The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary sources</u> (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1930).
MNTC	:	Moffatt New Testament Commentary
Moulton-Turner	:	J.H. Moulton: <u>A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Volume III: Syntax</u> (by N. Turner) (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1963).
MTZ	:	München Theologische Zeitschrift
NCB	:	New Century Bible
NC1B	:	New Clarendon Bible
N.F.	:	Neue Folge
NIDNTT	:	C. Brown (ed.): <u>The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</u> (3 vols.) (Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, 1975-8).
NIGTC	:	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NLC	:	New London Commentary
NovT	:	Novum Testamentum
NovT Suppl	:	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
n.s.	:	New series
NT	:	New Testament
NTAbh	:	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTD	:	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTS	:	New Testament Studies
OCD	:	N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard (eds.): <u>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</u> (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970).
OT	:	Old Testament

ABBREVIATIONS--(Continued)

PerRelSt	: Perspectives in Religious Studies
PRE	: A. Pauly and G. Wissowa (eds.): <u>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</u> (1893-)
P.Tebt.	: B. Grenfell, A. Hunt et al: <u>The Tebtunis Papyri</u> (1902-38).
QD	: Questiones Disputatae
RAC	: T. Klausner et al (eds.): <u>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</u> (Stuttgart, 1941-)
RB	: Revue Biblique
RelStRev	: Religious Studies Review
RSR	: Recherches de Science Religieuse
RTR	: Reformed Theological Review
SBL	: Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	: Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBS	: Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	: Studies in Biblical Theology
SE	: Studia Evangelica
SIG	: W. Dittenberger (ed.): <u>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</u> (4 vols.) (Leipzig, 1915-24).
SJT	: Scottish Journal of Theology
SNTSMS	: Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas Monograph Series
SR	: Sciences Religieuses/Studies in Religion
StANT	: Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
StNT	: Studien zum Neuen Testament
Strack-Billerbeck	: H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck: <u>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</u> (6 vols.) (C.H. Beck, Munich, 1922-61).
TDNT	: G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.): <u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u> (10 vols.), ET (Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, 1964-76).

ABBREVIATIONS--(Continued)

TDOT	: G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.): <u>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</u> , ET (Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, 1974-).
ThGeg	: Theologie der Gegenwart
THNT	: Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
ThZ	: Theologische Zeitschrift
TNTC	: Tyndale New Testament Commentary
TS	: Theological Studies
TU	: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des altchristlichen Literatur
WBC	: Word Biblical Commentary
WC	: Westminster Commentaries
WMANT	: Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	: Westminster Theological Journal
WuD	: Wort und Dienst
WUNT	: Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZBk	: Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZNW	: Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	: Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche
TWTh	: Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

All other abbreviations, such as those of the titles of Biblical and extra-Biblical writings, are either customary or self-explanatory.

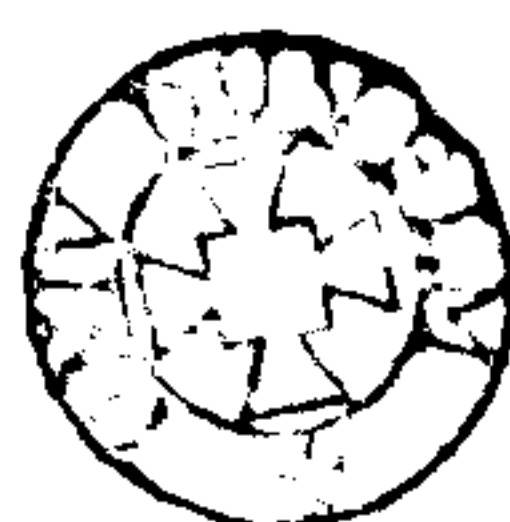
In Chapters 2-4 the first reference to a commentary will give full bibliographical details, but each subsequent reference will include only the author's name and the relevant page number(s).

INTRODUCTION

Scholarly interest in Paul and his churches shows no signs of slackening. Attempts to understand and explain Paul's theology of church and ministry, as well as to reconstruct the inner workings of the Pauline churches, continue unabated.

In part this may be accounted for in terms of the ecclesiastical and ecumenical concerns which stimulate much scholarly endeavour. The widespread contemporary quest for new forms of ministry and alternative patterns of church life both expresses and generates radical questioning of the rationale of traditional ecclesiastical structures and institutions.¹ The continuing efforts to secure substantial ecumenical rapprochement also result in careful scrutiny of the historical origins and theological justification of the different denominational polities.² Both of these features of the contemporary Christian scene provide the stimulus for continuing scholarly investigation of the various theological conceptions and church orders attested in the early Church. Paul occupies a prominent position in all of this, both because the evidence he provides is so early and substantial, and because his theological contribution is so powerful and profound.

In addition to these extramural factors, continuing research on Paul and his churches is also stimulated simply by the inherent importance of the Pauline material, and by the challenge it poses to the inquiring mind. In particular, the tantalisingly sketchy nature of the evidence available to us concerning the structures and functioning of the Pauline churches provides constant stimulus both for the exegete, seeking to explain the meaning and background of Paul's terminology, and for the historian, seeking to reconstruct the origin and development of the structures and patterns of ministry within the Pauline churches.



This study seeks to contribute to the quest for a more thorough understanding of Paul and his churches. But why venture yet again across such well-explored terrain? Is there anything new and significant to be said in this area?

In one sense these questions will only be answered by the thesis itself. Nevertheless, some preliminary answer to them is necessary to justify embarking on this investigation at all. This Introduction is therefore intended to demonstrate the need for further research in this area. It will do so by offering a brief survey of the current state of discussion in this field of inquiry, which will serve to identify problems requiring clarification and further investigation. By this means we will indicate the background and starting-point for this study.

The other essential preliminary task before us--defining the purpose and scope of this thesis--will be dealt with in Chapter I, in the light of the issues and problems highlighted in this Introduction.

We begin by noting the pattern of emerging and disintegrating consensus evident in this area of research. Two important surveys of this research show how consensus crystallised around certain basic convictions and conclusions, only to be challenged, eroded, and eventually replaced by a new and different consensus.

O. Linton³ described and analysed the "old consensus" that prevailed around the 1880's, examined the various challenges to its principal elements, and portrayed the emergence of a quite different consensus some fifty years later.⁴ Linton concluded his study by discussing the three Hauptfragen which he regarded as the key issues in that half-century of debate. These are (1) the relation between "Kirche" and "Korporation"; (2) the relation of "Kirchengedanke" to "Organisation"; and (3) the relation between "Geist" and "Amt".⁵ While the first of these issues has not been

as prominent in subsequent discussion,⁶ the other two questions continue to dominate study of church and ministry in the NT. The third of these issues provides the focus of U. Brockhaus' study,⁷ the first section of which surveys a century of discussion about the relation between "Charisma" and "Amt".⁸ Almost another fifty years after Linton's work, Brockhaus concluded that it was possible to speak of a new consensus:

In der protestantischen Forschung ist der Gedanke einer charismatischen Gemeindeordnung in der frühen Kirche, zumindest in der paulinischen Gemeinden, so sehr Gemeingut, dass man fast von einem neuen Konsensus sprechen kann . . . 1Kor.12 ist das entscheidende Dokument dieser vom Geist und seinen Gaben bestimmten Ordnung der Gemeinde. . . .⁹

Even a modest acquaintance with the literature, whether of a technical, scholarly nature or at a more popular level, is sufficient to show the force of Brockhaus' claim. A detailed exploration of the content and contours of this consensus is not possible here, but a brief sketch of its characteristic features will provide a useful point of departure for the rationale of our study that this Introduction seeks to offer.

A. THE CURRENT CONSENSUS:

The consensus of which Brockhaus speaks is, like the Johannine commandment, both old and new.¹⁰

It is old because there is an important sense in which it is "from the beginning": the influence of Sohm is clearly discernible in it.¹¹ For Sohm, the early Christians' concept of the Church was "catholic" rather than "congregational". He maintained that for them,

Ekklesia bezeichnet . . . das neutestamentliche . . . Volk Gottes, d.h. die Christenheit.¹²

Accordingly, order and organisation was a property of the Church, not of the church:

Nur die Ekklesia ist vorhanden und folgeweise nur die Ekklesia ist organisiert.¹³

This Church order had a correspondingly unique character. The Church was governed solely by the Word of God, and functioned through

die Verteilung der Gnadengaben (Charismen), welche die einzelnen Christen zu verschiedener Thätigkeit in der Christenheit zugleich befähigt und beruft.¹⁴

The Church was therefore ruled by the "Lehrbegabten", or πνευματικοί, through whom the Word of God was conveyed to the Church. The recognition which the ministries of these leaders (the apostles, prophets, and teachers), and all other ministries, evoked was a matter of "Liebespflicht", not "Rechtspflicht". This means that

die Organisation der Christenheit nicht rechtliche, sondern charismatische Organisation ist.¹⁵

According to Sohm, this situation did not last. In 1 Clement we see a μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος : by the end of the 1st century a legal, institutional order had emerged which both shows the Church in defection from its true being, and also represents the onset of Catholicism. First the Garden, then the Fall.

The accuracy of Sohm's portrayal of the early Church was challenged in an important article by K. Holl.¹⁶ The extent to which Sohm relied upon the Pauline evidence led Holl to ask,

. . . ist Paulus die Urchristenheit?¹⁷

He argued that Paul's concept of church order was formulated in conscious opposition to that which characterised the Urgemeinde.¹⁸

It was only in the Pauline churches, he maintained, that Sohm's "charismatic organisation" prevailed, while the institutional-legal order that Sohm regarded as originating with 1 Clement was embodied in the Jerusalem church from the beginning.¹⁹ There was thus no pure charismatic Paradise before the Clementine Fall; rather both kinds of church order existed side by side within the NT period.

Thus, while Sohm shaped the course of future discussion with his depiction of the Church as a charismatic community, Holl provided an important course-correction by arguing that charismatic

order was the peculium of the Pauline churches. Because the consensus which Brockhaus identified stands in recognisable continuity with the views of both these scholars, it may be regarded as an old consensus. The fundamental concepts remain the same: the rule of the Spirit; the primacy of charisma; and the antithesis between a church order based on Spirit and charisma and one involving formal structures and offices.

Yet the consensus to which Brockhaus points is also a new one, because it has developed and refined this Sohm-Holl heritage in many important respects. The major contributions in this regard are those of H. von Campenhausen²⁰, E. Käsemann²¹, and E. Schweizer²², whose works have both provided decisive stimulus for the emergence of this consensus and also established its main contours.²³ A brief review of their principal arguments will serve to indicate the characteristic features of the consensus.

Von Campenhausen's major contribution was to relate Pauline church order to Paul's understanding of life in the Spirit.²⁴ The foundation of his understanding of Pauline church order is the belief that

. . . Paul communicated to the children of his mission his idea of what it meant to live the life of a spirit (sic)--filled community in Christ; and it is from this that all the other details of its internal and external life followed automatically, or at any rate ought to have done so.²⁵

For Paul, the fundamental concept is 'the Spirit as the organising principle of the Christian congregation.'²⁶ Since the Spirit is the author of love, it is

love which is the true unifying and organising force within the Church, and which creates in her a paradoxical form of order diametrically opposed to all natural systems of organisation.²⁷

Because its character is determined by the Spirit, the church is

not just another constitutional organisation with grades and classes, but a unitary, living cosmos of free, spiritual gifts, which serve and complement one another.²⁸

This does not mean that Paul's churches were devoid of stable structures or settled patterns of functioning:

Particular concrete arrangements and ministries may arise within the life of the congregation, but they do not as such establish any new system . . . their validity rests on the fact that they are the product of the gifts which the Spirit has given.²⁹

Pauline church order was thus quite distinctive:

The most striking feature of Paul's view of the Christian community is the complete lack of any legal system, and the exclusion on principle of all formal authority within the individual congregation.³⁰

Historical pressures of various kinds soon led to this order being supplanted by the presbyteral system, however.³¹

Käsemann's principal contribution to the consensus was to focus attention on the distinctively Pauline concept of "charisma".³²

He made the bold assertion that

there is a concept in Pauline and sub-Pauline theology which describes in a theologically exact and comprehensive way the essence and scope of every ecclesiastical ministry and function--namely, the concept charisma.³³

Käsemann defines charisma as a particular embodiment in a believer of the grace through which Christ, by the Spirit, displays His Lordship.³⁴ Nothing is charisma in and of itself, but anything may become charisma

when I recognise that the Lord has given it to me and that I am to accept this gift as His calling and command to me.³⁵

The keynotes of Paul's charisma-concept are diversity ("To each his own"), service ("For one another"), and authority ("Submit to each other").³⁶ The nature of this authority is defined by its relation to charisma and ministry:

. . . as charisma is only manifested as genuine in the act of ministry, so only he who ministers can have authority and that only in the actual exercise of his ministry.³⁷

This means that Pauline church order is not

a static one, resting on offices, institutions, ranks and dignities; in his view, authority resides only within the concrete act of ministry as it occurs, because it is only within this concrete act that the Kyrios announces His Lordship and His presence.³⁸

This concept reflects a critical stance on Paul's part towards the presbyteral order characteristic of Jewish Christianity. However, as the Pastorals show, it was this latter system which prevailed, eclipsing the Pauline system in Paul's own churches.³⁹

Like von Campenhausen, Schweizer sees Paul's concept of the Spirit as the key to the distinctiveness of his church order. Like Käsemann, he highlights the distinctiveness of Pauline church order by contrasting it with other approaches represented in the NT. His review of these different approaches⁴⁰ leads him to conclude that, just as

in a mediaeval town the market square can be regarded as the⁴¹ centre, so might Paul be in the witness of the New Testament.

Paul's centrality stems from his receptivity to both of the other major outlooks discernible in the NT: the Jerusalem view, which stressed 'the Church's historicity, tradition, and order', and the Johannine view, which emphasised 'the self-sufficiency of the Church as it stood under the living activity of the Holy Spirit.'⁴² Since Paul maintains both the Church's historical reality, with its continuity with Israel, its life in the world until the Parousia, and its consequent need of tradition and order, and also its eschatological newness, with its unity with the heavenly Lord and its dependence on the free working of the Spirit,⁴³ his is 'the most ideal, perfectly balanced, biblical order',⁴⁴ and it thus provides the necessary passage between 'Rome and Sohm'.⁴⁵

The centrality and priority of the Spirit in Paul is clearly seen in the dialectic between the divine freedom and the divine faithfulness, a dialectic which is determinative of Pauline church order.⁴⁶ On the one hand, God's freedom is manifested in the 'vitality of the ever-present Spirit',⁴⁷ which leads to an order in which there is

no fundamental organisation of superior or subordinate ranks, because the gift of the Spirit is adapted to every Church member.⁴⁸

The result of this is that every believer has a ministry.⁴⁹

On the other hand, the divine faithfulness leads to order and structure, but an order which is created and controlled by the Spirit:

The Spirit's authority is obeyed as it actually comes to be: this leads to an order that conforms itself afterwards to the 'event' of the Spirit; and its only purpose is to make room for the Spirit to carry out His work of edifying the Church with as little hindrance as possible.⁵⁰

There are important differences, both of emphasis and of substance, between the views of von Campenhausen, Käsemann, and Schweizer; however, the preceding sketch of their views indicates the extent to which they share common ground, and thus pinpoints the principal features of the consensus they have stimulated and shaped. According to this view, Pauline church order is charismatic church order, and charismatic church order is a 'vom Geist und seinen Gaben bestimmten Ordnung',⁵¹ and such a church order is incompatible with formal, official structures and positions.

B. THE CONSENSUS UNDER CHALLENGE

There has always been some dissent from this consensus, especially on the part of Catholic scholars,⁵² but the participation of some leading Catholic scholars in the consensus shows that it is becoming more securely established all the time.⁵³ However, while the consensus-view seems to be becoming less Protestant in its ethos, and thus much stronger, signs have emerged in recent years of a new and more serious challenge. It is new because it opposes the consensus on significantly different grounds from those on which previous dissentients rested their case; it is more serious because it is inter-confessional in origin. This challenge is presented particularly clearly in three studies whose arguments against the consensus are, respectively, primarily exegetical, historical and sociological in nature. The works in question are those by Brockhaus,

the German historian J. Martin⁵⁴, and the Scandinavian Neutestamentler B. Holmberg.⁵⁵ We shall now review the argument of each of these studies, with a view to determining the nature and scope of their challenge to the consensus.⁵⁶

After documenting and analysing the emergence of the consensus to which he directs our attention⁵⁷, Brockhaus proceeds to challenge some of its principal foundations and conclusions by means of exegetical study and theological argument.

At the conclusion of the first part of his work⁵⁸, Brockhaus observes that the

naiv historische Deutung Sohms, der die Aussagen des Paulus über die Charismen ohne weiteres mit der Verfassung der urchristlichen Gemeinden gleichsetzte, wirkt zwar in dem neuen Konsensus von der charismatischen Ordnung der frühen (paulinischen) Gemeinden nach, wird aber in der radikalen, jeder Differenzierung entbehrenden Form Sohms heute kaum noch vertreten.⁵⁹

After surveying the differing ways in which Paul's concept of charisma is treated, Brockhaus goes on to claim that what

bei allen diesen, thematisch wie theologisch so verschiedenen Arbeiten immer wieder auffällt, ist dass sie methodisch zu wenig differenzieren zwischen einer Rekonstruktion der Gemeindefunktionen in den frühchristlichen - oder auch nur den paulinischen - Gemeinden einerseits und der Exegese der Stellen, an denen Paulus von Charismen spricht, andererseits.⁶⁰

He then argues that the question about the relation between "Charisma" and "Amt" will only be answered satisfactorily

wenn man vorher die Frage nach den Funktionen in den paulinischen Gemeinden und die nach dem Anliegen der paulinischen Charismenlehre methodisch voneinander getrennt hat.⁶¹

He therefore proceeds to deal with these two questions separately.

The second part of his work is thus an investigation of "Die frühen Amtsansätze" in Paul's churches. He begins by noting two major difficulties in the way of any attempt to reconstruct 'der frühen Gemeindefunktionen' in those churches: (1) the paucity of evidence; and (2) the fact that the most thorough discussions in Paul (1 Cor 12-14 and Rom 12) are not descriptive, but paraenetic.⁶²

This second point means that, in dealing with this material, we are obliged

zwischen der von Paulus vorausgesetzten tatsächlichen Gemeindesituation einerseits und paulinischer Deutung und Weisung andererseits zu unterscheiden.⁶³

Brockhaus' study of what concrete evidence there is leads him to the conclusion

dass er dauernde, anerkannte Gemeindefunktionen mit festen Funktionsträgern, mit führender Stellung und z.T. bereits mit festen Amtsbezeichnungen in verschiedenen paulinischen Gemeinden, und zwar - soweit wir sehen können - von Anfang an, gab. Wir können daher durchaus schon von »Ämtern«... sprechen, wenn auch von noch nicht voll ausgebildeten und noch nicht rechtlich legitimierten Ämtern.⁶⁴

The third and longest part of the work takes up the second necessary task: a study of the meaning and place of χάρισμα in Paul's thought.⁶⁵ In opposition to the prevailing view, Brockhaus argues that there is no unified χάρισμα-concept in Paul. He maintains that the evidence shows

dass χάρισμα im Unterschied zu χάρις nicht zu den zentralen Begriffen der paulinischen Theologie gehört, dass es in sehr unterschiedlichen Zusammenhängen, manchmal theologisch völlig unbetont gebraucht wird und dass die allen Belegstellen gemeinsame Grundbedeutung, über die semantische Beitrag des Wortes oft gar nicht hinausgeht, »Geschenk« oder »Gabe« ist.⁶⁶

He then undertakes a careful examination of 1 Cor 12-14⁶⁷ and Rom 12:3-8⁶⁸ in order to demonstrate that in both passages χάρισμα functions as 'ein ausgesprochen paränetischer Terminus.'⁶⁹

Brockhaus then concludes his study of Paul's use of χάρισμα by considering its place within Pauline thought as a whole. In direct contradiction of a principal element of the consensus, he denies that there is a direct relation between χάρισμα and "Gemeindeverfassung" in Paul.⁷⁰

Zwar werden durch das Bild von Leib und Gliedern durchaus grundlegende Strukturen für das Zusammenleben in der Gemeinde angewiesen, an denen sich jede Gemeindeverfassung, wenn sie sich auf Paulus berufen will, irgendwie wird ausrichten müssen. Die Charismenlehre des Paulus ist offen also für Fragen der Gemeindeverfassung. Aber sie geht

darin nicht auf, sondern umgreift, wie der paränetische Duktus von 1.Kor.12 und Röm.12 zeigt . . . ein wesentlich weiteres Gebiet.⁷¹

He goes on to argue that, since Paul's use of the term received its decisive stimulus in the controversy with the Corinthian pneumatics, his concept of χάρισμα should be related to his pneumatology, not his ecclesiology:

Der eigentliche Ort der Charismen ist weder die Gemeindeverfassung noch die Ethik - beides würde die Charismenlehre verkürzen -, sondern das paulinische Verständnis des Geistes als Kraft und Norm des neuen Lebens.⁷²

Therefore, in marked contrast to the consensus-view, Brockhaus maintains that

Paulus hat seine Charismenlehre . . . weder unter anti- noch unter proamtlichen Aspekt entworfen, noch hat er überhaupt so etwas wie eine »Gemeindeverfassung« aufstellen wollen.⁷³

This brief survey is sufficient to show the extent to which Brockhaus issues a direct challenge to some of the principal features of the consensus, and finds both its methods and its conclusions defective in certain critical areas.

Although his study was published at the same time as Brockhaus', and is thus quite independent of it, Martin also sets out to challenge the methods and the conclusions characteristic of the consensus. In the first of the two sections in his Introduction⁷⁴, Martin criticises the way in which theologians approach the study of the early Church. Of particular importance for our purposes is the claim that theologians too readily under-rate history, in the sense that

man die geschichtlichen Bedingtheiten von Geschehnissen, Institutionen und Strukturen, die man für „bleibend verpflichtend“ hielt, nicht wahrnahm⁷⁵

In the following section, "Allgemeine Vorüberlegungen"⁷⁶ Martin sets out some of the basic concepts and premises that shape his study of the evidence. The following deserve particular mention:

- (1) The early churches are to be treated

als Gruppen, die trotz ihrer Besonderheiten durchaus mit anderen Gruppen vergleichbar sind; als Gemeinschaften, die sich eine ihren Zielen gemäße Organisation zu schaffen suchen und dabei nicht nur von diesen Zielen, sondern auch von ihrer historischen Situation sowie von ihrer Existenzweise als Gruppen beeinflusst werden.⁷⁷

In view of this, Martin indicates his purpose as being

möglichst genau zu bestimmen, welche Gründe für die spezifische Institutionalisation der frühen Gemeinden entscheidenden waren.⁷⁸

- (2) The emergence of ecclesiastical offices did not result from the implementation of prior theological concepts: on the contrary,

die theologische Begründung der kirchlichen Ämter der konkreten Institutionalisation folgt. Sie wird durch die konkreten Umstände ausgelöst und ist Reaktion darauf.⁷⁹

- (3) The primary influence in the emergence of ecclesiastical office was not the environment in which the churches came into existence.

Der Prozess der kirchlichen Institutionalisation bezog seine Dynamik aus den eigenen Voraussetzungen des Christentums, während die Form der Institutionalisation unter anderem abhängig war von den Möglichkeiten, die sich im Kontext der antiken Welt boten.⁸⁰

After these introductory remarks, Martin provides a study of "Die Kirchlichen Dienste vor der Entstehung des Einzelepiskopats",⁸¹ which begins with an examination of the Pauline evidence.⁸² Martin's main arguments may be summarised as follows.

- (1) The regular use of "Funktionsbezeichnungen" rather than titles shows that

die entsprechenden Tätigkeiten noch nicht institutionalisiert worden sind.⁸³

- (2) The use of the title ἐπίσκοπος in Phil 1:1 shows that sich noch zu Lebzeiten des Apostels die Funktionen der Vorsteher, Verwalter und Hirten in den Episkopen zu institutionalisieren beginnen . . .⁸⁴

- (3) All ministries in the church are charismata, which deserve

appropriate recognition. Yet their multiplicity, their character as service, and the manner of the church's recognition of them mean that one can

für die paulinischen Gemeinden noch nicht von kirchlichen Ämtern, erst recht nicht von dem Gemeindeamt sprechen⁸⁵

(4) However, it needs to be acknowledged that

Funktionen, die dauernd ausgeübt werden, sind von regelrechten, institutionell abgesicherten Ämtern kaum zu unterscheiden. Ihre Inhaber werden in der Regel auch dazu tendieren, ihren Status zu festigen.⁸⁶

(5) There was, however, no legal definition of the emerging institutions in Paul's own lifetime. This is to be explained in two ways. (a) Paul himself was 'potentiell immer Verfügbar'⁸⁷:

Da Paulus die Gemeindedienste durch seine Autorität stützte, Normen für die Verkündigung setzte und schliesslich Anweisungen für das Gemeindeleben gab, bestand keine dringende Notwendigkeit, die Entscheidungskompetenzen in den paulinischen Gemeinden genau zu regeln.⁸⁸

(b) Paul's churches were set in a hellenistic milieu, were small in size, and were dominated by

die Spontaneität des Anfangs und die Naherwartung des Herrn.⁸⁹

These factors, rather than 'eine theologische Grundsatzentscheidung',⁹⁰ on Paul's part, explain the largely non-institutional character of the Pauline churches, as compared to the presbyteral order of the Palestinian churches. Even such a mundane factor as the size of a church had important implications in this regard:

So können sich die Mitglieder einer Gemeinde als sich gegenseitig ergänzender „Leib“ nur erfahren, wenn ihre Zahl eine bestimmte Grenze nicht überschreitet. Ebenso ist die Kleinheit einer Gemeinde eine Voraussetzung dafür, dass ihr als ganzer – ohne stufenweise geregelten Willensbildungsprozess – entscheidende Funktionen zukommen, dass es zwischen den einzelnen Diensten keine klaren Kompetenzabgrenzungen gibt, dass Dienste als solche unmittelbar von der Gemeinde erkannt werden und deshalb keiner Wahl, Einsetzung oder anderer Legitimation bedürfen.⁹¹

Obviously, a change in any of these factors could lead to a change in the structures and functioning of the Pauline churches:

Wenn die Gemeinden grösser wurden, wenn die ursprüngliche Spontaneität und die Naherwartung wegfielen und die Apostel ausstarben, musste das für die Gemeinden eine völlig neue Situation bedeuten⁹²

There then follows a study of the Jerusalem church⁹³ in which Martin argues, contrary to the view going back to Holl, that the differences between the Pauline churches and the Urgemeinde were more a matter of degree than of kind, and are to be accounted for by the different situations and needs with which they had to cope. He takes particular issue with von Campenhausen's view that, in comparison with Pauline church order, the presbyteral system represented

a new line of development, the first and decisive prerequisite for the elaboration of a narrowly 'official' and 'ecclesiastical' way of thinking.⁹⁴

In opposition to this view Martin argues as follows.

(1) The Jerusalem elders played no significant role in the church while the apostles remained in the city, and alongside them, but not subordinate to them, were other, non-institutional ministries.

Erst nach dem Weggang der Apostel haben die Presbyter zusammen mit Jakobus stärkeren Einfluss gewonnen Vergleicht man das Vergleichbare, dann gab es auch in Jerusalem bis zum Ausscheiden der Apostel neben diesen keine „Führungsschicht“, die alles auf sich konzentriert hatte. Insofern sind die Presbyter ohne weiteres mit den Vorstehenden, Verwaltern, Hirten und Episkopoi der paulinischen Gemeinden auf eine Ebene zu stellen. Der Unterschied zwischen ihnen reduziert sich dann darauf, dass die einen institutionell abgesichert waren, die anderen nicht. Doch waren auch die Dienste in den paulinischen Gemeinden lebenslänglich, hat Paulus die Autorität der Vorstehenden gestützt und haben sich am Ende der Tätigkeit des Apostels die Episkopen und Diakone zu institutionalisieren begonnen.⁹⁵

(2) The distinction between the official authority of the elders and the spiritual authority of the Pauline ministries should not be overstated, since there is no reason to suppose that elders were appointed solely on the basis of age. In fact, the appointment of the Seven shows that

auch in Jerusalem die Voraussetzung für ein Amt das persönliche Charisma war.⁹⁶

(3) The Jerusalem church did not have elders from the beginning, but introduced them in response to a particular need.

Die christliche Gemeinde der Stadt ist sehr schnell angewachsen und dürfte an Zahl jede paulinische Gemeinde zu Paulus' Lebzeiten bei weitem übertroffen haben Bestimmte Ordnungsaufgaben stellten sich deshalb in Jerusalem schärfer und früher als in anderen Gemeinden In dieser Situation hat man auf das vertraute jüdische Amt des Presbyter zurückgegriffen. Auch in den paulinischen Gemeinden führte das zahlenmässige Anwachsen zusammen mit anderen Faktoren zur Institutionalisierung.⁹⁷

Martin therefore rejects von Campenhausen's view:

Als "erste entscheidende Voraussetzung" für die Institutionalisierung der christlichen Gemeinden und damit auch für die Ausbildung der Ämter betrachte ich . . . das Selbstverständnis der Gemeinden als umfassender Lebensgemeinschaften; daraus ergaben sich organisatorische Konsequenzen, für deren Regelung zwar ein gewisser Spielraum bestand, die aber doch an die jüdische und römisch-hellenistische Umwelt des Christentums gebunden waren.⁹⁸

At the conclusion of the first half of the book, Martin insists that there was within the life of the Church,

wenn die Naherwartung wegfiel, d.h. die Gemeinden sich auf die Dauer einrichten mussten, und wenn die Zahl der Gemeindemitglieder stieg, ein Zwang zur Institutionalisierung.⁹⁹

In fact, there was no alternative to institutionalisation unless the Church was prepared to renounce existence 'als sichtbare Gemeinschaft'.¹⁰⁰ The remainder of the book is a study of the particular forms which the process of institutionalisation assumed in the second and third centuries.¹⁰¹

Again, even this brief and selective review of Martin's argument is sufficient to show the extent to which it represents a clear and comprehensive challenge to the way the consensus-view reads the evidence and to the conclusions it reaches.

Holmberg builds on the arguments of both Brockhaus and Martin in his study of 'the origin of the ministry and its exercise of authority',¹⁰² in the Pauline churches. He begins with two claims about the current state of research in this field. On the

one hand, he maintains, there is

a considerable degree of consensus . . . on the vast majority of details concerning philological and historical fact;¹⁰³

while on the other hand, there is a manifest lack of consensus with regard to the categories and methods which will enable these facts to be pieced together into 'syntheses of historical reconstruction.'¹⁰⁴

This latter task is

a vital, if often neglected, part of historical study and it is here that work must be done anew in every generation. . . . Often a too direct and uncomplicated transition is made from isolated historical facts to their interpretation by theological categories. The facts are organised in structures or syntheses of a theological kind before the attempt is made to interpret them as parts of social structures or an organically coherent historical development.¹⁰⁵

In view of this, Holmberg divides his study into two sections. The first¹⁰⁶ seeks to provide

a historical account of the distribution of power in the Primitive Church,¹⁰⁷

and after considering the relations between Paul and Jerusalem, Paul and his coworkers, and Paul and his churches, examines the "distribution of power" within the Pauline churches. In this latter section Holmberg argues that the "functional differentiation" within each church (apostles, prophets, teachers, leaders, etc.) was the product of a combination of pneumatic differences (varieties of spiritual gifts), social differences (distinctions in social status, education, wealth), and personal initiative (whether on the part of Paul, or of the person concerned, or of the church, or of all three).¹⁰⁸ He then maintains that the evidence points to

permanent acknowledged functions in local churches filled by stable groups of persons who lead and serve and take responsibility for their congregations in different ways, in some cases even having a designation or title and some form of material support. The conclusion must be that we can rightly speak of offices in Paul's churches, even if they are not yet fully developed . . . or legally authorised. . . .¹⁰⁹

This official local leadership was only rudimentary and not very conspicuous, partly because Paul always addressed the

church as a whole, partly because it developed naturally and did not require special comment, and partly because Paul himself was still very much in control.¹¹⁰ It took two forms:

. . . in most of Paul's churches we have a group of persons who teach, guide, transmit divine revelations, expound the Scriptures and formulate God's will in concrete, everyday life, and here we find the prophets and teachers. . . . Beside this group we find another, not so clearly defined, consisting of people with sufficient initiative, wealth and compassion to care for the sick and poor, to receive travelling missionaries and other Christians, to be able to accommodate the worshippers and the communal meals of the church in their own houses, sometimes travelling on behalf of the church and generally taking administrative responsibility.¹¹¹

The pneumatic endowments of the former group did not automatically make them the leaders of the church, while the latter group, the προΐσταμενοι had an authority

'based on personal social influence of an ordinary kind.'¹¹²

There was a dialectical relationship between the responsibility and authority of the leaders and that of the church as a whole:

The leaders and the congregation are related to each other in a context of love and co-operation, and stand in a relation of mutual, but not symmetric, dependence on each other.¹¹³

Holmberg then concludes this first half of his study by arguing that there is no necessary distinction between charismatic ministry and institutional office:

. . . in Paul's mind there exists no opposition between χάρισμα and office . . . , or χάρισμα and institution . . . , as the term signifies any gift, task, or service of benefit to the whole church that a Christian has been enabled by God to practise.¹¹⁴

The second half of his study then analyses and evaluates the exegetical and historical conclusions reached in the first half in the light of a modified Weberian sociology.¹¹⁵ It begins with an analysis of the concepts of "power" and "authority", and goes on to argue that authority in the Pauline mission and churches was not, in Weberian terms, purely charismatic, but also both traditional and rational.¹¹⁶ From the beginning, he maintains,

we encounter what Weber termed 'routinized charisma'.¹¹⁷

This leads him to a sociological analysis of the concept of "institutionalisation", which is not a process

that may arise after a time but is a process that inevitably starts almost as soon as human interaction begins and continues for as long as the group, association or society exists . . . the process of institutionalisation will have begun long before any actor [sc., any participant in the life of the group] makes a conscious effort to organize or stabilize the group.¹¹⁸

Indeed,

the sheer logic of group life and group development demands systematization and rationalization¹¹⁹,

irrespective of the particular aims and beliefs of the leading figures. The institutionalisation of official leadership in Paul's churches was naturally influenced by Paul's own theological ideas and aims, but it was also a product of the character and variety of the pneumatic gifts with which believers were endowed, the status and influence of the first converts (the ἀρχαί), and the actual service rendered to the church by those with the requisite social, financial, or educational advantages.¹²⁰ Holmberg argues that Paul had a positive attitude to this process, and that he both encouraged and shaped it by his support and recognition of existing leaders and by his theology of charisma.¹²¹

At the end of the book Holmberg draws conclusions of two kinds. In the first place, he states the general conclusions to which his examination of the evidence has led him. The Pauline churches constitute 'an institutionalized charismatic movement'¹²²:

As in any other permanent human group there is a continuous process of institutionalisation going on in the Primitive Church: behaviour, language and other forms of expression (rites, symbolic action), modes of procedure, missionary techniques, categories of theological interpretation - all of these become increasingly stabilized and traditional.¹²³

Further,

the exercise of authority in the Primitive Church is of a dialectical character.¹²⁴

All the members of the Pauline churches

are responsible for and to a degree capable of performing . . . vital functions, but this never abolishes the need for special charges or offices which are expected to entail a greater degree of responsibility and capability in these respects. Congregation and office-holders can only function soundly if they recognise and act in accordance with this mutual, but asymmetric dependence.¹²⁵

Secondly, Holmberg draws some important methodological conclusions. The first is that the standard works in this field are flawed as a result of their capitulation to the "idealistic fallacy":

. . . on most points of historical fact there is no fundamental disagreement between these works and my work. But the methodologically fateful step comes with the next stage of the work, where the historical phenomena are often interpreted as being directly formed by underlying theological structures. . . . Thus what is in reality a secondary reaction (Paul's theology of charisma) on [sic] primary, concrete phenomena in the social world (the pneumatic gifts in Corinth) is misinterpreted as being the structuring principle of that social world. . . . What is missing in this type of theologically determined historical reconstruction is an awareness of the continuous dialectic between ideas and social structures.¹²⁶

The second conclusion is a corollary of this first one:

The interdependence and dialectical development of theology and social structure is the central fact that must be taken as a starting point for historical research.¹²⁷

As with the previous two studies, Holmberg's offers a direct challenge to the consensus-view by providing an alternative interpretation of the Pauline evidence, and by offering a penetrating critique of its assumptions and methods.

Brief though it has been, the preceding sketch of the arguments of Brockhaus, Martin and Holmberg clearly shows that they are not simply dissenting from particular elements of the consensus-view, but are directly challenging its foundations and its centre. We must therefore examine the nature of the challenge they offer, in order to determine its implications for further research in this field of inquiry.

C. THE KEY ISSUES IN THIS CHALLENGE TO THE CONSENSUS

Our review of the works by Brockhaus, Martin and Holmberg shows that, while their views are by no means uniform, there is a significant degree of common ground between them. The consensus that emerges from their studies provides a starting point for further research in two ways in particular.

(1) Common to all three studies is the view that the consensus they are challenging is defective at the level of its presuppositions and methods. This is seen in Brockhaus' conclusion that studies within the consensus-tradition consistently fail to distinguish two distinct tasks and his consequent insistence that study of "Gemeindefunktionen" in the Pauline churches and exegesis of the passages dealing with the concept of χάρισμα must be done separately, and also in his argument that a failure to observe the paraenetic character of 1 Cor 12 (a key passage for the consensus) results in a misinterpretation of the meaning and function of the χάρισμα-concept in Paul's thought.¹²⁸ The same position is evident in Martin's charge that most studies in this area do not give adequate consideration to the concrete, historical realities involved, which results in a failure to provide historical and contextual explanations for the phenomena attested in the texts, and in his own insistence on the impact of the process of institutionalisation in the life of the churches.¹²⁹ It also appears with particular clarity at the end of Holmberg's study where he draws certain methodological conclusions, relating particularly to the "idealistic fallacy" and its implications.¹³⁰ Their criticisms of the consensus thus concern its assumptions and methods as much as its results: they are challenging not just the position arrived at by scholars within the consensus-tradition, but also where they begin and how they proceed. Two observations about this criticism of the consensus are in order at

this point.

First, the charge that the consensus rests on defective presuppositions and methods tends to be asserted rather than demonstrated. None of the three challenges to the consensus we have reviewed provides a systematic critique of the case argued by any of the standard works associated with the consensus; instead, each one offers its own alternative interpretation of the data, in the course of which certain general criticisms of the consensus approach are offered.

Secondly, none of the three works spells out an alternative, more satisfactory method of study. Their criticisms of the consensus and the approaches they adopt themselves have clear methodological implications, but these are not systematically followed up in a way that leads to the elaboration of an appropriate method. Even Holmberg, who deals most explicitly with the question of methodology, does not attempt to provide any precise delineation of a method that recognises the 'interdependence and dialectical development of theology and social structure'.¹³¹ In view of the way these three studies demonstrate the crucial importance of methodology, both in the emergence of the consensus and in the attempt to provide a more adequate interpretation of the data, this is particularly regrettable.¹³²

We therefore conclude that the issue of methodology provides an essential starting point for further research in this area. It is, of course, quite true that

there is neither exegesis nor portrayal of history apart from presuppositions,

and that, therefore,

we must make our presuppositions as clear as possible both to ourselves and to others.¹³³

It is also true that presuppositions have an important influence upon methods, and that in a number of ways the three studies reviewed

in the preceding section have, in challenging the methods used in reaching the consensus, called into question the validity of the presuppositions involved. Nevertheless, while it is neither possible nor desirable to ignore the question of presuppositions, there will be no attempt in this study to deal with it in any detailed or systematic manner. This is because (i) the detection and analysis of presuppositions requires considerable expertise in such disciplines as historical theology, philosophy and the history of ideas generally; (ii) the attempt to isolate the presuppositions underlying a particular work threatens to be overtaken by the problem of infinite regress, with each stratum of presuppositions being seen to rest upon another stratum; and (iii) the issue of method is more directly accessible and more immediately productive.

The task of exploring the methodological issues, and attempting to arrive at a valid and appropriate method by which to analyse and interpret the Pauline data, will be taken up in Chapter I.

(2) A second starting point for further research is provided by the recognition that there is a pivotal issue around which the conflict between the consensus and its challengers revolves. This is the question of local leadership in Paul's churches--were there stable, recognised groups of leaders in the churches, and if so, who were these leaders, and how was their position characterised? The predominant issues in the study of church and ministry in the early Church--the relation between Spirit and order, charisma and office, ministry and authority--cluster around, and appear in sharpest focus in relation to, this question in particular. Hence its prominence in the six studies we have considered in the preceding sections. A crucial test of the validity and coherence of the consensus-view is its ability to provide a satisfactory interpretation of Paul's

references to what appear to be leadership groups in the churches (e.g., 1 Th 5:12-13, 1 Cor 16:15-18; Phil 1:1). Charismatic order will mean charismatic leadership--but what does "charismatic leadership" mean, and how can passages like the above be interpreted under this rubric?

Conflict about the interpretation of such passages, and about the nature and forms of leadership in early Christianity, has been a feature of scholarly discussion from Sohm onwards. As we have seen¹³⁴, he argued that Church leadership was charismatic leadership, the rule of the apostles, prophets and teachers (the "Lehrbegabten"). He thus went on to argue that the superintending and administrative functions that became an important distinguishing feature of the role of the ἐπίσκοπος were a consequence of his teaching ministry: it was as a charismatic "minister of the Word" that the ἐπίσκοπος became an overseer.¹³⁵ By contrast, Harnack (influenced by the newly rediscovered Didache) argued that such charismatic leadership was exercised at the level of the Gesamt-kirche by the travelling apostles, prophets and teachers, while the Einzelgemeinde knew the administrative, official leadership of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι.¹³⁶ Although it continues to exercise some influence¹³⁷, Harnack's view has been largely abandoned because it does not correspond to the situation portrayed in the NT.¹³⁸ Sohm's view, however, has been explicitly endorsed in an influential study which provides an interpretation of local leadership in Paul's churches in keeping with the concept of a charismatic church order.¹³⁹ In this article H. Greeven argues that

die Leitung der . . . Gemeinden von der Wirksamkeit ihrer Propheten and Lehrer nicht zu trennen ist.¹⁴⁰

While not all prophets and teachers exercised a leadership-role, all those who were recognised as leaders by the churches were prophets and teachers. The leaders were thus a sub-group within the larger

class of prophets and teachers.¹⁴¹ This has been an important contribution to the emergence of the consensus because it gives clear and specific content to the notions of charismatic order and charismatic leadership, while also providing a way of interpreting passages referring to local leadership within the Pauline churches that harmonizes with the concept of charismatic order that derives principally from 1 Cor 12-14.¹⁴² However, Greeven's view has been strongly challenged by Holmberg, who (as we have seen¹⁴³) argues that there were in fact two distinct types of leadership in Paul's churches: that provided by the prophets and teachers, and that provided by the προΐστάντες.¹⁴⁴

All of this raises two questions that require attention. First, how are Paul's references to what appears to be some kind of local leadership to be interpreted? What function(s) do these people perform? On what basis was their contribution distinguished from the ministries exercised by all the believers? What kind of recognition did their ministries evoke and deserve? Are the groups referred to prophets and teachers (as Greeven argues), or is their role of a quite different kind (as Holmberg argues)? Is the reference to voluntary service that is charismatic in origin and character, and thus not to official positions (the consensus-view¹⁴⁵), or do the passages in question indicate the existence of stable leadership-positions which were on the way to becoming offices (as those challenging the consensus maintain¹⁴⁶)?

Secondly, what is "leadership"? What constitutes a leadership role or position? On what basis and by what means is leadership exercised? Does the prophet's or teacher's contribution to the life of the church necessarily constitute leadership? Would the provision of important resources and the performance of necessary tasks (as Holmberg describes the function of the προΐστάντες)

have led to recognition by the church as a leader? How are membership and leadership distinguished, particularly in groups where all the members are perceived to have a contribution to make?

Surprisingly, in view of its frequent use and obvious importance in the study of Pauline church order, little or no attention has been given to the task of defining the concept of leadership. However, it seems clear that any progress towards a resolution of the most contentious issues will require the injection of greater precision into the debate at this point.

We conclude, therefore, that the conflict between the consensus-position and the views of those who have recently challenged it highlights the need for further investigation of local leadership in the Pauline churches. This investigation will need to comprise both detailed examination of the relevant passages and careful analysis of the concept of leadership itself. This is the second starting-point for further research which, along with the issue of methodology, has emerged from our review of the conflict between the two positions we have considered.

D. THE WAY AHEAD FOR THIS STUDY

We have now achieved the goal described at the beginning of this Introduction.¹⁴⁷ We have conducted a brief and somewhat schematic review of the current state of discussion about Pauline church order, and this has enabled us to isolate some key issues requiring clarification and further investigation. On this basis we are now in a position to chart a course for this study.

Its focus has already been suggested: the nature, basis and forms of local leadership in Paul's churches. However, as the preceding discussion has also demonstrated, there are some crucial questions of definition and method to be settled before we launch into a detailed study of the relevant passages. The first

chapter will therefore take up these essential preliminary matters. It will begin by addressing the questions concerning method which were outlined in the preceding section. Only after a valid and appropriate method of study has been defined can the other preliminary tasks be dealt with satisfactorily, so that the tasks of analysing the concept of leadership and of defining the precise scope and structure of our investigation of the relevant Pauline material will be taken up after the approach to be followed has been determined. Further elaboration of the content of this study will therefore be left until the end of the first chapter.

INTRODUCTION: NOTES

¹The following works, which represent only a small fraction of recent publications in this area, are all in their various ways attempting to reassess the NT data in reaction to the contemporary situation and needs of the Church.

- W.A. Burrows: New Ministries: The Global Context (Orbis Books, Maryknoll, 1980).
- L. Grollenberg, J. Kerkhofs, A. Houtepen, J.J.A. Volleberg, and E. Schillebeeckx: Minister? Pastor? Prophet? Grass Roots Leadership in the Churches, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1980).
- A.T. Hanson: The Pioneer Ministry, (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1961).
- A. Lemaire: Ministry in the Church, ET (SPCK, London, 1977).
- Le Ministère et les Ministères selon le Nouveau Testament: Dossier Exégétique et Réflexion Théologique (Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1974).
- L.O. Richards: A New Face for the Church (Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, 1970).
- R. Riesner: Apostolischer Gemeindebau: Die Herausforderung der paulinischen Gemeinden (Brunnen Verlag, Giessen, 1978).
- E. Schillebeeckx: Ministry: A Case for Change, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1981).
- E.E. Shelp and R. Sunderland (eds.): A Biblical Basis for Ministry (Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1981).
- H. Snyder: The Problem of Wineskins: Church Structure in a Technological Age (Inter-Varsity Press, Downers Grove, 1975).
- idem: The Community of the King (Inter-Varsity Press, Downers Grove, 1977).

²See for example, M. Thurian (ed.): Ecumenical Perspectives on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1982), a series of essays associated with the "Lima Declaration" (Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (Faith and Order Paper No. 111) (World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1982)).

³Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung: Eine kritische Darstellung (Almqvist & Wiksells, Uppsala, 1932).

⁴Linton characterised the difference between the outlook and axioms of each consensus as follows:

Dort [sc., in the 1880's] nahm man den Ausgangspunkt beim Individualismus und Humanismus: soziologisch vom Einzelnen aus, begrifflich von Menschen aus entstand die Kirche. Eine andere Möglichkeit nahm man überhaupt nicht in Betracht. Die Kirche war menschliche Zweckorganisation. In den neueren Kirchenliteratur ist das ganz anders geworden: die Kirche entsteht nicht durch Zusammenschluss von Menschen her, entsteht nicht vom Einzelnen aus, sondern ist vor dem Einzelnen da, der Einzelne tritt in die Kirche ein. Die Kirche ist eine Schöpfung von oben her. (p.133; italics his).

⁵See his discussion of these issues on pp. 186-211.

⁶There have been a number of recent studies, however, which have focused on some important aspects of this question. See especially A.J. Malherbe: Social Aspects of Early Christianity (Louisiana

State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1977), pp. 87-91; R.L. Wilken: "Collegia, Philosophical Schools, and Theology", in S. Benko and J.J. O'Rourke (eds.): Early Church History: The Roman Empire as the Setting of Primitive Christianity (Oliphants, London, 1972), pp. 268-91; S.C. Barton and G.H.R. Horsley: "A Hellenistic Cult Group and the New Testament Churches", JAC 24 (1981), pp. 7-41; L.W. Countryman: "Patrons and Officers in Club and Church", in P.J. Achtemeier (ed.): SBL Seminar Papers 1977 (SBL, Chico, 1977), pp. 135-43.

⁷Charisma und Amt: Die paulinische Charismenlehre auf dem Hintergrund der frühchristlichen Gemeindefunktionen (Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus, Wuppertal, 1972).

⁸"Frühchristliches Amt und Charismen in der theologischen Diskussion", pp. 7-94.

⁹Charisma, p. 89.

¹⁰See the useful survey of the emergence of the consensus in B. Holmberg: "Sociological versus Theological Analysis of the Question concerning a Pauline Church Order", in S. Pedersen (ed.): Die paulinische Literatur und Theologie/The Pauline Literature and Theology (Teologisk Studier 7) (Forlaget Aros, Aarhus/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1980), pp. 187-200 (esp. pp. 189-92). This Introduction had already been written when Holmberg's essay came to hand. The striking similarities of structure, content and perspective may therefore be seen as endorsing the value of the approach being taken in this study.

¹¹See Brockhaus: Charisma, pp. 45-7, 88, 93. This must not be taken, of course, to imply that the consensus represents a conscious return to the position of Sohm; rather, it is simply drawing attention to the recognisable continuity between the central tenets of Sohm's viewpoint and the key features of the consensus.

Useful studies of Sohm's portrayal of the early Christian understanding of Church and ministry may be found in W. Lowrie: The Church and its Organisation in Primitive and Catholic Times: An Interpretation of Rudolph Sohm's Kirchenrecht (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1904) and H.-J. Schmitz: Frühkatholizismus bei Adolf von Harnack, Rudolph Sohm and Ernst Käsemann (Patmos Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1977)

¹²Kirchenrecht, Erster Band: Die geistlichen Grundlagen (Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig, 1892), p. 18. (Note: the italics in all the quotations from Sohm in this section are his.)

¹³Kirchenrecht, p. 22. Cp. also the assertion, 'Die einzige Versammlung, welche die Urzeit kennt, ist die Kirchenversammlung.' (p. 21).

¹⁴Kirchenrecht, p. 26.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶"Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde", in idem: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, II (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1964), pp. 44-67 (originally in Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1921, pp. 920-47).

¹⁷Kirchenrecht, p. 45.

¹⁸Note especially the following passage:
 "Zu diesem Kirchenbegriff [sc., that of the Urgemeinde] tritt nun der des Paulus . . . in ausgesprochenen Gegensatz. Denn Paulus hat mit der Urgemeinde nicht nur um die Verbindlichkeit des Gesetzes gekämpft, vollends nicht nur einzelne Persönlichkeiten angegriffen, sondern, indem er für seinen eigenen Apostolat wehrte, zugleich einen neuen Kirchenbegriff geschaffen." (p. 62: his italics).

¹⁹See esp. pp. 63-4.

²⁰Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries, ET (A. & C. Black Ltd., London, 1969). This English translation will be referred to in most cases, because of its greater availability; but the German original (Kirchliches Amt und geistliche Vollmacht in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten (BHT 14) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1953)) has also been used, and will be quoted where appropriate.

²¹"Ministry and Community in the New Testament", in idem: Essays on New Testament Themes, ET (SBT 41) (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1964, pp. 63-94.

²²Church Order in the New Testament, ET (SBT 32) (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1961).

²³Although the positions taken in these three studies are undoubtedly more immediately acceptable in a Protestant context, it is difficult to see why Brockhaus regards this consensus as a Protestant one (see the quotation on p. 3 above). In the first place, he acknowledges the emergence in recent Catholic scholarship of 'eine Befreiung der Exegese von dogmatischen Prämissen und - besonders in der systematischen Theologie - eine wachsende Offenheit für die paulinische Charismenlehre' (p. 89). Secondly, he refers to three important Catholic studies which embrace the consensus-view: viz., H. Küng: The Church, ET (Search Press, London, 1968); G. Hasenhüttl: Charisma, Ordnungsprinzip der Kirche (Verlag Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1969); and H. Schürmann: "Die geistlichen Gnadengaben in den paulinischen Gemeinden", in idem: Ursprung und Gestalt: Erörterungen und Besinnungen zum Neuen Testament (Patmos Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1970), pp. 236-67 (now also in K. Kertelge (hg.): Das kirchliche Amt im Neuen Testament (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1977), pp. 362-412).

²⁴See especially Chapter IV: "Spirit and Authority in the Pauline Congregation", pp. 55-75.

²⁵p. 56.

²⁶p. 58.

²⁷ibid.

²⁸p. 63f.

²⁹p. 69.

³⁰p. 70.

³¹p. 76f.

³²"Ministry", passim. Käsemann's was not by any means the first serious examination of Paul's charisma-teaching in modern NT study (see, for example, O. Michel: "Gnadengabe und Amt", Deutsche Theologie 9 (1942), pp. 133-39; F. Grau: Der neutestamentliche Begriff χάρισμα : seine Geschichte und seine Theologie (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Tübingen, 1946), both of which refer to earlier studies), but he claims that he reached his conclusions 'along the road of exegesis, before [he] became acquainted with the available literature on the subject.' ("Ministry", p. 63 n.1). Undoubtedly a major reason for the widespread influence of Käsemann's article was its greater accessibility.

³³"Ministry", p. 64.

³⁴It is 'the specific part which the individual has in the lordship and glory of Christ' (p. 65), or 'the concretion and individuation of grace or of the Spirit' (p. 73).

³⁵p. 72.

³⁶pp. 76-8.

³⁷p. 78.

³⁸p. 83.

³⁹Paul 'set his doctrine of charisma in opposition to the theory of an institutionally guaranteed ecclesiastical office' (p. 84), the theory characteristic of the Jewish Christianity which had its headquarters in Jerusalem, and which undergirded the presbyteral system which, under the influence of Palestinian Jewish Christians, supplanted the Pauline order (pp. 85-92).

⁴⁰Church Order, pp. 34-162 (which forms the bulk of Part One: The Diversity of the New Testament Church, in which he considers the conceptions of the Church evidenced by Jewish Christianity (pp. 34-88), the Gentile Christianity in Paul's sphere of influence (pp. 89-116), the Johannine writings (pp. 117-38), and the Apostolic Fathers (pp. 139-62)).

⁴¹20f. (p. 168).

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³20d-f (pp. 166-70)

⁴⁴7o (p. 104).

⁴⁵28f (p. 230).

⁴⁶7i (p. 99).

⁴⁷ibid.

⁴⁸ibid.

⁴⁹7k (p. 100).

⁵⁰7m (p. 102).

⁵¹Brockhaus: Charisma, p. 89.

⁵²See Brockhaus: Charisma, pp. 71-7. It is necessary to acknowledge the extent to which confessional commitments (and the dogmatic presuppositions which those commitments involve) have influenced the debate about early Church order. This is well illustrated in the review by the Catholic Neutestamentler O. Kuss ("Kirchliches Amt und freie geistliche Vollmacht", in idem: Auslegung und Verkündigung, I: Aufsätze zur Exegese des Neuen Testaments (Verlag Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg, 1963), pp. 271-80), in which he alleges that von Campenhausen (Authority) has allowed his Protestant standpoint to determine his reading of the evidence. At the same time, however, it is clear that Kuss' own Catholic standpoint places a priori limits on the possible alternative interpretations of the NT data!

⁵³See n. 23 above.

⁵⁴Der priesterliche Dienst III: Die Genese der Amtspriestertums in der frühen Kirche (QD 48) (Verlag Herder, Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1972).

⁵⁵Paul and Power: The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church as reflected in the Pauline Epistles (Coniectanea Biblica: NT Series 11) (CWK Gleerup, Lund, 1978). (This work has subsequently been published in an American edition (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1980).)

⁵⁶Other recent studies have also challenged the consensus-view: note especially J. Hainz: Ekklesia: Strukturen paulinischer Gemeinde-Theologie und Gemeinde-Ordnung (BU 9) (Verlag Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg, 1972), and H. Merklein: Das kirchliche Amt nach dem Epheserbrief (StANT 33) (Kösel Verlag, Munich, 1973).

⁵⁷See the quotation on p. 3 above.

⁵⁸See n. 8 above.

⁵⁹p. 91f.

⁶⁰p. 93.

⁶¹p. 93f.

⁶²p. 95.

⁶³ibid.

⁶⁴p. 126.

⁶⁵"Die Charismen" (pp. 128-237).

⁶⁶p. 141.

⁶⁷pp. 142-92.

⁶⁸pp. 193-202.

⁶⁹p. 202. Cp. also p. 190.

⁷⁰pp. 203-20.

⁷¹p. 220.

⁷²p. 239.

⁷³ibid.

⁷⁴"Der Historiker und die Geschichte des frühkirchlichen Amtes"
(pp. 9-18).

⁷⁵Dienst, p. 11. Martin illustrates this claim by referring to the essay by Käsemann we considered above, in which (he claims) Käsemann displays a sympathetic understanding of the historical situation from which the Pastorals emerged, but fails to ask 'ob nicht auch das paulinische Verständnis der Gemeinden abhängig ist von der konkreten Situation dieser Gemeinden.' (p. 11 n. 11).

⁷⁶pp. 18-24.

⁷⁷p. 18.

⁷⁸ibid.

⁷⁹p. 19 (his italics).

⁸⁰p. 22 (his italics).

⁸¹pp. 25-86.

⁸²pp. 25-34.

⁸³p. 26.

⁸⁴ibid.

⁸⁵p. 28.

⁸⁶p. 29.

⁸⁷p. 30.

⁸⁸p. 32f.

⁸⁹p. 33.

⁹⁰ibid.

⁹¹ibid

⁹²p. 33f.

⁹³pp. 34-47.

⁹⁴von Campenhausen: Authority, p. 77.

⁹⁵p. 44f.

⁹⁶p. 45.

- 97 ibid.
- 98 p. 46.
- 99 p. 84 (his italics).
- 100 ibid.
- 101 "Die Ausbildung des monarchischen Episkopats" (pp. 87-119).
- 102 Paul, p. 1.
- 103 p. 2.
- 104 ibid.
- 105 ibid.
- 106 "The Distribution of Power in the Primitive Church" (pp. 8-123).
- 107 p. 4.
- 108 pp. 104-110.
- 109 p. 112f.
- 110 p. 117.
- 111 p. 118.
- 112 p. 159.
- 113 p. 120.
- 114 p. 123. (Note: all Greek words in Holmberg's text are unaccented.)
- 115 "The Structure of Authority in the Primitive Church" (pp. 124-208).
- 116 Weber's influential analysis of the three types of "legitimate authority" (viz., rational, traditional, and charismatic) is to be found in his The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, ET (Revised and edited, and with an Introduction by T. Parsons) (Wm. Hodge & Co. Ltd., London, 1947), pp. 300-54. See also the essays in H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills: From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, ET (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1948), pp. 196-252.
- Holmberg's discussion of these issues is on pp. 136-61.
- 117 p. 161 (his italics).
- 118 p. 175f.
- 119 p. 177.
- 120 pp. 192-93.
- 121 pp. 194-95.

¹²²p. 199.

¹²³p. 200.

¹²⁴p. 202 (his italics).

¹²⁵ibid.

¹²⁶p. 205.

¹²⁷p. 207.

¹²⁸See pp. 10-11 above.

¹²⁹See pp. 12-15 above.

¹³⁰See p. 19 above.

¹³¹Paul, p. 207.

¹³²The failure to elaborate an alternative method is particularly striking in the work of J. Hainz referred to above (n. 56). In his Introduction ("Aufriss der Problemstellung" (pp. 1-28)) Hainz makes a number of important and telling criticisms of the studies by von Campenhausen and Schweizer that we considered above. (He also criticises a number of other works.) His criticisms are largely to do with the presuppositions and methods evident in these studies. For example, he asserts that von Campenhausen 'schematisiert Paulus . . . vom 1. Korintherbrief und seiner pneumatisch-charismatischen Gemeindeordnung her . . . ' (p. 22), and says of Schweizer that he is

unbeeinflusst von der Frage nach der historischen Gestalt der verschiedenen Gemeinden in den verschiedenen Stadien ihrer Entwicklung; er sieht vor allem auf die theologische Verwandtschaft neutestamentlicher Schriften in ihren ekklesiologischen Aussagen. Chronologische und geographische Gesichtspunkte spielen bei ihm fast keine Rolle.' (p. 27).

He explicitly acknowledges the decisive importance of method:

Nicht die Ergebnisse . . . , sondern die Methoden, sie zu gewinnen, scheinen zunächst einmal in Frage stehen zu müssen. Die Entscheidung für den methodischen Ansatz entscheidet weithin auch schon über die Ergebnisse.' (p. 16).

In view of all this, it is astonishing that, at the conclusion of this Introduction, Hainz launches straight into a study of the Pauline material without providing any explicit rationale of the procedure he follows, and without following up the implications of his criticisms of the methodologies of previous studies.

¹³³L. Goppelt: Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, ET (A. & C. Black Ltd., London, 1970), p. 4.

¹³⁴p. 4 above.

¹³⁵Kirchenrecht, p. 84.

¹³⁶See his The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries, ET (Williams & Norgate, London, 1910), pp. 190, 236-42, where he defends this view against Sohm's criticisms of it.

¹³⁷For example, R. Bultmann adopts this position in his The Theology of the New Testament (Volume 2), ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1955), pp. 103ff.

¹³⁸See, for example, Schweizer: Church Order, 22b-c (pp.181-83).

¹³⁹H. Greeven: "Propheten, Lehrer, Vorsteher bei Paulus: Zur Frage der »Ämter« im Urchristentum", ZNW 44 (1952-53), pp. 1-43. See also his "Die Geistesgaben bei Paulus", WuD 6 (1959), pp. 111-20.

The return to Sohm's position is stated thus:

' . . . Sohms Behauptung . . . für die Paulus-Gemeinden im Kern zutrifft, wenn er im gottesdienstlichen Vorsitz und in der Vermögensverwaltung, den Grundfunktionen des Bischofantes, lediglich einen »Anwendungsfall« des Lehramtes sieht (wobei »Lehramt« für Sohm Apostolat, Prophetie und Lehre umfasst).' ("Propheten", p. 42).

¹⁴⁰p. 2.

¹⁴¹pp. 37-8.

¹⁴²Greeven's position has been accepted by H. Merklein (Amt pp. 327-30), who goes on to argue, however, that Spirit/charisma implied and produced office (pp. 280-7, 319-31), thus opposing the consensus view.

¹⁴³p. 17 above.

¹⁴⁴Paul, pp. 114-18.

¹⁴⁵See pp. 6-7 above and pp. 40, 42-5, 47-9, 53 below.

¹⁴⁶See pp. 10, 13, 16-17 above.

¹⁴⁷See p. 2 above.

CHAPTER I

SOME CRUCIAL QUESTIONS OF DEFINITION AND METHOD

In the light of our discussion thus far, there are three tasks before us in this Chapter.

(1) We must consider the principal methodological issues raised by the recent challenges to the consensus-view, with a view to developing a sound and appropriate approach to the study of Pauline church order.

(2) We must provide an adequate definition and analysis of the concept of leadership, in order to define and delimit the scope of this investigation.

(3) We must then define and explain the shape and content of the remainder of this study.

We will now take up each of these tasks in turn.

A. DEVELOPING AN APPROPRIATE METHOD

Since one of the principal criticisms levelled at the consensus is that it is defective at the level of its assumptions and methods, an essential prerequisite for any attempt to make further progress in this field of study is the elaboration of a satisfactory method. It is clearly not possible within the confines of this study to provide a detailed discussion of all the criticisms that have been made and their methodological implications. However, it will not be possible to chart a correct course for our own investigation unless we first give sufficient consideration to the central methodological issues at stake in the conflict between the consensus and its challengers. Within the context of this study, this will best be done by means of a critical review of two representative statements of the consensus position. Such a review will not aim to be exhaustive, but will seek to isolate the main methodological problems underlying the argument of the

two works, thus laying a foundation for the development of an alternative approach.

One of the most important statements of the consensus-view is that by von Campenhausen, which has deservedly become a standard work. Its concise and lucid treatment of the subject¹ makes it ideal for our purposes. Although there are obviously many other works which could have been chosen, the second one we will consider is J.D.G. Dunn's Jesus and the Spirit², the relevant sections of which demonstrate a significant degree of dependence on the works of von Campenhausen, Käsemann, and Schweizer³, while presenting the results of detailed original research with great clarity and vigour.

1. Two Test Cases: A Critical Review of von Campenhausen and Dunn:

Our purpose in this section is a specific one: to demonstrate significant methodological defects in the consensus position (as represented by these two scholars), with a view to constructing a sound alternative method. Similarly, the focus of our attention in this section is limited: we are concerned only with those sections of the two works in question which deal with the internal structures and functioning of the Pauline churches, and especially with their patterns of leadership. We are thus not concerned with their treatment of such issues as apostolic authority, and so on.

(a) von Campenhausen:

We begin with the very important statement von Campenhausen makes near the beginning of his Fourth Chapter:

' . . . Paul communicated to the children of his mission his idea of what it meant to live the life of a spirit [sic]--filled community in Christ; and it is from this that all the other details of its internal and external life followed automatically, or at any rate ought to have done so.'⁴

This statement is important both because it has a programmatic function in relation to the content and shape of von Campenhausen's

argument, and also because it clearly exemplifies the "idealistic fallacy" to which Holmberg has drawn attention.

With regard to this latter point, von Campenhausen's assertion involves the assumption that

historical phenomena are . . . directly formed by underlying theological structures'⁵,

and thus implies that those theological structures and ideas are the entire or essential reality.'⁶

For, as it stands, the statement is saying much more than that theological truths are primary and normative for the life of the churches (a proposition that could be defended as an accurate representation of Paul's outlook), for it is asserting the sufficiency of theological truths to create and order the whole of corporate Christian existence--all the details of the churches' life do, or should, follow automatically from Paul's theological understanding of life in the Spirit.

The statement has implications on two levels in this regard. First, it implies that for Paul himself theological ideas were not only necessary and primary, but also sufficient for shaping the life of the churches. His concept of the Spirit and the church ("what it meant to live the life of a Spirit-filled community in Christ") did not simply interpret and evaluate the churches' experiences, but actually preceded and created them--or 'ought to have done so.' With this "ought" von Campenhausen imposes his own idealistic outlook on Paul, suggesting that Paul saw his theological ideas as performing the function of the divine fiat in Gen 1.⁷ Secondly, it implies that Paul's theological concepts are also sufficient for the historian investigating the internal structures of the Pauline churches, for all the details of their internal and external life are able (or, ought to be able) to be inferred directly from Paul's theology of life in the Spirit. It is here that the statement's programmatic function emerges,

for it implies the procedure that von Campenhausen himself then follows. Before we proceed to examine his exposition of Pauline church order, it is worth observing that this equation of theological concept and socio-historical reality leads to a degree of ambivalence throughout von Campenhausen's study. It is not always clear whether we are dealing with theological statements about Paul's understanding or historical statements about the actual structures and working arrangements within the churches.⁸ And since von Campenhausen regards the latter as the product of the former, there is a considerable amount of illegitimate traffic between the two: theological ideas are made to carry sociological freight (in that social realities are characterised solely on the basis of certain theological concepts), and contingent historical facts (concerning patterns of social ordering within the churches) are treated as the basis for normative theological conclusions. We shall discuss this in greater detail below.⁹

Von Campenhausen's exposition falls into two sections, the first¹⁰ dealing with Paul's understanding of the church, of 'what it means to live the life of a Spirit-filled community in Christ', and the second¹¹ considering some of the main 'details of its internal and external life'. The extent to which von Campenhausen's assumptions and handling of the data are unsatisfactory is suggested by the considerable disparity between the views set forth in the first section and the conclusions reached in the second.

The first section advances four central propositions.¹²

The most fundamental is that the Spirit is

the organising principle¹³ of the Christian congregation.¹⁴

According to von Campenhausen,

Paul bases everything on the Spirit,¹⁵

with the result that, for Paul, the church

lives by the Spirit Where the Spirit and love are sovereign it is already 'perfect' in¹⁶ Christ, and in need of absolutely no further organisation.

The second basic contention arises directly from this first one. The sole sufficiency of the Spirit as "organising principle" is expressed and embodied in the multiplicity of gifts which interact to create the life and structure of the churches. For Paul,

the life of the Church is to be¹⁷ found only in the interplay of a variety of spiritual capacities¹⁷, which complement one another, and precisely in this way reveal the fullness and harmony of the Spirit of Christ.¹⁸

The church is thus

a unitary, living cosmos of free, spiritual gifts¹⁹--
apart from the apostle himself, everything in the church

is a matter of 'gifts', and has validity only as a function of the life of the Spirit which has been awakened in the congregation.²⁰

The third proposition is that office and formal authority are incompatible with this Pauline concept of the Spirit and the gifts.

The 'edifying' and formation of the Church is left entirely to the Spirit, . . . who operates freely throughout the Body of Christ, and whose manifold gifts can not be organised in any kind of official system.²¹

So the Pauline church is

a community which knows of no fixed 'offices' or 'constitution',²² no superiority or inferiority of rank, and which quite definitely does not ascribe to those with spiritual gifts, as distinct from the apostle, any sort of personal authority.²³

Finally, the fourth proposition is that in this Pauline conception, the church

is not viewed or understood as a sociological entity.²⁴

This is because it

is not a human, . . . natural entity, but a sheerly miraculous, transcendent phenomenon.²⁵

The consequence of this outlook is that Paul's

picture of the community, understood in terms of human social order, is utopian.²⁶

The second section of von Campenhausen's exposition begins

with an immediate qualification of this latter conclusion²⁷, and then proceeds to reach conclusions that are difficult to reconcile with the position set forth in the first section. These conclusions derive particularly from von Campenhausen's consideration of Phil 1:1, with its reference to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι, and of the place of the "firstfruits" in Paul's churches.

(1) Von Campenhausen recognises that the terms used in Phil 1:1 are

established terms for offices, one might say . . . titles, and acknowledges that

Paul makes no bones about recognising this arrangement, and indeed by the very fact of singling them out for mention gives especial prominence to the persons so described.²⁸

This amounts to a prima facie contradiction of the claim²⁹ that

the apostle Paul developed for the benefit of his congregations a concept of the Church in which, generally speaking, there was no 'office', apart from the quasi-office of his own apostolate Even the regular everyday functions and ministries within the Church are seen as the operation of 'gifts', not of offices and prerogatives, and only as gifts are they known and freely acknowledged by the congregation.³⁰

Von Campenhausen seeks to minimise the force of this contradiction in several ways.

First, he argues that if the terminology of Phil 1:1 is anything more than

merely the reflection of a local idiosyncrasy, we may perhaps say that there a later stage of church development is already emerging.³¹

This concession is actually quite damaging to von Campenhausen's portrayal of Pauline church order, however. In the first place, it implies that the relation between a Pauline church order devoid of office and a later church order that includes offices need not be construed as a qualitative distinction between two antithetical conceptions. Rather, it may be no more than the quantitative distinction between an earlier and a later stage in the development of church

structures. It follows from this, secondly, that a church order devoid of office may not be Pauline as such, but only Pauline to the extent that the evidence stemming from him comes from the early stages in a process of development. This means that the absence of office in any Pauline church cannot be interpreted solely as a consequence of Pauline theology, but that it must be related to such mundane considerations as the size and age of the church in question. The absence of office in the Pauline churches must therefore be seen more as a product of the chronological position of the Pauline correspondence than of the theological position of its author.

Secondly, von Campenhausen qualifies his concession about offices and titles in Phil 1:1 by arguing that the offices concerned are 'entirely non-sacral'³²: there is no question here of

sacral offices on the lines of the later 'hierarchy'.³³

He also insists that these offices are clearly not regarded as belonging to the church's esse:

It would be quite wrong . . . to suggest that in Paul's mind a congregation without a fixed form of 'office' was as yet immature with a purely provisional organisation, and that until it acquired a fully developed constitution it would not have fulfilled its essential nature.³⁴

Both of these claims are clearly correct, yet neither of them successfully resolves the conflict between the concession that Phil 1:1 attests the existence of offices and the assertion that Pauline church order is necessarily devoid of office, for ecclesiastical office is not necessarily sacral in character or constitutive in force.³⁵

Thirdly, von Campenhausen maintains that there is no question of office in the strict sense³⁶ in Phil 1:1, and justifies this by arguing that the authority of the ministries concerned was not official, in that they did not involve force or compulsion, but were forms of service which put the Spirit's

gifts into operation and were recognised as such.³⁷ A number of comments are in order here.

(a) Although von Campenhausen refers several times to office 'in the strict sense',³⁸ or 'in the true sense of the word',³⁹ he nowhere defines what he means by the term. This is doubly unfortunate, first, because he thus fails to provide the kind of precision that is necessary in such an investigation, and secondly, because "Amt" is a term with a long history of involvement in theological controversy, with the result that failure to define the sense in which it is being used means that it tends to function in the argument as much in terms of its connotations as of its denotation.⁴⁰

(b) von Campenhausen's discussions of "Amt" do nevertheless imply a particular understanding of the concept, which may be summarized in the following propositions.

- (i) It is a position with a title and a defined set of duties, which remain constant even when its occupants change.
- (ii) It is entered by formal appointment.
- (iii) Its holders possess formal, legal authority.⁴¹

Clearly, what is involved here is an aspect of the process of institutionalisation, and von Campenhausen's implicit definition of office bears implications both about the degree of institutionalisation that has occurred and also about the form it has taken. With regard to the degree of institutionalisation, the definition of office with which he is working is a "second generation" one, for it presupposes the emergence of stable, defined and authorised positions and roles. Yet, in groups which do not begin life as clearly defined organisations, the "first generation" does not have such positions and roles. Rather, in the first phase of the life of the group, those functions and activities that are essential for the survival and

growth of the group are in the process of being regularised, consolidated and recognised. Only when this process has reached the level of explicit definition, and when those responsible for some established and essential contribution are no longer able to continue functioning, will church members be appointed to a formal position of the kind envisaged in von Campenhausen's understanding of office. Thus, to assert that "office in the strict sense" was absent from the Pauline churches may be to say no more than that the evidence we have about any particular church relates to the "first generation"-stage of its development. In this case, the appropriate question to investigate is not, "Were there offices in Paul's churches?", but, "Are the beginnings of office apparent in Paul's churches?" This immediately raises the other matter implied by von Campenhausen's view of office: the kind of institutionalisation that occurs. Is office necessarily legal or sacral? Can it emerge in a form compatible with Paul's theology of the Spirit?

(c) As we have seen above, von Campenhausen grounds his exclusion of office from the Pauline churches on the fact that ministry was perceived as a product of the Spirit's gifts. Yet he is willing to concede that

there is no need to assume that office as such, even if it is of natural origin and thus by definition cannot be termed 'spiritual' in the sense of being a direct divine endowment, must therefore be set in diametric opposition to the Spirit. . . . The only relevant consideration is the way in which it is thought of in practice and explained in principle. It is not unspiritual just so long as it remains obedient to the Spirit of Christ, and performs that service of the Gospel of Christ for which it was appointed. Only when this original evangelical relation is inverted, and the authority of the official as such is made absolute, is the⁴² primitive Christian concept of the Church abandoned. . . .

Thus, 'office as such' is not incompatible with the rule of the Spirit--but why is von Campenhausen prepared to allow this for the generation after Paul⁴³, but not for Paul himself? What grounds are there for thinking that Paul regarded office as being unable to

obey the Spirit of Christ or to serve the Gospel of Christ? Moreover, as the statement just quoted implies the possibility of a situation in which 'the authority of the official' is not absolute, but is nevertheless real and yet not outside the sphere where the Gospel and the Spirit rule, is there any remaining basis for von Campenhausen's insistence that for Paul there is an

exclusion on principle of all formal authority within the individual congregation⁴⁴?

(2) The discussion of the role of the "firstfruits" in Paul's churches also leads to conclusions that are difficult to reconcile with the position expounded in the first half of the chapter we are considering. Von Campenhausen argues that

nothing is more natural than that those who were the first converts at the foundation of a missionary congregation should be held in special respect by those who joined at a later stage, and should occupy a position of trust in the community. . . . They may have made their houses available for the missionary and for the meetings of the congregation, and have carried a large share of the burdens connected with these aspects of church life.⁴⁵

This is clearly a most plausible view; yet it cannot easily be reconciled with the claim that

the regular everyday functions and ministries within the Church are seen as the operation of 'gifts', , , , and only as gifts are they known and freely acknowledged by the congregation.⁴⁶

For the ministry of the "firstfruits", as von Campenhausen himself describes it, derives from such factors as their length of Christian experience, and their possession of the necessary resources of property and finance; and while it may also have involved 'the employment of a gift which the Spirit bestows' (as von Campenhausen goes on to insist⁴⁷), it was clearly not the product of such a gift alone.

There is some uncertainty at this point, however, as von Campenhausen also fails to provide any explicit definition of the concept of "gift". Perhaps all resources, experiences, and abilities used in the service of the church are to be seen as gifts--in which

case the insistence that, for Paul, 'everything . . . is a matter of "gifts"',⁴⁸ becomes tautologous: everything is a matter of gifts because everything used in and for the church is defined as a gift!

Two comments should be made about this. First, it is clear that von Campenhausen believes that his statements about gifts and ministry are not mere tautologies, for he treats them as the basis on which certain possible interpretations may be excluded. It is because all functions and ministries in the Pauline churches (with the exception of the apostle's own ministry) are the product of the Spirit's gifts that those who minister cannot have any personal authority⁴⁹, and their ministries cannot be defined in official or legal terms.⁵⁰ There must therefore be a particular definition of "gift", not compatible with any and every state-of-affairs, underlying his exposition. What that definition is can only be inferred from various statements he makes--which leads to our next comment.

Secondly, the implicit concept of "gift" with which von Campenhausen works is that of 'a direct divine endowment',⁵¹ as may be seen most clearly in two statements in particular. In his discussion of the ministries of the prophet and the teacher, he states that both are

made possible by a special spiritual endowment. . . .⁵²

This endowment is "spiritual" in that it is conferred by the Spirit, and von Campenhausen believes that, for Paul, the Spirit and the spiritual are set over against what is human or natural. What is

of natural origin . . . by definition cannot be termed 'spiritual'. . . .⁵³,

with the result that Paul, for whom the Spirit creates and rules the church, believes that

the Church is not a human, . . . , natural entity, but a sheerly miraculous, transcendent phenomenon.⁵⁴

Against the background of such an understanding of "gifts",

the claim that 'everything . . . is a matter of "gifts"' is a direct contradiction of the portrayal of the basis and content of the ministry of the "firstfruits". Moreover, this portrayal of their ministry is also a contradiction of the corresponding claim that

it never occurs to him [sc., Paul] to call upon the facts of the natural order to supply the framework for the community. Paul bases everything on the Spirit.⁵⁵

For while the ministry of the Spirit is primary and indispensable, the churches did not live by the Spirit alone. They lived by the Spirit and in the world--a world in which some people own houses and have resources, abilities and experiences which they put to use in the service of the church. A Paul who based everything on the Spirit would have to be an arm-chair theorist, content to devise a theological schema in isolation from the day-by-day realities of his churches' lives--and that is not the Paul we meet in the epistles!

(b) Dunn:

Before we proceed to assess the methodological implications of the difficulties we have uncovered in von Campenhausen's exposition, we will examine some of the more salient features of Dunn's treatment of the relevant Pauline material. Although making a significant contribution of its own, Dunn's study stands in recognisable continuity with von Campenhausen's interpretation of Paul.

Like von Campenhausen, Dunn insists that "office" is incompatible with the Pauline conception of church and ministry; and like von Campenhausen, his various assertions on this subject are not easy to harmonise. He begins his discussion of "The Exercise of Authority in the Community"⁵⁶ by referring to the long-standing debate about the relation between Spirit/charisma and office, and says that most scholars

have recognised that charisma and office could not . . . readily be set in antithesis in historical and exegetical analysis. On the contrary, such analysis led to the conclusion that charisma implied office, that office expressed charisma.⁵⁷

However, only twenty pages later he maintains that

the word 'office' is best avoided completely in any description of the Pauline concept of ministry⁵⁸,

a conclusion that Dunn bases on the charismatic character of ministry in the Pauline churches.⁵⁹ Apparently it is only in the case of Paul that charisma and office do have to be "set in antithesis"; only in the Pauline churches that charisma does not imply office or office express charisma! However, just before claiming that "office" should be avoided completely when discussing ministry in the Pauline churches, Dunn concedes that the roles of apostles and teachers do begin to fall within the definition of office.⁶⁰ He had previously stated that the teacher's role

had more the character of 'office' than any other of the regular ministries⁶¹,

but nevertheless denies that "office" is an appropriate categorisation of the teacher's position on the grounds that teaching included charismatic teaching.⁶²

So, again, it seems that where Paul is concerned charisma and office are 'set in antithesis'--even though something clearly akin to office was to be found in a thoroughly charismatic setting!

The evident signs of confusion in Dunn's argument revolve around the two fundamental concepts of "charisma" and "office". Whether charisma and office are compatible or antithetical clearly depends on how those terms are defined, and the understanding of each with which Dunn operates is obviously the basis of his insistence that, in the case of Paul at least, the two are mutually exclusive. However, it is clear that Dunn does not regard this matter as simply one of definition, for he believes that the incompatibility of the two concepts can be demonstrated by examining Paul's references to the regular ministries in his churches. Yet here too we encounter problems very similar to those that became evident in our consideration

of von Campenhausen's argument.

Three examples must suffice. (1) With reference to

1 Th 5:12-13, Dunn maintains that

to assume that this group was a small one, that these were all fairly well defined functions, and that they had to be appointed to the 'offices' in question before they could exercise them, goes far beyond the text⁶³,

and claims instead that the text refers to

the ones who were most active in the life of the Christian community, who undertook their service at the instigation of the Spirit and whose only authority was that of some particular charisma(ta) manifested in a regular ministry.⁶⁴

(2) With reference to 1 Cor 16:15-18, Dunn claims that Stephanas

and his colleagues had 'a manifestly charismatic authority',⁶⁵ so

that, ἐπιγινώσκετε τοὺς τοιοῦτοὺς means,

Recognize the charismatic function and authority of which they have already given so much evidence.⁶⁶

He thus concludes that the passage enshrines the following principle:

Wherever some particular charisma of service was manifested through the same individuals in a regular way the community should recognise that here were men (and women) whose lead should be followed in these areas of service.⁶⁷

Before considering the third example, we should note two problems evident in Dunn's interpretation of the two preceding passages. In the first place, like the interpretation of 1 Th 5:12ff he rejects, his own interpretations of both passages go 'far beyond the text'. He does not offer a careful inductive study of each passage in its literary and historical context. Rather a particular concept of charismatic ministry, derived principally from 1 Cor 12 and expounded in his previous chapter, is overlaid on both passages, with the result that he sets constraints on their meaning that seem rather contrived. Statements and exhortations which appear to be quite general in character are given very specific, delimited meanings.

Secondly, Dunn's interpretation of the two passages shows that he believes that the character of certain sociological processes

can be inferred directly from theological concepts. So the way authority was exercised and recognised in Paul's churches is deduced from the concept of charismatic ministry. Two questions are raised by this procedure and the specific conclusions to which it leads here.

- (a) Is it in fact the case that, in a social group without clearly defined and formalised structures (the churches in Thessalonica and Corinth), the authority of those who regularly render some important service to the group is confined to the actual exercise of their function?--or does the person who regularly provides some recognisable and necessary service to the group come to have a de facto authority and precedence in the group's life in general? It is not immediately obvious that Paul's teaching about charismata had the intention of limiting the social ordering process to the former alternative, or that it could have succeeded in doing so if that had been its intention.
- (b) Does Paul's discussion of charisma permit the specific conclusions that Dunn derives from it? While it is neither possible nor necessary to provide a detailed examination and critique of Dunn's interpretation of the charisma-concept here, some comments about certain crucial aspects of his discussion will help to clarify the methodological problems we are seeking to explore.

His examination of the evidence concerning the churches in Corinth, Rome, and Thessalonica⁶⁸ leads him to the conclusion that

Paul's theory of a Christian community bonded together into a developing unity by the diversity of charismata did not translate very well into practice. . . . Charismata which were intended for the building up of the community seemed rather to be destroying it. . . .⁶⁹

This raises the obvious objection that anything

which threatens the community . . . is ipso facto not a charisma. . . .⁷⁰

Dunn replies that, although this is logically correct, it overlooks the practical difficulty of knowing

when an inspired utterance or action was a charisma and when not.⁷¹

It means, therefore, that charismata were posing serious problems for Paul and his churches, and so may not have been charismata! The confusion here stems from Dunn's use of "charisma" both as a descriptive term, denoting pneumatic phenomena⁷², and as an evaluative term, denoting those inspired utterances and actions that do in fact manifest God's grace by building up the church. This confusion stems in its turn from Dunn's non-contextual handling of 1 Cor 12 in particular. He tends to treat this material in a rather flat manner, as a fairly straightforward account of Paul's own theological views, and pays insufficient attention to the situation Paul is addressing in this section and to its consequent paraenetic and polemical thrust.⁷³ This is most evident in the way he treats χαρίσματα and πνευματικά as equivalent terms, with the result that 1 Cor 12-14 is seen to be an exposition of the place of χαρίσματα = πνευματικά in the church.⁷⁴ But, as we shall argue in Chapter III⁷⁵, πνευματικά is a Corinthian term, denoting a phenomenologically distinct class of utterances and activities, while χάρισμα is an "Interpretament"⁷⁶, a

paränetischer Terminus, der die in der korinthischen Gemeinde auftretenden Geisteswirkungen als Gaben, als freie Geschenke Gottes interpretiert.⁷⁷

This means that it was pneumatic phenomena (as the Corinthians understood them) that were proving destructive of community; while charismata are community-building contributions, of whatever kind.⁷⁸

These very brief comments must suffice until we give detailed consideration to 1 Cor and the issues it raises in Chapter III.

(3) The final example we shall consider of Dunn's interpretation of passages referring to regular ministries in the Pauline churches concerns Phil 1:1. Again, as was the case with von Campenhausen's treatment of this verse, the various concessions and qualifications

Dunn introduces in his discussion tend to undermine the position he has adopted concerning the non-official character of ministry in the Pauline churches.

He recognises that the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι must have been distinct groups within the church exercising 'fairly clearly recognised functions' which elsewhere are mentioned only as loosely-defined kinds of service, and recognises also that the ἐπίσκοποι must have had some leadership role.⁷⁹ Yet he insists that we

certainly cannot assume . . . that already in Philippi these ministries were offices to be filled by appointment and ordination. . . . The pattern of charisma and ministry in other churches which Paul established suggests rather that these were charismatic ministries which the individuals concerned had taken upon themselves and whose role as regular ministries was recognised by the church in Philippi. . . .⁸⁰

There are three difficulties with this position. In the first place, 'the pattern of charisma and ministry in other churches' has (as we noted above) been derived from 1 Cor 12 in particular, and read into the evidence concerning regular ministries in the churches. There is nothing in any of the three passages we have taken as examples to require (or even to invite) interpretation along the lines of "charismatic ministries" in Dunn's sense.⁸¹

The second difficulty with this interpretation of Phil 1:1 is its failure to give adequate consideration to the fact of the developmental process whose existence is conceded in passing. Dunn views the ministries of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι as more clearly defined and stable versions of ministries that, in earlier evidence⁸², are referred to in less precise ways. He also acknowledges that

with the passing of the years regular ministries known as overseers and deacons emerged at Philippi, and as the founding era of apostles and prophets began to wane, more established functionaries appeared in the churches of Asia Minor (evangelists, pastors and teachers).⁸³

In this way he recognises that the very fact of the increasing age of

the churches ('with the passing of the years') has a significant impact on the way they are structured and on the shape of the ministries exercised and recognised within them. But is this not tantamount to conceding that, with the passage of time, necessary services regularly provided crystallise into office, by becoming clearly defined roles that are explicitly recognised? If so, is not the distinction between the informal contribution of those referred to in passages like 1 Th 5:12-13 and 1 Cor 16:15-18 and office simply the difference between the earlier and later stages of the churches' development? Obviously the answer to these questions depends on how "office" is defined. For Dunn, both questions must be answered in the negative, on the grounds that there is a fundamental qualitative distinction between charismatic ministry and office. It is here that we encounter the next difficulty to which we must draw attention.

Thirdly, Dunn's definition of the distinction between office and charismatic ministry is problematical. He argues that

. . . 'offices' signify positions where certain privileges and authority are reserved for an appointed few, positions with well defined responsibilities which the 'officials' can only begin to exercise on appointment; whereas in the charismatic community all may be prompted by the Spirit to exercise any ministry, and the recognition by the community of regular ministries is precisely a recognition of authority already manifested in each charismatic act of service.⁸⁴

This distinction is defective in two principal ways. First, the claim that office differs from charismatic ministry in that the latter is open to all while office concerns 'an appointed few' is invalid. It is simply not the case that 'all may be prompted by the Spirit to exercise any ministry', as Dunn himself implicitly concedes. His definition of the teacher's ministry⁸⁵ clearly involves the recognition that only some were able to perform it. Likewise, not all church members were in a position to host the church meetings in their homes, or to provide hospitality for

travelling Christians, or to travel on the church's behalf, and so on. Some necessary ministries can only be performed by those with the requisite wealth, property, education, social position, etc. Therefore some of the ministries on which the churches relied, and which would seem likely to have placed those who exercised them in a position of leadership, were open to only some of the believers.

Secondly, although Dunn represents the distinction between office and charismatic ministry as one of kind, his own definition of the distinction shows that it is primarily a distinction between earlier and later stages of the churches' development. His definition of "office" clearly concerns a "second generation" situation, in which necessary functions have crystallised into leadership roles by being regularly exercised and explicitly recognised. Likewise, his definition of charismatic ministry is essentially a "first generation" definition, referring to that period in the churches' development when the process of role-differentiation was still incomplete, when function had not yet created position. Although this matter will be discussed in more detail below⁸⁶, it can be said at this stage that function (or ministry) will normally create position: the regular exercise of a recognisable ministry that is important for the church's survival and growth will evoke increasingly explicit recognition, with the result that a clearly defined role or position emerges. This means that office may well come to characterise the second phase in the development of an informal group, even one in which ministry is acknowledged to have an essential charismatic dimension.

The fundamental problem underlying these difficulties with Dunn's assertions about office is that he attempts to arrive at a definitive understanding of certain sociological realities by way of an analysis of theological concepts. He appears to assume that the

precise content and character of the processes of social ordering in the Pauline churches may be inferred directly from certain theological ideas. Here we meet the "idealistic fallacy" again.⁸⁷

Although it would be possible to demonstrate other problems in Dunn's argument, the preceding discussion has been sufficient to identify some significant difficulties with his portrayal of the regular ministries in Paul's churches, and thus to indicate the key methodological issues that must be addressed.

(c) The principal methodological issues:

As was indicated at the beginning of this section, our critical review of the position of von Campenhausen and Dunn is a means to an end. Its purpose is to permit us to assess the validity of the criticisms that have been levelled at the presuppositions and methods characteristic of the consensus-view, and on this basis to elaborate an alternative and more satisfactory method of study. What conclusions, then, may we draw from the preceding review of the positions of von Campenhausen and Dunn? In particular, what are the principal methodological issues at stake?

Perhaps the most obvious result of our discussion is to demonstrate the validity of Holmberg's charge that the consensus is defective because, at critical points, it is based on the "idealistic fallacy", assuming that

historical phenomena are . . . directly formed by underlying theological structures.⁸⁸

This has become evident at a number of points in our analysis of the arguments of von Campenhausen and Dunn. We may summarise the ways the fallacy is reflected in their arguments as follows.

(1) The influence of various sociological factors on the shape and character of the churches' life is acknowledged in passing, but there is no systematic consideration of its implications. This

is a consequence of the presupposition that analysis of Paul's theological understanding is a sufficient basis for determining the internal structures and functioning of the churches.⁸⁹ We have already considered this point above, but it is sufficiently important to warrant further attention at this juncture. Von Campenhausen's exposition illustrates this failure clearly. He declares that the generation after Paul

were unable to maintain [his] position. The increasing remoteness of the Church's beginnings, the emergence of heretical deviations, the growth in numbers, and to some extent also the flagging zeal in the congregations made it essential in time to develop everywhere a responsible cadre of leaders, and ultimately to arrange for the formal appointment of authorised officials.⁹⁰

The emergence of office is here conceded to have been a historical necessity, prompted by such factors as the growing size and increasing age of the churches. As each church grew numerically larger,

the number of persons actively participating becomes smaller, and the group of 'leading' helpers and ministers consequently stands out more clearly from the crowd.⁹¹

Also, as the churches grow older certain ministries become stabilised and are more clearly defined:

Normally, . . . those whose gifts had put them in a position of trust will have received their ministry on a permanent basis, or at any rate for a fairly long time. . . . Particular concrete arrangements and ministries . . . become a continuing feature of community life. . . .⁹²

These quotations acknowledge the influence of the processes of role-differentiation and institutionalisation on the shape of the churches' life. But von Campenhausen presupposes throughout that (as far as the Pauline churches were concerned) the degree of role-differentiation and institutionalisation necessary for the existence of office emerged only after Paul's death⁹³--despite Phil 1:1! This involves him in the curious contradiction of maintaining both that office emerged after Paul as a result of natural social processes and historical factors, and that office was excluded by Paul on

theological grounds. In the first generation (Paul's), theological concepts dictated the shape of the churches' life; in the next generation social and historical factors were dominant. We are thus persuaded to picture Paul as an ecclesiological Canute, succeeding in holding back the tides of institutionalisation by the sheer power of his theological fiat; after his removal from the scene, however, natural forces quickly reasserted themselves! Yet in such passages as those just quoted, von Campenhausen appears to concede that the difference between the Pauline and post-Pauline situations was merely one of degree, for the pressures which he regards as responsible for the emergence of office--increasing age (with the declining zeal which accompanied it), increasing size, and heretical deviations--were clearly present before Paul's death. Such a concession involves the tacit admission that the social processes concerned (especially those of role-differentiation and institutionalisation) were operative from the beginning.⁹⁴ Yet the dominant note in von Campenhausen's argument is the insistence that office was incompatible with Paul's theology of Spirit, church and ministry, and therefore lacking in his churches.⁹⁵ This implies a Paul who believed that the earliest stages in these social processes were the only legitimate stages, and who therefore believed that these processes could and should be prevented from advancing beyond a fairly elementary level. It also means that Paul's churches are regarded as different in kind, and not just in degree, from other churches of the period.⁹⁶ It was not just that Paul's churches were less definitely organised than others, but that they exhibited a fundamentally different approach to order, one in which everything was based on the Spirit.⁹⁷

The difficulties created by this failure to give due consideration to the sociological dimensions of the subject are seen with particular clarity in two areas.

(i) As we have seen, von Campenhausen regards Paul's theological understanding of church and ministry as rather utopian.⁹⁸ This is attributed to Paul's 'radical theological approach',⁹⁹ which meant that

the theological meaning of this charismatic constitution of the Church is more clearly worked out than its sociological consequences¹⁰⁰;

indeed, it even meant that

the community is not viewed or understood as a sociological entity. . . .¹⁰¹

Paul is thus portrayed as an "ecclesiological docetic"¹⁰², unwilling or unable to admit the reality of the churches' historical existence. However, it is rather difficult to reconcile this Paul with the Paul who is shown by his letters to have been not an armchair theologian, but a pastoral leader deeply involved in and concerned about the concrete, day-by-day realities of his churches' life.

Our discussion so far leads us to the conclusion that the problem lies not with Paul, but with von Campenhausen and the "methodological docetism" which (as we have seen) is implicit in his initial, programmatic statement¹⁰³ and embodied in his handling of the Pauline material.¹⁰⁴ The utopian Paul portrayed by von Campenhausen is not so much the result of a study of the epistles as the entailment of the a priori assumption from which von Campenhausen proceeds: namely, the proposition that all the details of the churches' life followed automatically from Paul's theology. To attribute this view to Paul himself already casts him as an ecclesiological docetic, insensitive to the social realities with which his theological concepts were interacting. To accept the validity of the proposition also immediately implies the "methodological docetism" which von Campenhausen then goes on to display in his reconstruction of Pauline church order.

(ii) The primarily, almost exclusively, theological approach adopted by von Campenhausen means that, since the sociological dimension of church order is in fact inescapable, theological ideas are pressed into service to yield specific sociological conclusions. This is most apparent in the discussion of "office" and "authority". The alleged exclusion of office on principle and its absence in fact are connected with a particular view of authority that is believed to follow from Paul's theology. So von Campenhausen claims that, for Paul and his churches, there is an authority attaching to ministry, but it is neither personal nor official. As for Paul himself, his view of Christian community entails

the exclusion on principle of all formal authority within the individual congregation.¹⁰⁵

Indeed,

Paul will not tolerate any sense of official authority.¹⁰⁶

This also holds for the churches, which do not

ascribe to those with spiritual gifts . . . any sort of personal authority. . . .¹⁰⁷

The churches' recognition of an individual's gifts

establishes no automatic personal authority. . . .¹⁰⁸

It should be noted that these assertions about authority are presented both as necessary implications of Paul's theology and also as valid descriptions of the attitudes and behaviour of the members of Paul's churches. Here we see again the fundamental underlying assumption that Paul's ideas automatically create the details of the churches' life.¹⁰⁹ In this instance, this assumption leads to specific conclusions of a sociological kind (concerning interpersonal relationships within the churches) being derived, not from examination of the evidence relating to the actual functioning of the churches, but from certain Pauline theological concepts.

The same problem is apparent in Käsemann's much quoted

dictum:

. . . as charisma is only manifested as genuine in the act of ministry, so only he who ministers can have authority and that only in the actual exercise of his ministry.¹¹⁰

This is asserting that authority attaches to the ministering word or deed, to the "event" of ministry, and not to the one who ministers as such.¹¹¹ The way this proposition functions in the argument shows that it is regarded as both an indication of what Paul believed should be the case and a description of what actually was the case in his churches. Yet it needs to be challenged in both respects.

In the first place, it is doubtful whether the proposition is a valid inference from Paul's teaching, and therefore an accurate representation of what he believed should be the case. His own authority is derived from his commissioning by the Lord, and is an authority for ministry, not just the authority of ministry (see 2 Cor 10:8, 13:10). Moreover, he exhorts the members of his churches to submit to those who labour among them (see 1 Cor 16:15-18), and it is surely rather artificial to regard this as involving no more than an ever-repeated submission to recurring acts of ministry.¹¹² Rather, he expects certain attitudes and behaviour towards those who minister, suggesting that, although they have authority because of their ministry, their authority in the life of the church is not limited only to the "event" of ministry.

Secondly, and more germane to our concern in this section, it is doubtful whether Käsemann's dictum can be accepted as a valid description of the inner workings of Paul's churches. Doesn't the possession of authority in a particular group involve not just what the individual concerned says or does, but also the way others perceive and respond to his words and deeds? I have authority in my ministry in a particular group, not just because I minister, but because my ministry is recognised as valid and important, when my

influence on the life of the group is effective and acknowledged as legitimate.¹¹³ And won't the regular contribution of authoritative words and deeds by a particular individual create expectations on the part of the other group members, making them ready to follow his lead? Doesn't this mean that "he who ministers", when his ministry is continuing and effective, comes to have an authority in the group that is not tied exclusively to the actual moments in which he is speaking or acting in and for the group--so that he has authority because of his ministry, but not 'only in the actual exercise of his ministry'? Isn't he then in a "position of authority"? That is to say, does authority always remain specific, attaching to particular acts of ministry, or does it become diffuse, attaching to the speaker or actor? Surely regularity of ministry will lead to reinforcement of the group's expectations about, and recognition of, the one who ministers, so that ministry, authority, person, and position come to be bound up together.

Of course, suggesting all this is not the same as demonstrating that it is true, but it does serve to question the validity of an approach which purports to determine the character of social ordering in Paul's churches solely by means of an analysis of theological concepts.¹¹⁴ In the ways we have just considered both von Camperhausen and Käsemann adopt a one-dimensional approach to a two-dimensional task. However, the exercise of authority in the Pauline churches can surely not be reconstructed by the use of an exclusively deductive, theological approach, for this is another area in which due recognition must be given to the 'interdependence and dialectical development of theology and social structure'¹¹⁵

We have briefly considered some of the more obvious ways in which the "idealistic fallacy" is exhibited in the failure to give systematic consideration to the necessary sociological

dimension of the subject under investigation. For the sake of clarity and brevity, we have concentrated throughout on von Campenhausen's study, but similar failings could also be demonstrated in Dunn's argument.¹¹⁶ We must now turn to consider the second principal respect in which this fallacy is reflected in the two works.

(2) The assumption that

historical phenomena . . . directly formed by underlying theological structures¹¹⁷

is also reflected in the way that both authors approach the task of reconstructing Pauline church order. As Brockhaus observes¹¹⁸, two separate tasks are confused here: the study of Paul's theological concepts (in particular, the notion of *χάρισμα*) is not distinguished clearly enough from the study of data concerning "Gemeindefunktionen". The failure to distinguish the two tasks adequately, and to give each of them its rightful place, means that neither is handled satisfactorily.

(i) The data concerning particular structures and patterns of ministry in individual churches are in general not approached inductively, with a view to determining whether any general principles or patterns emerge; on the contrary, they tend to be viewed through the lens of a predetermined theological schema which defines in advance the way the data are to be interpreted. This tendency is particularly evident in Dunn's study, both in the way it is structured and in its treatment of specific passages.

It is important to note the context in which Dunn's examination of passages referring to regular ministries in Paul's churches¹¹⁹ is set. At the beginning of the chapter concerned¹²⁰, Dunn refers to the investigation of 'Paul's understanding of religious experience in terms of Spirit and grace'¹²¹ in the previous chapter, stating that it enabled us to see

something of the essence of charismatic experience and something of its diversity for Paul.¹²²

The preceding chapter is also said to have demonstrated how closely Paul connected charisma and community.¹²³ This leads Dunn to ask the question,

Do the Pauline congregations demonstrate that charisma and community can integrate?¹²⁴ --

that is, does "charismatic community" denote

the living reality of the Pauline churches, or . . . an impractical ideal of Paul's?¹²⁵

Examination of the evidence shows, Dunn concludes, that

Paul's theory of a Christian community bonded together into a developing unity by the diversity of charismata did not translate very well into practice.¹²⁶

The problem lay with the disruptive impact of the charismata¹²⁷, and this raises the question of the authority to evaluate and control them: who had this authority? Investigation of the regular ministries in the Pauline churches is undertaken in this context. This means that before the relevant passages have been examined, with a view to determining the nature, basis and scope of the ministries to which they refer, a detailed theory of ministry and community has already been elaborated, thus clearly creating the danger that these passages will not be allowed to speak on their own terms, but will be interpreted so as to conform to the theory. Both the general conclusions reached in this section¹²⁸ and the interpretations of particular passages offered suggest that this danger has not been avoided. Dunn concludes that, while

Paul recognizes the importance of regular ministries within the charismatic community¹²⁹,

most of the evidence we have shows that initially

there were no specific and well defined ministries apart from those of prophet and teacher¹³⁰,

but that there was

a whole range of activities and services which overlapped and which could not be clearly distinguished.¹³¹

These services were open to all,

for they were essentially charismatic ministries, that is activities for which no further qualification was needed than obedience to the inspiration of the Spirit.¹³²

We have already had occasion to challenge the validity of this latter claim¹³³, and to question the interpretations Dunn offers of 1 Th 5:12-13 and 1 Cor 16:15-18 (both of which are dealt with in the section concerned), suggesting that his interpretations are neither convincing as exegesis nor realistic as descriptions of the way social groups function.¹³⁴ We have also noted the way he attempts to conform the implications of Phil 1:1 to

the pattern of charisma and ministry in the other churches Paul established¹³⁵,

a pattern which has been read into the evidence rather than discovered in it.¹³⁶ In all three cases the main thrust of Dunn's discussion is the attempt to demonstrate that the passages are consistent with the theory of charismatic ministry which was spelt out in the preceding chapter. His method is thus essentially deductive rather than inductive.¹³⁷

All of this raises the question of the validity of the theological schema involved, and this leads us to consider the second aspect of the reconstruction of Pauline church order we find in these two studies. In what way do they determine Paul's understanding of church and ministry?

(ii) Paul's theology of Spirit/charisma, ministry, and community is derived primarily from 1 Cor 12¹³⁸, and again this is seen most clearly in Dunn's exposition.¹³⁹ He begins his study of Paul¹⁴⁰ by investigating 'his understanding of the charismatic Spirit'¹⁴¹, and says that this will mean giving detailed attention to 'his more comprehensive treatment of charismatic phenomena within the Christian community',¹⁴²

which means

making particular but by no means exclusive use of his
lists of charismata/pneumatika in Rom.12.6-8 and 1 Cor.
12.8-10.¹⁴³

The investigation then proceeds using a taxonomy of the charismata derived from 1 Cor 12:4-10.¹⁴⁴ There are two major problems with this approach.

(a) The first concerns the way 1 Cor 12 is interpreted.¹⁴⁵ Although Dunn gives some recognition to the fact that Paul is responding in this passage to the views and practices of the self-styled Corinthian πνευματικοί¹⁴⁶, it is nevertheless treated as a fairly straightforward statement of Paul's own position, rather than as a paraenetic (and even, at some points, polemical) interaction with a one-sided Corinthian position. Interpretation of the material without sufficient regard to this contextually-determined Tendenz results in a one-sided portrayal of Paul and his viewpoint, because his views are assimilated to those he is seeking to correct.¹⁴⁷ Thus, the definition of χάρισμα that Dunn arrives at would in many respects serve as a definition of the πνευματικὰ so prized by the Corinthians.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, as we have already suggested¹⁴⁹, his approach results in χάρισμα being misconstrued as a descriptive term more or less synonymous with πνευματικόν, when it is better seen as a paraenetic term.

These are obviously crucial issues, and it is clear that such a cursory discussion does no more than raise them. However, it is not appropriate to provide the detailed examination of the passage that is necessary until later in this study.¹⁵⁰

(b) The second problem may be seen as a consequence of the first. 1 Cor 12 is the principal source from which a quite detailed view of charismatic ministry and charismatic community is derived, but there is a marked ambivalence throughout the discussion as to the status of these theological concepts.

On the one hand, they are regarded as descriptive of the actual structures and functioning of the churches. Hence Dunn's reference to the 'pattern of charisma and ministry in the . . . churches Paul established'¹⁵¹: the ideas elaborated in Chapter VIII are the content of the churches' life in Chapter IX. Implicit in this view is the assumption that there was a uniform or standard pattern in the Pauline churches. This assumption becomes quite explicit in von Campenhausen's discussion, for he maintains that, although the Pauline churches

undoubtedly exhibited local variations . . . the general outlines of their life and organisation were determined by Paul himself, and the basic ideas to which he gives expression, and on which we are dependent, are the same in every case.¹⁵²

This is asserted rather than demonstrated, and (as our discussion above suggested¹⁵³) attempts to demonstrate a uniform pattern in the organisation of Paul's churches do not adopt an inductive approach, but tend to interpret the evidence in conformity with a predetermined pattern.

On the other hand, these theological concepts are treated as a vision or an ideal. So, after sketching Paul's concept of "charismatic community"¹⁵⁴, Dunn begins his next section with the words, 'So much for the theory, what about the practice?',¹⁵⁵ He had previously indicated that the investigation was to consider whether "charismatic community" was 'the living reality of the Pauline churches, or . . . an impractical ideal of Paul's. . . .',¹⁵⁶ The implication is that Paul's theological understanding may well have been developed prior to and independently of the actual life of his churches, and then injected into the concrete social reality of their existence with a view to creating a particular kind of order and community. So throughout his exposition Dunn refers to this theological schema as a "vision", "ideal", or "theory".¹⁵⁷

His investigation leads him to the conclusion that

Paul's theory of Christian community bonded together into a developing unity through the diversity of charismata did not translate very well into practice.¹⁵⁸

As a result, Dunn is very hesitant about affirming that this vision ever became a reality:

Whether his vision was ever realized for any period of time we cannot tell.¹⁵⁹

He is also forced to conclude that Paul's vision failed to outlive him¹⁶⁰, a fact which may stem from its being 'unworkable in practice'.¹⁶¹

The net result of all this is that we are presented with a theological understanding which Paul developed without reference to the actual realities of functions and needs within the churches, and which he persisted with in the face of its evident unworkability!

Ever more surprising is Dunn's final summing-up:

Perhaps the biggest challenge to twentieth-century Christianity is to take the Pauline exposition seriously. . . .¹⁶²

It is rather difficult to take seriously a view which, we are told, proved incapable of lasting more than a generation, may well have been unworkable in practice, and perhaps was never realised in Paul's own lifetime!

The problem with this is not just what it implies about Paul's lack of engagement with reality, but that Dunn has previously insisted that Paul's theology is 'the expression of his experience',¹⁶³ so that his concept of "charismatic community" is describing and interpreting the experience of community.¹⁶⁴ It is very difficult to see how his theological understanding could have been both an expression of corporate religious experience and an unworkable ideal which may never have been realised in practice!

This confusion about the status of Paul's theology of church and ministry is, in part at least, a consequence of the attempt to interpret the paraenetic exposition in 1 Cor 12 as a straightforward

statement of Paul's theological position.¹⁶⁵ This results in words (χάρισμα) and concepts (the body metaphor) introduced by Paul in order to evaluate or modify what is happening in the Corinthian church being viewed as providing, either actually or potentially, a comprehensive description of the Corinthians' corporate experience. This is clearly related to the assumption that theological ideas are 'the entire or essential reality',¹⁶⁶ that 'the determining factors of the historical process are ideas and nothing else',¹⁶⁷--which brings us back to the "idealistic fallacy" and thus to our starting-point.

(d) Conclusion:

The preceding discussion has sought to analyse the ways in which this fallacy is reflected in the arguments of von Campenhausen and Dunn. It has involved extending our critical review of these arguments beyond the initial criticisms offered earlier in this section, and on the basis of this analysis as a whole we are now in a position to identify the principal methodological faults that need to be dealt with in the development of a more adequate method of interpreting the data. Although (as we have seen) there are many different aspects to these problems, so that the methodological defects may be stated in a variety of ways, perhaps the simplest and most convenient way of summarising them is as follows:

(1) The approach we have been considering is more deductive than inductive. Rather than examining each piece of relevant evidence for the structures and functioning of Paul's churches on its own terms, to determine whether any general pattern or principles emerge, there is a marked tendency to interpret the evidence in the light of a predetermined general concept.¹⁶⁸

(2) This means that the question of development in the working arrangements of the churches is either by-passed or mishandled.¹⁶⁹

The tendency is to assume a standard pattern that was not only embodied in all the churches, but that was also unvarying throughout the Pauline period. The impact of the process of institutionalisation is thus given insufficient attention.

(3) The fundamental problem, to which the preceding two are related, is that these studies adopt a one-dimensional approach to a two-dimensional reality.¹⁷⁰ Ministry and order in the churches cannot be understood solely in terms of the theological concepts which interpret them; they must also be understood in terms of the social processes they reflect. An exclusively theological approach means (as C.S. Hill, anticipating Holmberg's conclusions, observed) that

the church of the New Testament tends to take on an air of unhistorical reality. The "community" becomes a "concept" or an "idea" instead of a social-group composed of men and women sharing a body of culture and social symbols through which they recognise themselves as possessing a common identity . . . the members of the primitive church were not only the products of a theological idea. . . . They were also products of their time, i.e., of the social as well as the religious forces of contemporary society. Thus any adequate concept of the church must be based on such an understanding of the confluence of social and religious forces upon the lives of the members of the earliest Christian groups.¹⁷¹

The critical review of von Campenhausen and Dunn undertaken in this section has now brought us to the point where we can propose an alternative and more satisfactory method for the study of ministry and order in the Pauline churches.

2. Defining an Appropriate Method:

The three basic methodological problems just stated provide a clear indication of the essential requirements of a more satisfactory approach to the interpretation of the data. These may be stated as follows.

(1) The method must be situational in its approach.¹⁷² This is a direct consequence of the nature of the evidence available to us. Paul's letters, which have been aptly termed "conversations

in context"¹⁷³, are occasional in nature, and as mission-documents are instruments by which the apostle maintains his oversight of the churches which are the fruit of his mission. Their structure, style and contents are therefore determined to a significant extent by the nature of the situation to which each was addressed.¹⁷⁴ This means that each of the letters must be interpreted in relation to its occasion and intention.¹⁷⁵ The situational approach to the study of the letters which this recognition entails will thus involve the following two aspects.

(i) The evidence must be studied contextually. Just as the literary context must be the primary determinant of the meaning of words and phrases, so the significance of the ideas expressed and the realities attested in the letters can only be established in relation to the immediate historical context. With reference to the content and purpose of this study, a contextual approach to the data will involve three related tasks.

First, it will be necessary to provide a reconstruction of the immediate historical context of each letter studied: i.e., to determine the circumstances prevailing in each of the churches at the time (and perhaps, because of which) Paul wrote to it.

Secondly, we must assess the significance of Paul's argument in each letter in the light of the church-situation he was addressing. This means that we must ask, not only, "What does Paul say?", but also, "What does he say it about?" (or, "What does he say it against?"), and, "What does he say it for?" In other words, we must be concerned with the direction of his argument as much as with its position. We will not understand his letters fully or rightly except in relation to the situation he addressed and the impact he intended. This is particularly important when we are seeking to determine his understanding of church and ministry, because he is not

writing to state his theological position, but to apply it to a particular situation. This has been well expressed by R. Baumann, who observes that

Paulus legt . . . nicht wie in einem theologischen Lehrbuch systematisch dar. . . . Er steht vielmehr in einem Gespräch, in einer Auseinandersetzung. Was er schreibt, ist Antwort auf Fragen, Korrektur von Anschauungen und Verhaltensweisen. Dies bedeutet, dass der Apostel die Mitte seines Glaubens und seiner Theologie . . . mehr zur Geltung als zur Darstellung bringt. Sie ist mehr der Ort, von dem aus er denkt und argumentiert, als eine Lehre, die er vorträgt.¹⁷⁶

This becomes especially important in relation to 1 Cor 12-14 which (as we suggested above¹⁷⁷) is often interpreted without sufficient regard to its context and intention.

Thirdly, the nature and significance of the structures and working arrangements attested in each letter must be determined not only in relation to the words Paul uses in the letter, but also in relation to the situation of the church. The particular context in which each structure has emerged will thus be assumed to have had a significant bearing on its shape and meaning.

(ii) Conclusions about Pauline church order should be reached inductively. Any general hypothesis about ministry and order in Paul's churches should emerge from the cumulative weight of the evidence. The strongly a priori tendency of the approach which seeks to deduce a general pattern from certain passages or concepts does not allow all the relevant evidence to be heard and weighed objectively. Despite its brevity, Phil 1:1 is just as essential for an understanding of Pauline church order as 1 Cor 12-14!

(2) The method we employ must also be developmental in its approach.¹⁷⁸ This is a direct consequence of the nature of the phenomena we are studying. To investigate particular functions, patterns of ministry, and structures within the Pauline churches necessarily involves exploring the implications of the social processes operative in them, since the emergence of definable patterns

of ministry and structures is an aspect of the processes of role-differentiation and institutionalisation that are at work from the beginning in the life of any social group.¹⁷⁹ Proper recognition of this fact entails a method that is developmental in two ways.

(i) We must be alert to the developmental implications of each piece of data. The letters are like action photographs which capture a particular moment in a sequence, so that to understand the full significance of any particular structure attested in one of the letters we need to consider how it developed to the point at which we encounter it and how it may develop from this point onwards. In other words, we must ask, "How did this structure emerge?", and also "How is it likely to develop?" Of course, it may not be possible to answer such questions with any confidence, but the fact that the structures concerned will be the particular form the social ordering processes have taken at that point means that we will need to see if the evidence yields any information on this subject.

(ii) We must be alert to the developmental implications of the data as a whole. When the later evidence is compared with the earlier, is there any indication of a particular pattern of development? This means that the evidence is best studied in chronological order, so far as this can be ascertained.

Caution is necessary here, as it would be too easy to assume that there must have been some kind of uniform linear development, and then interpret the evidence in such a way as to demonstrate such a development. In fact, it may well be that the situational and developmental aspects of this investigation prove to be out of phase, both because it is possible that different patterns and structures emerged in different churches, so that there was no uniform pattern of development, and also because, even if the developments in the different churches tended in the same direction, they may

have taken place at different speeds in different situations.

(3) The method must be two-dimensional in its approach. This is a direct consequence of the fact that we are dealing, not just with theological concepts, but also with social processes: the ordering of social interaction in the social groups called ἐκκλησίαι in our texts. In H.C. Kee's words, we are exploring

the interior dimensions of social groups, by which groups form, merge, evolve and by which leadership and group goals emerge and change.¹⁸⁰

But because the groups concerned are committed to certain fundamental theological convictions which motivate their existence and activities, and because the way Paul characterises their life and functioning expresses particular theological perspectives, we are, as Holmberg has insisted¹⁸¹, necessarily involved in exploring the interplay between theological concepts and social processes. It is for this reason that the "methodological docetism" which assumes that the real reality is theological and that a complete account of Pauline church order may be derived directly from an analysis of Paul's theological ideas is bound to lead to distorted conclusions.¹⁸²

To say this is to accept the validity of Holmberg's criticism of the "idealistic fallacy" and of the methodological conclusions he reaches. This in turn is to identify with a significant new trend in NT studies which Holmberg did not initiate, but to which he has made an important contribution by bringing into sharper focus dissatisfactions that had begun to be voiced in several quarters, and by demonstrating a fruitful alternative to the traditional approach he found wanting. His criticisms of the "idealistic fallacy" express more pointedly, and in relation to a specific field of inquiry, a criticism of conventional exegesis that a number of scholars had voiced, and his insistence on the need to recognise the interplay of theological convictions and social structures and processes in the

formation of historical realities likewise gives clear expression to a concern that had been raised by other scholars.¹⁸³ His own study is an important contribution to a steadily increasing flow of studies which are concerned to explore and analyse the social realities of early Christianity, often by employing sociological models and findings.¹⁸⁴ This is not an entirely new phenomenon, of course, for students of the NT and the early Church have generally recognised the influence of the Church's social and cultural context upon its life. This is perhaps especially true of the study of church order, where acknowledgment has usually been given, at least in principle, to the fact that

sociological factors entered into the forms of the Church's organisation from the very earliest days . . . , operating in conjunction with theological considerations to determine the lines of development.¹⁸⁵

However, little or no systematic attempt was made to explore the implications of these social and cultural factors, and recognition of their influence often went no further than the search for contemporary analogues of the churches. This generally meant an attempt to discover possible sources of particular structures or organisational patterns. What distinguishes the current attention to the social context of early Christianity from earlier studies is (i) a more systematic attempt to define the issues with precision, and to make necessary conceptual and methodological distinctions; (ii) more thorough consideration of the methodological issues¹⁸⁶; and (iii) the explicit use of particular sociological models and theories.¹⁸⁷

Some reservations have been expressed about this new approach, with some scholars calling for more thorough consideration of its assumptions and implications, and warning against a naïve and uncritical application of social scientific models and theories to

the biblical material.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, in direct response to Holmberg's "idealistic fallacy", E.A. Judge has warned against a "sociological fallacy", which he defines as the assumption that 'social theories can be transposed across the centuries without verification', or 'the importation [into the study of early Christianity] of social models that have been defined in terms of other cultures'.¹⁸⁹ While Judge and others who share his reserve towards this sociological approach to the NT have made some valid points, their criticisms and cautions serve to indicate areas in which this approach requires correction or refinement, rather than to discredit it altogether.¹⁹⁰

A genuinely two-dimensional approach to the study of the early churches should succeed in avoiding both Holmberg's "idealistic fallacy" and Judge's "sociological fallacy". Such an approach may equally validly assume one of several forms.

(a) That which promises to be most obviously fruitful is a genuinely inter-disciplinary approach. J.H. Elliott has recently described and implemented precisely this approach in his "sociological exegesis" of 1 Peter.¹⁹¹ He defines "sociological exegesis" as

the analytic and synthetic interpretation of a text through the combined exercise of the exegetical and sociological disciplines, their principles, theories and techniques. The method is sociological in that it involves the employment of the perspectives, presuppositions, modes of analysis, comparative models, theories and research of the discipline of sociology. It is exegetical in that it focuses entirely upon a biblical document and through the employment of all the sub-disciplines of exegesis attempts to determine the meaning and impact of that text within its various contexts.¹⁹²

This is 'an interdisciplinary approach' because it

operates comprehensively and yet critically with the received presuppositions and methodological principles of both sociological and exegetical disciplines. This requires as wide an acquaintance with, and as critical an acceptance of, the assumptions, procedures and "assured results" of each discipline as is possible.¹⁹³

Two comments about Elliott's definition of this method are in order

here. (i) Without detracting in any way from Elliott's own achievement, it should be noted that such an inter-disciplinary approach will normally succeed best when there is collaboration between exegetes and sociologists, because few can hope to acquire the comprehensive mastery of both disciplines which will be needed for the approach to succeed. (ii) It seems unnecessarily restrictive to confine such an approach to the use of sociology alone of all the social sciences, for the use of social psychology, social anthropology, and cultural anthropology may also yield valuable insights.¹⁹⁴

(b) A two-dimensional approach may emphasise the sociological aspect, majoring on sociological analysis and interpretation of the textual data. Such an approach need not involve any neglect of the exegetical task, as the studies of G. Theissen demonstrate.¹⁹⁵ However, there can be a tendency to assume an exegetical consensus and to apply sociological concepts and theories to the texts in a way that does not generate any exegetical progress. This tendency is exemplified in Holmberg's study, for he begins by stating that, in view of the 'considerable degree of consensus among scholars on the vast majority of details concerning philological and historical fact',¹⁹⁶ it is unnecessary to undertake 'a detailed, painstaking analysis of the relevant texts'.¹⁹⁷ As a result, certain important texts and passages are dealt with rather too summarily.¹⁹⁸ The same tendency is even more marked in A. Schreiber's study¹⁹⁹, in which he acknowledges his dependence on the secondary literature²⁰⁰ and makes little or no attempt to provide any fresh investigation of the material in 1 Cor. While it is neither necessary nor possible for interpreters to begin all exegesis de novo, as though all conclusions must be established afresh, there is nevertheless a real need for exegetical work to continue--especially if, as Holmberg claims,

previous interpreters have approached the texts with a defective understanding of the realities to which they refer.²⁰¹ Where sociological models and findings are believed to be capable of providing fresh insight into the meaning of the biblical text, it is the text itself, and not received opinion about it, which must be studied afresh.

(c) A two-dimensional approach may also concentrate primarily on exegesis, but exegesis which is informed by an awareness of the relevant sociological insights and perspectives. This too has its dangers, for an ill-conceived or ill-informed use of social scientific concepts may distort rather than illuminate our understanding of the text. It is here, however, that a genuinely interdisciplinary approach will prove its value, as mistakes are corrected and a sounder interpretation is provided through the interchange between exegetes and sociologists collaborating in an attempt to understand the text more fully.

This study will follow the third of these three two-dimensional approaches. What this will involve is best spelled out by way of contrast with Holmberg's study.

In contrast to Holmberg's assumption that a secure and sufficient exegetical consensus already exists, so that further detailed exegetical study of the relevant texts is unnecessary²⁰², this study is based on the premise that continuing exegesis and historical reconstruction are essential prerequisites for progress in this field of inquiry. Continuing, painstaking efforts to arrive at a more thorough understanding of the meaning of the text and of the nature and significance of the historical-social realities to which it refers cannot be neglected, and much of this study will consist of such detailed textual examination.

Secondly, in contrast to Holmberg's decision to confine

himself to the use of sociology, and of a particular sociological perspective²⁰³, this study is deliberately eclectic in its use of the social sciences. It will draw upon insights from social psychology as well as sociology, and will not follow any particular school of thought within those disciplines. The comments of W.A. Meeks about his own work are appropriate here too:

I take my theory piecemeal, as needed, where it fits. The pragmatic approach will be distasteful to the purist; its effect will be many rough edges and some inconsistencies. Nevertheless, given the present state of social theory and the primitive state of its use by students of early Christianity, eclecticism seems the only honest and cautious way to proceed.²⁰⁴

This approach will have been justified if it succeeds in providing some fresh illumination in a much-studied area.

Thirdly, in contrast to Holmberg, the author of this study has no special expertise in the social sciences, and cannot draw upon a detailed knowledge of the relevant scholarly literature in these disciplines. The fact that this study therefore cannot lay claim to any particular sophistication in its handling of the relevant theoretical models and research findings and cannot claim that the heuristic potential of these concepts will be exploited fully may be thought to be a defect. Several comments may be made in response to this.

(i) One of the basic conclusions reached through our analysis of the methodological issues involved in the conflict between the consensus-view and recent challenges to it is that the study of ministry and order in the Pauline churches necessarily contains a sociological component. Since the social and historical phenomena we are investigating cannot be rightly understood unless the social processes and structures involved are perceived and analysed rightly, some attempt to benefit from the concepts and perspectives of the social sciences is unavoidable. Accordingly, this study attempts to

do that, even if it may not do it with the degree of expertise that a genuinely inter-disciplinary approach would demonstrate. Although it cannot claim to be final or definitive, therefore, it must be adjudged to have succeeded in some measure, and thus to have been justified, if it demonstrates the potential value of a more sophisticated inter-disciplinary study which explores the same area and sets out in the same way as this one.

(ii) In view of this, a realistic appraisal of the necessary limitations of any one study and a due recognition of the necessarily collaborative, interdependent nature of the scholarly enterprise suggest that this study will have been justified if it demonstrates the value, even the necessity, of such a two-dimensional approach, and if it provides an incentive to further work in this area by reaching conclusions that shed some fresh light on familiar passages and old questions.

As a result of our discussion so far, this study is to adopt a situational, developmental and two-dimensional approach to the interpretation of the relevant Pauline material. What this will mean in specific terms will be spelled out in the final section of this chapter, in which the precise content and shape of this study will be defined. Before we can do that, however, a further preliminary task remains to be done. The Introduction demonstrated that, in addition to the question of methodology, the conflict between the consensus-view and recent challenges to it revolves around the issue of the leadership of the Pauline churches. We must now seek to show what "leadership" means, especially in such groups as the churches.

B. DEFINING THE CENTRAL CONCEPT: LEADERSHIP IN THE CHURCHES

1. Some Preliminary Questions:

Perhaps the simplest approach to the task of defining

leadership would be to discover a suitable definition in a dictionary, and then to break down that definition into its constituent elements, analysing and expounding each on the basis of a commonsense view of the meaning of words and ideas. While this would be preferable to treating leadership as a known concept which did not require definition or analysis²⁰⁵, it would not suffice for our purposes, for two reasons.

(a) The resultant definition of the concept would be at too high a level of abstraction to be of much use in this study. Our concern is not with leadership as such, for this is an extremely general concept, covering a wide range of capacities, functions and positions (from the role of Winston Churchill during World War II to that of the captain of a football team; from the function of a committee chairman to the position of the U.S.A. in the Western world; from the leader of an orchestra to the leader of a nation). Rather, we are concerned with the leadership of a particular kind of social group. The question we most need to ask is not, What does leadership mean in general? but, What does leadership mean in such groups?

(b) The question just posed cannot be answered by consulting a dictionary. For while the defining characteristics of the genus will also pertain to the species, so that certain things will have to be true of leadership in such groups for it to be identifiable as leadership, neither a dictionary definition nor a common-sense analysis of words and ideas will be able to show what implications the basic elements of the concept will have, or how they will be embodied, in such groups as the ἐκκλησία.

We need therefore a definition of the concept general enough to indicate its defining characteristics, and thus to show how it is distinguished from membership, from participation in group

life in general, and yet specific enough to indicate what form it may take in such groups as the Pauline churches. That is, we need to establish the essential components of the concept as such and the particular characteristics of leadership in such a context. It is here that the social sciences have a valuable contribution to make, for considerable attention has been devoted by sociologists and social psychologists to the nature of group life in general, and to leadership as a feature of group life. So the two-dimensional approach we committed ourselves to in the preceding section becomes immediately relevant and necessary. The following analysis of the concept of leadership, especially as it applies to such groups as Paul's churches, will thus draw freely on the theoretical models and research findings of sociologists and social psychologists.

However, before beginning that analysis, there are two questions we must consider.

(1) Is the procedure we have proposed a valid one? By deriving a specific view of leadership from the social sciences before we study the Pauline material, are we not in danger of committing the same methodological error we detected in the studies of Dunn and von Campenhausen, conforming the meaning of the relevant passages to a predetermined concept? By following this procedure, are we not in danger of reaching our conclusions before we study the evidence? Moreover, how can we be sure that theoretical models and findings which have emerged from a direct and detailed study of groups in contemporary society will remain valid for groups in a very different and historically distant society, groups to which we have no direct or detailed access?

It must be admitted that the dangers just mentioned are real ones which demonstrate the need for proper caution in our use of the evidence, but they do not necessarily invalidate the procedure

we are following. In our study of the evidence, we will be asking to what extent the Pauline data do match the picture of leadership arrived at in this section. To have a clear idea of a particular phenomenon, and to go to the text with a view to ascertaining whether, and to what extent, that phenomenon is attested, is surely not an invalid approach; on the contrary, far from arbitrarily limiting the meaning of the text, such an approach may prove to have considerable heuristic value, alerting us to implications in the text that might not otherwise have become clear. So, providing that we adopt a careful, inductive approach to the text, seeking to allow all the evidence to speak for itself as far as possible, we need not fall into the trap of forcing it into an anachronistic, sociological mould, or defining its meaning in advance.

(2) Is the concept of leadership precise enough to be useful? Holmberg implies that it is not, and concentrates instead on the concepts of power and authority, holding that an understanding of ministry, order and polity in the early Church must come by way of an analysis of the distribution of power and the exercise of authority in the churches.²⁰⁶ He argues that the concept of leadership must be distinguished from that of authority, firstly, because 'leadership is a small-group, situation-based, temporary phenomenon', while power and authority are characteristics of larger groups²⁰⁷, and secondly, because

the real difference between an authority relation and a leadership relation is that while the latter is voluntary, the former is not: the internalized and socially upheld group norm that it is a duty to obey the legitimate ruler constrains the subordinate to obey him.²⁰⁸

The implication in all of this is that the concept of leadership is of little value for a study of ministry and order in the early Church. Holmberg's position is unsatisfactory for several reasons.

(i) Since his stated intention is to 'begin from the beginning of ministry, order and polity',²⁰⁹ a 'small-group, situation-based . . . phenomenon' should fulfil his requirements perfectly! The exercise of leadership that emerged out of the situation in which each of the small groups Paul designates as ἐκκλησίαι came into existence and continued to function is surely the obvious place to look for the 'beginning of ministry, order and polity'. Why does Holmberg choose instead to focus on what he regards as characteristic of larger groups?

(ii) It is not clear why Holmberg regards leadership as a 'temporary phenomenon', unless he is anticipating the point he goes on to make in the next sentence, which implies that a leadership relation is supplanted by an authority relation once norms of legitimacy have emerged in the social group concerned. If so, the claim that leadership is a temporary phenomenon is only as valid as the distinction on which it rests, and there is good reason to think that the distinction is in fact invalid.

(iii) The distinction made in the passage quoted above, between voluntary consent or compliance and a compliance that proceeds from a perceived duty, is surely a false one. In the first place, it has no basis in logic, for a compliance that issues from a sense of obligation to a legitimate authority is still voluntary, so long as it is not a response to coercive power. Secondly, the distinction is denied by the rest of Holmberg's discussion, as the following quotation shows:

In an authority relation there is something in the ruler's person or behaviour that effects willing compliance on the part of the subordinate. He is constrained to submit to the other, not by any external means, but out of the conviction that it is right to do so, that it is indeed his duty.²¹⁰

(iv) Ironically, Holmberg's discussion of the exercise of authority in the early Church makes frequent use of leadership-

terminology²¹¹, which suggests that the concept is not only useful, but also unavoidable, in a study which seeks to 'begin from the beginning of ministry, order and polity'.

We conclude, therefore, that Holmberg's reasons for bypassing the concept of leadership are not valid; on the contrary, his discussion suggests that it provides an eminently suitable focus for an investigation of Pauline church order. We may now proceed, therefore, to analyse the concept, confident that it will serve our purpose.

2. The Meaning of Group-Leadership:

Developments in the social sciences over recent decades suggest that the most fruitful approach to the understanding of leadership is that which sees it as an aspect of social interaction in human groups, rather than (as was the tendency in earlier decades) relating it to personality-types or to the executive function in formal organisations.²¹² Indeed, one of the principal findings of R.M. Stogdill's comprehensive analysis of the study of leadership in the social sciences is that leadership is best understood in relation to the structure which emerges out of the interaction between members of a group.²¹³ The interests and perspectives of social scientists thus converge with the focus of this study, which is concerned with the leadership of particular social groups.

This is obviously a vast area of inquiry, which has not been fully explored by social scientists, and about which there are many differing models and conflicting theories current. The following discussion is therefore no more than a brief account of widely-accepted views which are most germane to our purpose.

(a) Groups:

If leadership is best understood as a feature of group-life, it is necessary for us to give some attention to the nature of groups

and the social interaction which characterises them.

(i) What is a "group"?

As used by the social scientists, the word "group" is not the general term for any collection of persons, but is a particular unit of social organisation, along with the class, the association, the community, and so on.²¹⁴ The essential characteristics of a group in this sense may be seen most clearly by distinguishing it from the aggregate, at one end of the spectrum, and the organisation, at the other end. In distinction from the aggregate, which may be defined as

individuals who share a time-space relationship, but who do not have a common goal unless circumstances should create one²¹⁵,

the group involves both a common purpose and mutual interaction for its members. An organisation, on the other hand, involves the explicit and systematic ordering of collective effort. Its characteristic features are

(a) hierarchical structure, (b) division of labour, (c) incentives and contracts for working, and (d) rules.²¹⁶

It is the formalisation of its structures and processes that distinguishes the organisation from the group.²¹⁷ The transition from group to organisation is not necessarily easy to define or detect.²¹⁸

The group may thus be defined as a social unit

whose members identify and interact with each other personally as individuals²¹⁹,

or as

a collection of persons in face-to-face interaction, each person aware of his own membership, each aware of the membership of others, and each getting some satisfaction from participating in the activities taking place.²²⁰

It therefore involves "Dauer", "Einheitlichkeit", and "Zusammengehörigkeit"²²¹, or (to make the same points in another way)

(a) grosse Interaktionshäufigkeit, (b) persönlicher Kontakt, and (c) eine gewisse affektuelle Beziehung.²²²

All of this implies that the membership of a group will be relatively small, and that (as we shall see below) increasing size will be one factor in the transition from group to organisation.

Understood in this way, the group is identical with what used to be referred to as the "primary group", which, following the distinction made by F. Tönnies between "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft"²²³, was defined as 'characterised by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation'²²⁴, and distinguished from the "secondary group", which involved no meeting or mutual interaction between its members.²²⁵

It seems a reasonable working hypothesis that the Pauline churches were, at least in the initial stages of their existence, "groups" in the sense defined above: i.e., they were small, informal groups whose members were involved in regular face-to-face interaction. If this is so (and we will seek to test the validity of this hypothesis in our study of Paul's letters), we may reasonably expect that what is true of group life in general will also have been true of Paul's churches and their functioning. In particular, we may expect that the way leadership emerges and the forms it assumes in such groups will correlate, at least to some degree, with what we learn from Paul's letters about the functioning of his churches. Of course, we must beware of importing all the theories and conclusions of modern sociological research into the text; but we must not on that account refuse the opportunity to see what new light may be shed on the text when it is studied against the background of this research.²²⁶

(ii) Social ordering in groups:

Social interaction in a group which exists for any length of time leads to social ordering, which

emerges from social interaction as ongoing relationships become interwoven into relatively stable and predictable patterns. More succinctly, social ordering develops as

social interactions become patterned and recurrent.²²⁷

This process of ordering involves four basic aspects.²²⁸

(1) Stability: i.e., the emergence of settled, regular patterns of interaction. This is a normal part of human social behaviour:

All human activity is subject to habitualization. Any action that is repeated frequently becomes cast into a pattern . . . habitualization makes it unnecessary for each situation to be defined anew, step by step.²²⁹

This habitualization of behaviour is what creates social institutions.

Thus, institutionalisation

is the process of strengthening, stabilizing, and perpetuating a pattern of social ordering.²³⁰

As Holmberg rightly recognises, this

is not a process that may arise after a time but is a process that inevitably starts almost as soon as human interaction begins and continues for as long as the group, association or society exists.²³¹

It is for this reason that the emphasis commonly found in works in the consensus-tradition on the "event" as determinative of Pauline church order must be regarded as unsatisfactory. As we noted above²³², Käsemann (followed by Dunn) confines authority in Paul's churches to an event, the 'concrete act of ministry'. Quite apart from whether this is a valid inference from Paul's teaching anyway, it completely ignores the implications of the social context in which this "event" occurs. The "event" of ministry will not normally vanish without trace; it generates expectations in others. Repetition of this 'concrete act of ministry' and the consequent reinforcement of expectations means that the ministry concerned, with the role it creates, has become involved in the process of institutionalisation. This will have clear implications for the position and authority in the group of the one who performs this ministry. For similar reasons Schweizer's claim that Pauline church order is an echo of the '"event" of the Spirit',²³³ must be called

into question. Because it occurs in a social context, the "event of the Spirit" generates a process, in which there is a continuing interaction between ministry and its recognition, an interaction which produces increasingly stable and defined roles and structures.²³⁴ Is it right therefore to see the Spirit's role only in the "event"? Doesn't the Spirit sustain as "presence" as well as initiate as "event"? That is, isn't the Spirit's presence in the life of the church linear as well as punctual, in the continuing process as well as the initial event?--and in both sides of that process: the continuing exercise of ministry and its continuing reception and recognition? The continuing presence and involvement of the Spirit in the church will mean a relation between the Spirit and the emerging institutions that social ordering creates. There may thus be more validity to Wendland's claim that the 'heilige Geist schafft Ämter, Ordnung und Überlieferung',²³⁵ than exponents of the consensus-view may be prepared to admit.

(2) Size:

. . . the size of any pattern of social ordering has extensive consequences for most of its other characteristics.
Size is directly related to both complexity and formality²³⁶

Clearly, what is physically or psychologically possible in a group with 15 members may well have become both impossible and undesirable when the membership has increased to 150. Accordingly, many features of a church's corporate life may be altered as a result of its increase in size: members' perceptions and expectations of the group may change; patterns of relationship between the members may change; the way the church organises its meetings and discharges its responsibilities to its members and to outsiders may be altered; and so on. This common-sense awareness of the implications of size has been confirmed and given greater precision by sociological research. Some of the most important results of this research are conveniently summarised by

P.E. Mott in 13 propositions about the effects of increasing size on a social organisation.²³⁷ Of particular interest for our purposes are the following:

As the population of a social organisation increases arithmetically, the number of possible channels of interaction increases geometrically.²³⁸

As the population of a social organisation increases, the number of its parts and the degree of their specialisation also increases . . . the roles become more formalised . . . the potential for conflict and friction among the parts also increases . . . the number of coordinative problems and the need for coordination also increase . . . the decentralisation of authority also increases, but at the same time the most influential parts may maintain or increase their influence.²³⁹

This has important implications for our study of Paul's churches. If we read his letters without regard to the influence a church's size may have upon its structures and functioning, we may wrongly construe statements that reflect the particular size of the church being addressed as though they were applicable to churches of any size. To do this may even mean to regard as theologically normative for all churches what is in fact relative to a church's size and consequent stage of development. Therefore, even though Paul's letters may provide little or no direct evidence about the size of his churches, our investigation of the evidence concerning their structures and functioning needs to take account of the possibility that some of what is said may reflect the size of the church being addressed as much as a theology of church and ministry.

(3) Complexity: This is the result of differentiation among the component parts of a social unit.²⁴⁰

This differentiation occurs both horizontally and vertically²⁴¹, and is one result of increasing size.²⁴²

(i) Horizontal differentiation has two important aspects that are of relevance to our subject.

The first is role-differentiation. In a small group, it

is relatively easy for all the members to participate and to contribute in a variety of ways. Such 'distributed participation',²⁴³ is in fact a crucial factor in the success of such a group, for the following reasons:

The first is that distributed participation is a key factor in using the resources (ideas, . . . information . . .) of all group members . . . ; if they fail to participate, their resources cannot be utilized by the group. . . . A second reason [is that] . . . a person will be committed to implementing a group decision if he has been involved in helping to make it . . . people will work to make successful what they have helped to create. . . . The third reason is that it generates feelings among members about the group and their membership. . . . Group cohesion, consequently, will be high, and the group will be seen by its members as a source of social and emotional rewards.²⁴⁴

Yet even in such a group distinctions are likely to emerge between those who participate readily and frequently and those who do so reluctantly or seldom:

To get widespread participation within a group, some members have to take the responsibility for encouraging others to participate, by asking them to contribute, and by giving them support when they do.²⁴⁵

This incipient distinction between group members' functions, even in a group which is characterised by 'distributed participation', will be increased under the impact of the aspects of social ordering we have already considered: viz ., stabilisation and size.

The process of stabilisation will be accompanied by the emergence of role-differentiation:

As . . . specific activities are performed with regularity by specific individuals, expectations begin to form to regularise these performances, and role differentiation begins to emerge.²⁴⁶

Increaseⁱⁿ_^ size also leads to changes in the patterns of participation, because the

number of persons in a group affects both the distribution and the quality of interaction.²⁴⁷

As a result,

with increasing group size there is frequent increase in the division of labor or specialisation of function among

the members.²⁴⁸

Thus role-differentiation is also accelerated by increasing size.

What is a "role"? The literature on the subject is vast, and there are significant differences of theoretical perspective evident in the discussion²⁴⁹; however, it is not possible for us to enter into a detailed technical discussion in this context. For our purposes, the simplest and most satisfactory understanding of "role" is that which relates it to a group member's function and to the expectations that are generated by this function:

. . . social roles always contain the twin components of overt action patterns and cognitive expectations.²⁵⁰

In relation to function, "role" may be defined as

a set of recurrent behaviors associated with a particular function.²⁵¹

In relation to expectation, "role" is defined

in terms of the expectations that members entertain relative to their own performances and interactions, and particularly relative to the contributions of other members of the group²⁵²

A member's role is thus a key determinant of his position in the group:

The structuring of a member's role defines . . . his position (status and function) in the group.²⁵³

We may summarise this brief discussion of role-differentiation as follows: one obvious result of increasing stability and increasing size, with the increasing complexity that accompanies them, is the emergence of distinct roles in a group, where "role" refers to

eine zusammenhängende Menge sozialer Erwartungen, die jeweils mit einem sozialen Status verbunden und mit den sozialen Erwartungen an andere Statusträger koordiniert sind, unabhängig vom einzelnen Träger als Teil eines sozialen Systems existieren, sozial sanktioniert sind und im Sozialisationsprozess internalisiert werden.²⁵⁴

All of this has obvious relevance for the understanding of group-leadership, and thus will be considered further below.

The second aspect of horizontal differentiation which is of relevance to our subject is the emergence of sub-groups. This is another consequence of increasing group-size.

The size of a group has an obvious effect on the ability of the individual member to identify with the group as a whole, as well as his ability to communicate readily with other group members. In a small group of, say, 5 members, face-to-face interaction among members is quite easy and uncomplicated. If we consider a group of 30 or 40 members, each group member needs to formalise his interactions with others and coordinate dealing with a large group of diverse personalities. In larger groups, because of the greater opportunities for differences between and among individuals, smaller groups composed of members who find each other relatively more compatible than others tend to emerge within the context of the larger group.²⁵⁵

The emergence of these sub-groups is both necessary for the maintenance of the group, because it provides a focus for the affective unity that once characterised the whole group, and also, at the same time, a potential threat to the survival of the group, because it increases the possibility of division and disintegration.

As groups increase in size, subgroups inevitably develop. . . . Subgroups develop their own unique combination of goals, norms, and roles while still subscribing to the over-arching ideology of the larger group and respecting its structure. Subgroups not only provide internal diversity, but represent the distinct possibility that a particular subgroup may become increasingly more deviant. . . .²⁵⁶

The growth in size of a group, and the emergence of sub-groups within it, thus creates the necessity for conscious attention to the maintenance of group unity, a fact we shall consider below.

(ii) Vertical differentiation is the other aspect of complexity in groups. It takes the form of social stratification, which is

the process through which power, privilege, and prestige are unequally distributed, patterned, and perpetuated within social organisations.²⁵⁷

This unequal distribution of power, privilege, and prestige means that the group takes on a hierarchical structure. This is true not only of particular kinds of groups, or of groups in particular historical, cultural, or religious settings:

The emergence of a leadership hierarchy seems to be a universal feature of human groups.²⁵⁸

What this means in relation to the emergence of group-leadership will be considered below.

(4) Formality: This is the normal response to the problems created by increasing complexity:

Both horizontal and vertical differentiation present organisations with control, communication, and coordination problems. . . . The greater the differentiation, the greater the potentiality for difficulties in control, coordination, and communications.²⁵⁹

As a result of these increasing difficulties, it becomes less and less satisfactory to rely upon informal or implicit understandings concerning roles and relationships, and specific, explicit guidelines and procedures begin to be developed. In this way formality comes to characterise groups that are becoming larger and more complex. Formality is thus the result of the

specification of guidelines for social actions and relationships. . . . As a general principle, increasing size and complexity are both often associated with greater formality, since a certain amount of standardisation and predictability is necessary to maintain a large and complex pattern of ordering and achieving collective goals.²⁶⁰

An important accompaniment of this emerging formalisation will often be the development of a rationale for the institutions (i.e., the stable, recognised patterns of interaction²⁶¹) that have emerged in a group. Although he does not approach the question from a sociological perspective, Martin has perceived this accurately in relation to church offices:

. . . die theologische Begründung der kirchlichen Ämter der konkreten Institutionalisierung folgt. Sie wird durch die konkreten Umstände ausgelöst und ist Reaktion darauf. Je mehr Rechte die kirchlichen Ämter . . . erlangen, desto stärker wird das Bedürfnis, sie theologisch zu legitimieren.²⁶²

The need for legitimation of the group's institutions becomes especially clear when significant numbers of people who have not been involved from the beginning, and who have therefore not par-

ticipated in the process by which particular patterns and structures have emerged, become members of the group. With this transition to a new generation,

the institutional world requires legitimation, that is, ways by which it can be 'explained' and justified . . . the expanding institutional order develops a corresponding canopy of legitimations, stretching over it a protective cover of both cognitive and normative interpretation. These legitimations are learned by the new generation during the same process that socialises them into the institutional order.²⁶³

All of this has important implications for the way leadership is exercised and understood:

. . . the group must provide for leadership succession. . . . Norms must therefore be established that outline the process of leader selection and succession. . . . Above all, it will require specification of the qualifications and duties of the leader. . . . At this point something highly significant has happened: the leader has become an office-holder.²⁶⁴

This is another aspect of group-leadership that we must return to below.

Our discussion so far indicates that as groups develop stable patterns of interaction amongst their members and increase in size, they tend to become more complex in structure and more formal in character. The group thus tends to give way to the organisation, since 'formalisation is a major defining characteristic of organisations. . . .'²⁶⁵ So organisations are simply

large social groups in which the leadership-hierarchy and role differentiation have become formalised into fixed ranks and offices, norms have become rules, and in which methods of communication and work are prescribed. Without organisation, the group will become chaotic and ineffective. . . .²⁶⁶

Since stabilisation, institutionalisation, and formalisation are unfolding processes whose results become progressively more concrete and discernible, it is not easy to determine at which point a "group" has become an "organisation".²⁶⁷ Therefore, as we suggested in the course of our critical review of von Campenhausen and Dunn²⁶⁸, the presence of more defined and apparently more formal structures in

the churches (e.g. Phil 1:1) is not a sign of theological declension necessarily, but need be no more than the natural outcome of the increasing complexity and formality that accompanies growing stabilisation and growing size. Conversely, the mere absence of formal positions and structures need not be the result of a particular theological stance, but may only indicate that these social processes are as yet at an elementary stage.²⁶⁹

Our consideration of groups and the social ordering processes which occur in them has provided the necessary context in which we can proceed to a definition of group-leadership.

(b) Leadership:

Since (as was indicated at the beginning of this section) leadership is best understood in relation to group processes and functioning, the preceding discussion of group life provides a necessary basis for our analysis.

There are many possible approaches to this task, and many different theoretical perspectives have been employed in the social sciences in this connection.²⁷⁰ The following discussion therefore makes no claim to be comprehensive, for it is beyond the scope of this study to enter into a detailed interaction with all the various views that have been canvassed. Instead, this discussion will be selective and schematic, seeking to provide as succinct a treatment as possible of themes and perspectives which are prominent in the literature, and which appear most germane to our subject and seem most capable of illuminating the material we are to study. The subject may be dealt with most conveniently under four headings.

(i) The basis of leadership:

What is the source or basis of leadership? The older view which sought the answer solely in certain personality-traits²⁷¹ is

no longer prominent, chiefly because it is now generally recognised that leadership cannot be understood adequately by studying the "leader-in-himself".²⁷² It is necessary also to understand the context in which leadership emerges and is exercised, and this is most fruitfully done by exploring the nature of social interaction in groups. One important feature of social interaction is the complexity which results from increasing group size and increasing stabilisation and patterns of interaction within the group, and which involves both horizontal and vertical differentiation.²⁷³ The emergence of leadership is best seen in relation to this emerging differentiation in a group, for where there is no differentiation, there is no leadership.²⁷⁴ In relation to the basis of leadership, it is vertical differentiation (the emergence of hierarchy) that is most significant. Horizontal differentiation (the emergence of roles) is best considered in relation to the exercise of leadership, which will be dealt with below.

Vertical differentiation, or social stratification, is the result of the unequal distribution of capacities and resources among, or the asymmetrical character of interaction between, group members.²⁷⁵ In relation to groups²⁷⁶, these distinctions between members may usefully be classified as distinctions of power, prestige and popularity, which refer respectively to a member's degree of influence in the group²⁷⁷, the extent to which he is admired or esteemed by the group²⁷⁸, and the degree to which he is liked in the group.²⁷⁹ Although there may be a correlation between popularity and leadership in many situations²⁸⁰, leadership is primarily connected with power, and also with prestige.

(1) Leadership and power:

Although there are several different approaches to the understanding of social power²⁸¹, the most prominent is that which

defines it as 'an influence or exchange relation'²⁸², A's ability to influence B. The following classification of the types of social power is commonly used²⁸³:

- (a) reward power is based on a person's capacity 'to facilitate the attainment of desired outcomes'²⁸⁴ (one obvious way in which this occurs is through the provision of necessary resources);
- (b) coercive power is based on the capacity 'to impose penalties for noncompliance'²⁸⁵ (again, an obvious way of doing this is to withhold desired or needed resources);
- (c) legitimate power, which operates where 'the recipient acknowledges that the power holder has the right to influence him and he has an obligation to follow'²⁸⁶;
- (d) referent power, which exists 'when a power recipient identifies with a power holder and tries to become like him'²⁸⁷; and
- (e) expert power, which 'is based on B's perception of A's competence.'²⁸⁸

Olsen proposes a different classification, distinguishing force, dominance, authority and attraction²⁸⁹, but this can readily be harmonised with the more common fivefold classification. Authority and attraction are equivalent to legitimate power and referent power respectively. The fundamental presupposition of reward, coercive and expert power is that particular group members possess resources that are desired or needed by other members, and on this basis they are able to exert significant influence on these others. This is also the basic concept underlying "force" and "dominance", which are distinguished not in terms of their impact or availability, but in terms of the intention of the person concerned:

Whereas force always requires the intentional utilization of additional resources, dominance flows unintentionally from the routine performance of functional activities. . . .²⁹⁰

There is widespread agreement that leadership involves the

exercise of power, or influence, over others.²⁹¹ We may now define this relationship more precisely by considering the link between power and the possession of resources indicated in the preceding paragraph. The connection between them may be stated simply: power flows from the possession of resources.

An individual's power is based on all the resources . . . that he or she can employ to help or hinder another in the attainment of desired goals.²⁹²

This may be considered from two aspects. On the one hand, since leadership involves the exercise of power, and power is based on resources, the leader is one on whose resources others are dependent:

. . . power has its origins in the dependency of one person on resources controlled by another. . . .²⁹³

Group members may be dependent on each other, and thus exercise power over one another, in a reciprocal fashion.²⁹⁴ However, where particular group members are able to go on providing needed resources to which others do not have access, resources which are essential for the functioning of the group, they come to hold a power in the group which is proportional to the extent to which the other group members are dependent on them.

On the other hand, the leader is one whose resources enable him to exercise "functional dominance" in the group.²⁹⁵

If an actor performs a function or service for others that they need, their dependency gives the actor a basis for exercising control over them. And the more vital and indispensable those services, the greater the power of the actors who provide them. Even though they may not intentionally seek to wield power, actors who perform necessary social functions nevertheless automatically acquire a viable power base and become potential or actual elites.²⁹⁶

Thus, leadership in an informal group is best seen as arising out of the possession of resources which permit "functional dominance" over, and create dependence among, other group members. Leadership is thus related to power.

(2) Leadership and prestige:

Leadership can be related to prestige in two ways. (1)

Where a group member provides necessary resources and thus exerts an influence which is vital to the group's success, he will generally be accorded esteem by other group members.²⁹⁷ This means that functional dominance will normally result in a high prestige-status:

Status appears to be based on conformity to group norms, superior attainment in directions valued by the group, contribution of effort and other costs expended in group affairs.²⁹⁸

(2) There is a tendency for a person's status outside the group to influence the role he comes to play within the group.²⁹⁹ In particular, persons

who occupy positions of high status in the open community tend to be accorded high status in the group.³⁰⁰

In other words, prestige tends to be transferable from one situation to another. This is because

expectations and perceptual readinesses about "natural" patterns or combinations of functions are imported into any new group. . . . If group members differ in their general social status, there may be tendencies to organize and assign roles that are "fitting", in the common cultural stereotypes, for each status. Thus decision-making and leadership functions are likely to be sought by high-status persons. If, in the external social organisation, these persons have power, lower status persons may acquiesce to [sic] this role differentiation.³⁰¹

Thus, in informal groups without a predetermined structure,

a member who occupies a position of high status in the community tends to emerge as leader.³⁰²

This generalisation based on experiment and observation must not be treated as a law, of course. It cannot be assumed that a high social status will result in a leadership-role in any and every group. This point has been made in relation to the Pauline churches by Schreiber, who says in response to Theissen's work on the Corinthian church,

Die Gruppenrangordnung ist keineswegs ein Widerspiegelung

der gesellschaftlichen Rangordnung. In der Regel nimmt jemand in verschiedenen Gruppen auch verschiedene Positionen ein.

Natürlich ist eine gewisse hohe Korrelation zwischen Sozialstatus und Gruppenstatus gegeben; aber die Gemeindeleitung stellt andere Anforderungen als die Leitung eines handwerklichen Betriebes oder der Abwicklung von Finanzgeschäften.³⁰³

Nevertheless, even when it cannot be assumed that high social status (relative to the status of other group members) will automatically result in a leadership-role, Schreiber concedes that 'eine gewisse hohe Korrelation zwischen Sozialstatus und Gruppenstatus' does exist, and, immediately after the passage quoted, goes on to admit:

Daneben gibt es sicher Gemeindefunktionen, für deren Durchführung bestimmte Ansprüche in bezug auf Bildung, materielle Unabhängigkeit, Erfahrung und Fähigkeiten förderlich sind.³⁰⁴

Our brief discussion of the basis of leadership has shown that leadership arises out of the "functional dominance" created by the possession of skills and resources required by the group for its functioning. It may also stem from the prestige of a high status outside the group.

(ii) The function of leadership:

If leadership has its basis in the exercise of power (or influence), in what areas and towards what ends is this power exercised? What is the group-leader's function?

In the light of the functional view of leadership³⁰⁵ outlined above, these questions are answered most satisfactorily by relating leadership function and group function: leadership means "functional dominance" in the attainment of group objectives and performance of group functions. What, then, are the functions or objectives of a group? The most satisfactory general answer is that a group needs to

reach its goals, maintain itself in good working order, and adapt to changes in the environment. . . .³⁰⁶,

or (more succinctly),

Goal achievement and group maintenance are generally considered to be the two basic objectives of a group.³⁰⁷

The function of leadership is then defined in these terms:

Leadership is the process through which the group is maintained while goal attainment is facilitated. . . .³⁰⁸

Leadership may thus be considered in relation to the two principal dimensions of group function: the setting and attainment of goals and tasks, and the maintenance of group structure and cohesion. The latter involves attending to both the group as a whole and to the members individually, ensuring both the cohesion and stability of the group and the satisfaction and development of all the members.³⁰⁹ In relation to group goals and tasks, the leader's function

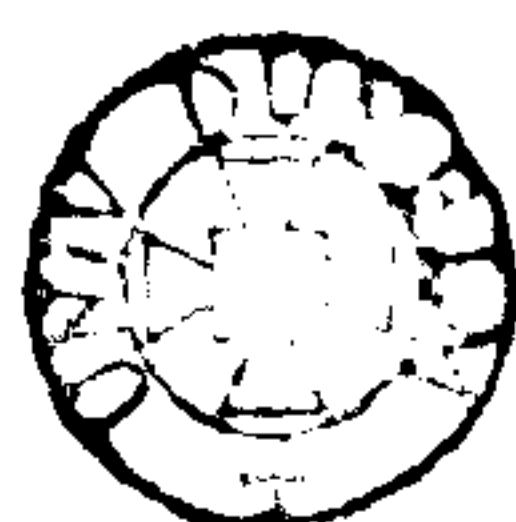
includes setting goals, helping the group proceed toward these goals, and providing necessary resources to accomplish the goals.³¹⁰

It has become customary to designate these two basic dimensions of the leadership function as instrumental (the task-orientation) and expressive (the cohesion-orientation).³¹¹ Each of these requires different kinds of resources and skills:

The behaviors furthering task accomplishment are not necessarily the same as those fostering cohesiveness. Some leaders are extremely effective in furthering task achievement. Others are exceptionally skilled in the art of building member satisfaction and intermember loyalty that strengthen group cohesiveness. The most valued leaders are able to do both.³¹²

Although few people are equally capable in both areas³¹³, with the result that there is a tendency for both an instrumental (task-oriented) and an expressive (or "social-emotional") leader to emerge in groups in some circumstances³¹⁴, the leader(s) of a cohesive group usually combines both functions.³¹⁵

The function of leadership is thus



not only to keep the group moving toward task achievement but also to maintain the structural integrity of the group and to provide freedom for initiative in other member roles.³¹⁶

(iii) The exercise of leadership:

Whereas the basis of leadership was best considered in relation to vertical differentiation (the emergence of hierarchy), its exercise is best related to horizontal differentiation (the emergence of roles). We will do this in three sections.

(1) The emergence of the leadership-role:

In a small informal group leadership is a process, a function (or set of functions) exercised by all group members, at least potentially.³¹⁷

Leadership and influence in an informal group are a matter of degree--there is no clear separation of leader and led as there is in groups with appointed leaders. Furthermore all group members have some influence on the group.³¹⁸

This is a consequence of the "distributed participation" which is more easily achieved in such groups.³¹⁹ Yet, at the same time, there are factors in such groups and their situation which lead to the emergence of a distinct leadership-role.

In the first place, it soon becomes clear that certain group members are able to make more significant contributions to its functioning, and to make them more consistently. As we have seen, these functional differences between group members lead to role-differentiation.³²⁰ This means that even in an informal group where distributed participation is common, leaders begin to emerge.³²¹ Function generates expectations, and function and expectations together create a role:

. . . the differentiation of member roles and the emergence of leadership in a group comes about as a result of mutual reinforcement of intermember expectations. One member, because of his initiative, interactions with other members, and contributions to the group task, reinforces the expectation that he will be more likely than other members to establish conditions which will promote task movement, member

freedom and acceptance, and group cohesiveness. Other members, in deferring to him, reinforce his expectation that he should continue in the leadership role.³²²

A second factor which will contribute to the emergence of a leadership-role is increasing group size, since

the opportunity to adopt leadership functions decreases as the number of members increases.³²³

One obvious reason for this is that an increase in the number of members in a group decreases the possibility of achieving a fully distributed participation in the group's functioning. Mutual interaction and communication become more difficult to sustain. The result is that groups develop patterns of communication that are not perfectly reciprocal or symmetrical, with the result that some members are more central than others, both communicating and receiving communication more frequently. There is a high correlation between centrality in the group's communication network and leadership:

Being central in a communication structure is a characteristic of leadership. Typically, the leader is a group member who receives and sends more communications than others, and who thereby exerts influence on the group's activity.³²⁴

In other words, there is a significant correlation between power and communication: the most active communicator will often exercise the most influence on the group, assuming that his communications are relevant and beneficial.³²⁵ This connection between power and communication can be related, firstly, to the source from which power springs: viz., the possession of necessary resources. Those with the most resources (especially, but not only, resources of knowledge, insight and experience) will be able to make significant contributions more frequently.³²⁶ It can be related, secondly, to the fact that the most central persons in the communication network are better able to coordinate group functioning, and thus to exercise control in the group.

Research on experimental communication nets indicates that the member who occupies a position of centrality tends to emerge as leader. He has greater access to communication than other members and is thus better able to coordinate and direct group activities.³²⁷

Leadership is thus the product of two kinds of dominance (which may be related): functional dominance, which springs from the possession of important skills and resources, and communicative dominance, which results from a greater input and receipt of communication. Both of these enable a group member to exercise a significant degree of control over the group's functioning, and thus to acquire a leadership-role:

A person in a leadership position is . . . likely to have greater control over group resources, which includes information as well as his own competence in matters affecting the achievement of the group goal.³²⁸

(2) The consolidation of leadership:

Increasing group size has an important bearing on the consolidation of leadership, as well as on its emergence. This is a product, firstly, of the fact that

in general, as the group becomes larger, demands upon the leader become greater and more numerous, and acceptance of the leader's influence becomes greater.³²⁹

This can be related, secondly, to the fact that increasing group size creates the need for greater coordination in group functioning:

A prime need for groups as they grow larger is greater coordination. Strictly democratic decision making in all matters becomes impractical and impossible. Responsibility for coordinating the activities of many persons and roles is centralised in specialists.³³⁰

Increasing size leads to increasing complexity, and this increasing differentiation creates difficulties in control, coordination and communication, as we noted above.³³¹ In responding to these difficulties, those whose functional dominance and centrality in the group's communication network have resulted in their playing a leadership-role have their position in the group consolidated.

Fleeting recognition is sometimes given to these factors in presentations of the consensus-view³³², but their implications are not adequately considered, especially in relation to the impact of its social context on the shape and significance of leadership activity. This is particularly clear in relation to the authority attaching to the leadership-role.

(3) Authority and leadership:

On what basis, and in what ways, does a leader come to acquire authority? This question can be answered only when the notion of authority has been defined. The understanding of authority which commands the most widespread support in social scientific discussion is that

authority is legitimate power . . . and legitimate power is normatively regulated power.³³³

Thus, a leader has authority when the influence he exercises in the group is recognised as legitimate, i.e., as right or valid; and this rightness or validity is determined on the basis of the norms and values by which the group operates.

Legitimacy may come to be attached to the exercise of power either by authorisation from above or endorsement from below.³³⁴ In the former case, legitimacy is conferred by a superior of the one exercising power, giving him a mandate to function in certain ways.³³⁵ In the latter case, the legitimacy of a leader's exercise of power comes through its being accepted and endorsed by those whom he influences or controls. In an informal group, this will often arise directly out of the leader's "functional dominance":

In general, leaders acquire legitimacy and the right to exercise authority by making significant contributions to the collective welfare of a relationship or an organisation. As other participants come to respect and desire these contributions, the leaders' actions are collectively legitimated and the others obligate themselves to comply with the leaders' directives.³³⁶

Put more succinctly,

Perceived expertness tends to legitimise the leadership role.³³⁷

Thus functional dominance gives rise to "functional authority".³³⁸

However, functional authority tends to become diffuse, so that the person who gains authority through the exercise of a particular skill tends to be accorded a more general authority in the group.

So, although 'skill may give a man authority',³³⁹ authority does not remain tied to skill or functional dominance--it does not remain "specific", but tends to become "diffuse".³⁴⁰ This is because group members naturally tend to generalise from a person's function, when that function is directly related to group function, and to develop more general expectations about that person's role.³⁴¹

All of this has important implications concerning issues that were raised earlier in the chapter. In the course of our critical review of von Campenhausen and Dunn, we questioned the validity of some important assertions about the nature of ministry and its authority: von Campenhausen's claim that those who ministered in Paul's churches were not accorded any personal authority³⁴²; Dunn's interpretation of 1 Th 5:12ff and 1 Cor 16:15ff, according to which those referred to possessed only the authority of charisma manifested in service, and were thus to be followed only in those areas of service³⁴³; and Käsemann's view that in the Pauline churches authority was confined to the 'concrete act of ministry'.³⁴⁴ The tentative suggestion we made in opposition to these views have been validated by the brief consideration of authority above. In particular, it has confirmed that the fundamental defect of these views is their failure to recognise that the impact and authority of ministry and leadership is shaped not solely by its "Ursprungsort", but also by its "Stand- und Wirkungsort"³⁴⁵: that is, authority cannot be rightly assessed or

understood unless we take into account the social context in which it is exercised, as well as that which gives rise to it.

We have seen that increasing group size is an important factor in the consolidation of leadership; we had also previously noted how increasing size involved both increasing complexity and increasing formality³⁴⁶, and this also applies to the leadership-role.

(iv) The formalisation of leadership:

In our discussion of the process of formalisation in groups³⁴⁷, we touched briefly on three main aspects: the specification of guidelines and procedures; the development of a legitimising rationale; and provision for leadership-succession.

Formalisation means standardising group structure and activities through the specification of guidelines and procedures: i.e., implicit understandings and informal working arrangements are made explicit and definite, at least to some extent. This is generally accompanied by the development of an explicit rationale which is intended to legitimise (i.e., to explain and justify) the structures and positions that have emerged in the course of the group's development. The transition from the first generation of the group's life involves the need to determine procedures that will ensure the necessary leadership succession. This means (as we noted above³⁴⁸) that while the leadership role in the first generation of an informal group's life will emerge from the consistent exercise of necessary functions, in the second generation it will involve appointment to an established position.

The process of formalisation has important implications for the exercise of leadership. In particular, it means that, as the group tends toward the category of "organisation", the leadership-role tends toward "office". Office may be defined as

a particular point in organizational space; space in turn is defined in terms of a structure of interrelated offices and patterns of activities associated with them. . . . These activities constitute the role to be performed, by any person who occupies that office.³⁴⁹

Thus, role, position and office are interconnected in an organisation, and it is therefore in connection with this latter term that office will be best understood.

There are three features of the organisation that are of particular importance in this regard. (1) "Organisation" presupposes the existence of stable role-structures and a stable asymmetrical power-structure (a hierarchy). In other words, it represents a particular stage of development in the process of institutionalisation, which is operative from the beginning of group life. (2) "Organisation" involves the formal definition of roles and positions. It will not normally be necessary for such formal definition to become comprehensive immediately, so that every feature of group life is defined in explicit and detailed terms; but it is the fact that it has become necessary at all that marks the emergence of an organisation. An obvious indicator of the formal definition of roles and positions is the use of titles rather than functional designations. (3) "Organisation" implies the explicit legitimation of the leader's (or leaders') power: i.e., some specific acknowledgement of the leader's (or leaders') right to exercise control.

It should be noted, in relation to the last two points, that formal definition and legitimation need not have a specifically legal character. There is an obvious and important difference between 'the specification of guidelines'³⁵⁰ and the stipulation of laws with accompanying sanctions and penalties. So, although it may become necessary in some circumstances for the formal definition of roles and positions to acquire a legal dimension, it can be argued that this is not a necessary characteristic of organisations.

It follows, therefore, that legal definition of rights and duties is not a defining characteristic of office. This is important, because most discussions of the "charisma versus office" issue simply assume that office does have a legal character. However, this is to confuse formal definition of roles and positions with legal definition, and although institutionalisation may involve the latter, it need not.

With this important qualification, the analysis of the concept of office provided by Brockhaus is both valid and helpful:

Als für das Amt konstitutiv wird angesehen: 1. Das Element der Dauer, 2. das Element der Anerkennung durch die Gemeinde (ein Indiz für Dauer und Anerkennung ist die feste Amtsbezeichnung), 3. die Sonderstellung einzelner gegenüber der Gemeinde (Autorität, Würde), 4. die geordnete Beauftragung (Handauflegung), 5. das rechtliche Element, die rechtliche Sicherung der Funktion.³⁵¹

The correspondence between the first three points of this analysis and the three features of organisation we considered on the preceding page is significant. Our contention that the legal element is not a defining characteristic of office is accommodated to some extent by what Brockhaus goes on to say:

Die fortschreitenden Numerierung entspricht jeweils die fortschreitende Verfestigung des Begriffs. 1 bildet den Kern der konstitutiven Elemente, 5 die Peripherie.³⁵²

We conclude, therefore, that the existence of office is a function of the degree of complexity and formality that characterises a social group or organisation: it marks a particular stage in the development of the institutionalisation-process which, as we have seen³⁵³, is operative from the beginning of a group's life.

This discussion of office as a concomitant of organisation serves to reinforce the objections we urged against the consensus view that Pauline church order was necessarily non-official.³⁵⁴ It confirms our suggestion that the absence of office is more likely to be an indication of the relatively early stages which the processes of institutionalisation and formalisation had reached in the churches

than of an anti-institutional theology, and thus more indicative of the chronological position of the letters than of the theological position of their author. It also serves to give new emphasis to the importance of von Campenhausen's recognition that office

is not unspiritual just so long as it remains obedient to the Spirit of Christ, and performs that service of the Gospel of Christ for which it was appointed.³⁵⁵

The vital question about Pauline church order is thus, not whether office exists (for that is only a function of the degree of institutionalisation that has occurred in the churches), but how it is understood when the churches' growing size and complexity, and the formalisation that this generates, lead to its emergence. As von Campenhausen himself acknowledges,

The only relevant consideration is the way in which it is thought of in practice and explained in principle.³⁵⁶

(c) Conclusions:

This account of group-leadership has been brief and selective; it has not attempted to provide a thorough discussion of all relevant aspects of the topic, but has sought instead to highlight those concepts and findings that are both widely accepted in social scientific discussion and also most germane to our interests in this study. Adopting this approach has necessitated ignoring many important issues altogether, and skating over the complexity and contentious nature of some that have been considered. Nevertheless, despite its brief, selective and schematic treatment, the preceding discussion of group-leadership has at least provided us with an adequate working definition which can be applied to the study of the Pauline material. We may summarise our discussion as follows.

We have found that leadership cannot be rightly or fully understood unless it is seen in context. For our purposes, that context is the life and activity of particular social groups. A

group is a social unit whose members display a sense of common identity and purpose and engage in mutual face-to-face interaction. Continuity of interaction in a group leads to stable patterns of relationship and activity, and this process of stabilisation is the key factor in the development of the institutionalisation that is normally operative from the beginning of group life. The growing size of a group produces both complexity (which involves role-differentiation and the emergence of sub-groups and status-differentiation (distinctions of power, prestige, and popularity)) and formality. In this way, "group" tends toward "organisation".

Leadership emerges in the context of these group processes. It is based on functional dominance, the possession of skills and resources on which other group members are dependent, and thus involves the exercise of power; it may also be based on prestige or status outside the group. It has both an instrumental and an expressive dimension, the former concerning the setting and attaining of group goals and the latter the maintenance of group cohesion. It emerges out of functional dominance and centrality in the group's communication network, and tends to be consolidated as the group grows larger, because the competence and centrality of the emergent leader places him in a better position to respond to the greater need for coordination and control created by increasing group size. The leader's authority arises out of his function in the group (the contribution he makes by means of his resources), and involves the acceptance by the group of the legitimacy of the power and position created by that function. Although arising out of function, the leader's authority tends to become diffuse, so that it comes to attach to his general position in the group. The process of formalisation that is generated by increasing group size and the corresponding increase in the complexity of group structures means that the

leadership-role tends toward "office".

How may we relate these findings to the Pauline churches?
Indeed, is it valid to attempt to do so?

3. Leadership and Paul's Churches:

Is it valid to apply the above understanding of group-leadership to the Pauline churches? It is derived from modern sociological and social psychological research and discussion, so how can it hold true for particular groups in a very different and historically distant society? Moreover, won't the very attempt to apply it to the Pauline data result in the abandonment of a properly inductive approach?--Won't we end up by attempting to conform the evidence to this predetermined pattern, thus exhibiting precisely the same a priori tendency for which we have criticised the consensus approach?

As we noted earlier³⁵⁷, this is a real danger, which demonstrates the need for caution and objectivity in our exegetical work. Yet several points need to be made by way of response to these questions.

In the first place, the study of the Pauline material to be undertaken in the following chapters will aim to be genuinely inductive. We will engage in detailed exegetical study which seeks to establish as precisely as possible the meaning of the texts concerned. It is only in the course of then seeking to assess the implications of what the text says that we will refer back to the understanding of leadership sketched above, with a view to ascertaining what degree of correspondence there is between it and the data. Our approach will be, therefore, to see whether, and to what extent, this picture of leadership fits the Pauline evidence; we will not be seeking to show that the evidence fits this predetermined pattern.

Secondly, the approach we have taken--to arrive at a clear

understanding of leadership before we study the Pauline material-- is both valid and necessary on methodological grounds. As we have already argued, much of the discussion of Pauline church order is vitiated by a failure to provide clear and precise definition of some of the key concepts (such as "leadership" and "office"). The absence of adequate explicit definition of concepts that are central in the debate inevitably results in conclusions that are either reached too quickly (without a detailed and painstaking examination of the relevant passages) or formulated too loosely. It is not possible to determine whether a certain phenomenon was or was not present in the Pauline churches unless we have a clear idea of what that phenomenon is.

The preceding discussion of group-leadership is thus to be regarded as a preliminary orientation to the subject of our inquiry. It serves to provide direction for that inquiry, which might otherwise have lacked sufficient definition or precision with regard to its aim and focus. It should serve to alert us to particular implications in the text that we might otherwise have overlooked or misconstrued. It provides a background against which certain features of the text may be thrown into sharper relief. Yet it remains provisional and tentative in the sense that we have yet to determine how far it corresponds with the situation revealed in Paul's letters.

We have already accepted as a working-hypothesis the view that the Pauline churches were, at least in their initial stages, "groups" in the sense defined above.³⁵⁸ On the basis of the preceding discussion, this leads to a second hypothesis which is a corollary of the first: there will have been an emergent leadership in the churches, in which some members came to have the kind of clear and continuing influence over the church as a whole that resulted in a

definite leadership position. Both of these hypotheses must now be tested against the evidence provided in Paul's letters. We will therefore be examining the text for evidence that relates to the following kinds of questions.

(1) Were Paul's churches characterised by mutual, face-to-face interaction and a clear sense of common identity and purpose amongst their members such that they can be classified as "groups"? Is there any evidence to suggest that they became increasingly complex in structure, so that a certain degree of formality came to characterise their working arrangements? Is there any evidence, in other words, of a movement from "group" to "organisation"?

(2) What evidence is there of an emergent leadership in the churches? Do certain members display a functional dominance in areas central to the church's functioning such that they come to exercise a clear leadership-role in the church? Is there any evidence of the legitimisation of particular kinds of influence (power) in the church's life, so that certain members come to have authority in the church? Is there any evidence of a tendency for leadership functions to become clearly-defined positions? In other words, is there any discernible movement from "function" to "office"?

It may be, of course, that there is insufficient evidence to permit a clear and decisive answer to many of these questions; but the questions provide a clear focus for our study of the material. We will be looking, therefore, for evidence of local leadership; i.e., leadership exercised within the churches by some of their own members. This is distinct from the leadership that may have been exercised from time to time by visiting Christian workers (such as Paul and his colleagues) who are not normally resident in that location, and are thus not local leaders.

Yet even the most cursory reading of Paul's letters is

sufficient to indicate the extent to which he saw himself as leader of his churches. In a variety of ways, and across a wide range of issues, the letters show him providing direction, exercising control, and asserting authority. He does not cease to play an active role in the life of the churches once he has moved on to other places, but continues to maintain contact and exercise oversight in a number of ways. How far, then, does Paul's apostolic leadership leave room for any distinct local leadership to emerge and become consolidated?

Again, the letters convey the clear impression that all the members of Paul's churches were, and were expected to be, active in ministries of various kinds, so that "distributed participation" was common and there was a clear sense of the members' corporate responsibility for their church's life. How far does such membership leave room for any "followership"?--What room is there for any distinct leadership-role or leadership-group in churches where all the members were active and responsible to such an extent?

This means that whatever forms of local leadership may have emerged in the churches would be bounded and qualified on one side by Paul's own leadership and on the other side by the mutual ministries and corporate responsibility of all the believers. The content, scope, and significance of such local leadership as may have emerged will therefore not be able to be understood rightly unless it is seen in the context of these two prominent aspects of the churches' functioning. It will therefore be necessary for our investigation of local leadership in the churches to involve some consideration of both of them. We will return to this below.

At the conclusion of the Introduction we posed two kinds of questions about leadership in Paul's churches.³⁵⁹ The first concerned the way Paul's references to what appears to be some kind of local leadership are to be interpreted; the second asked about the

meaning of "leadership". We have now arrived at a provisional understanding of leadership, although one that is neither comprehensive (since it considered only the emergence of leadership in informal groups, and only some aspects of that) nor of proven relevance (since we have yet to test it for "fit"). It is now time, therefore, to address the first set of questions by turning to an investigation of the Pauline evidence. The following section of the chapter will define the scope and structure of that investigation.

C. THE SCOPE AND STRUCTURE OF OUR STUDY OF THE PAULINE CHURCHES:

So far in this chapter we have elaborated a method for the study of Pauline church order that is appropriate for the nature of the questions being asked and the nature of the evidence available, and we have provided an analysis of the key concept (that of leadership) around which much of the debate about Pauline church order can be seen to revolve. We are now in a position to indicate how we are to implement this method in our study of the Pauline material concerning local leadership in the churches.

If we applied the method we have defined to a study of all the relevant evidence, the resultant dissertation would be unmanageable in its proportions. It is clearly necessary, therefore, to limit the scope of our investigation. Which of the various passages that have some bearing upon our subject will we consider?

There are three obvious candidates which figure prominently in most discussions of the structure of Paul's churches, and to which we have therefore referred already: viz., 1 Th 5:12-13; 1 Cor 16:15-18; and Phil 1:1. The method we are to follow means that our study of 1 Cor 16:15-18 will entail a consideration of 1 Cor 12, so that one of the most obvious and important alternatives to these three passages will also receive attention. Other passages that might have

been considered (e.g., Gal 6:6; Eph 4:11; Col 4:17) are not so obviously suitable, either because their Pauline origin is disputed or because they do not appear to have as much relevance to the subject of our investigation as the first three passages mentioned.³⁶⁰

How will we go about investigating the meaning and significance of these passages? The structure of our investigation follows from the method elaborated earlier in the chapter.

(1) It is to be a situational study, in that the passage concerned is to be studied in the light of its historical context. In the light of our discussion up to this point, this means two things. (a) Each of the three passages is to be analysed in the context of the letter as a whole and of the church-situation reflected in the letter. It will therefore be necessary at the beginning of each of the following chapters to provide a preliminary sketch of the church-situation. (b) Each of the three passages is to be analysed in the context of Paul's apostolic leadership on the one hand, and of the mutual ministries and corporate responsibility of all the believers on the other hand. Therefore, each of the following chapters will provide a discussion of what the letter concerned reveals about both of these matters before the detailed analysis of the passage concerning local leadership.

In view of these implications of the study's situational approach, it is called 'a study based on 1 Thessalonians, 1 Corinthians and Philippians.'

(2) It is to be a developmental study. This means that, in order to be able to assess the developmental implications (if any) of the data, we must establish the chronological position of each of the three letters (a) in relation to the other two, and (b) in relation to Paul's founding of the church concerned. In this way it will be possible to compare the evidence from each of the letters

to see whether any developmental pattern emerges. The letters will be studied in the order indicated in the title (viz., 1 Th, 1 Cor, and Phil) on the basis of a secure and widespread consensus about the chronological order of the Pauline correspondence. The relevant arguments for the dating of each letter will be presented at the beginning of the relevant chapter.

(3) It is to be a two-dimensional study. As indicated above³⁶¹, this means that we will be examining both theological concepts and social realities and the interplay between the two. To study Paul's letters obviously involves a study of theological concepts, the cognitive world Paul and his churches inhabited, with the particular ways of perceiving, evaluating and characterising the experiences they shared and the activities they pursued that arise out of and express their theological understanding. Yet, as we have argued earlier in the chapter, a study of Pauline church order also necessarily involves a study of the social world inhabited by Paul and his churches³⁶², which, in this context, refers primarily to the social composition of the churches and the social processes that were operative in them, and the bearing of both on the structures and order that emerged.³⁶³

The study's developmental and two-dimensional character is indicated in the title, which speaks of 'theological and social factors in [the] development' of local leadership in the churches.

The remainder of this study will therefore consist of three chapters, dealing respectively with local leadership in the churches of Thessalonica, Corinth, and Philippi, followed by a conclusion. Each of these three chapters will follow the same form. The introduction to each will deal with the two preliminary matters required by the approach outlined above: there will be a brief consideration of the letter concerned, with a discussion of its unity (since the

unity of each of the letters we are to consider has been challenged) and its chronological position in the Pauline mission, and an outline of the church-situation to which the letter was addressed. The bulk of each chapter will consist of a detailed analysis of the passages on which our investigation centres (1 Th 5:12-13; 1 Cor 16:15-18 and Phil 1:1 respectively), preceded by a discussion of what the letter discloses about Paul's exercise of leadership towards the church and about the exercise of mutual ministries within the church.

This chapter has dealt with 'some crucial questions of definition and method'. These questions were raised by our review of the current consensus concerning the charismatic order of the Pauline churches and of some important challenges to it. It was clear that progress toward a fuller understanding of Pauline church order required these questions to be addressed, in order to obtain the necessary precision with regard to both the focus and the method of our investigation. We have therefore discussed these issues in some detail in the course of this chapter. As a result, we have now provided the necessary foundation and established the necessary direction which will enable our investigation of the Pauline material to proceed.

CHAPTER I: NOTES

¹Chapter IV, "Spirit and Authority in the Pauline Congregation", (pp. 55-75) is of particular relevance, and our discussion will concentrate primarily, though not exclusively, on the material in this chapter.

²Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1975).

³This may be seen by the frequency with which Dunn refers to these scholars, and particularly to the three works we reviewed in the first section of the Introduction, in the notes to the 8th and 9th chapters of his book.

⁴p. 56.

⁵Holmberg: Paul, p. 205.

⁶Holmberg: Paul, p. 206.

⁷He attempts to give some basis for this view in his previous assertion that 'the general outlines of their [sc., the Pauline churches'] life and organisation were determined by Paul himself.' (p. 55). The underlying reasoning seems to be as follows: since Paul determined the basic shape of his churches' life and structures, and since these general outlines can be presumed to have followed directly from Paul's theology, and to have given concrete expression to his concept of life in the Spirit, we are justified in regarding the basic shape of the churches' structures as a product of Pauline theology. However, the crucial element in this argument has been asserted rather than demonstrated: namely, the assumption that Paul himself determined the general outlines of his churches' organisation. Was this in fact the case? Even if it were, would not the actual structures of the churches have reflected their social and cultural setting and composition as well as the theological ideas of their founder?

⁸A similar confusion may be seen in the title of a recent study by R. Banks: Paul's Idea of Community: The Early House Churches in their Historical Setting (Anzea Books, Sydney, 1979). This implies that we can assume a complete correlation between a Pauline idea and the complex historical reality of the churches.

⁹See pp. 55-62.

¹⁰pp. 55-64.

¹¹pp. 64-71.

¹²These propositions are also set out elsewhere in the book, as we shall see below.

¹³, . . . organisierendes Prinzip' (p. 62).

¹⁴p. 58.

¹⁵p. 79.

¹⁶p. 69.

¹⁷, . . . geistliches Vermögen' (p. 61).

¹⁸p. 57.

¹⁹p. 64.

²⁰p. 76. Cp. also pp. 69, 70, 296.

²¹p. 150. At the end of the sentence quoted the German reads '. . . sich in keiner Weise amtlich organisieren lassen.' (p. 165).

²², . . . keine festen "Ämter" und keine "Verfassung"!' (p. 64).

²³p. 60. Cp. also pp. 69-70, 296.

²⁴p. 58. The German original reads, 'Sie wird nicht soziologisch verstanden oder gesehen. . . .' (p. 62).

²⁵p. 64. In the original, the final phrase reads 'eine schlechthin wunderbare, überweltliche Erscheinung.' (p. 69).

²⁶ibid.

²⁷'Yet the utopian character of the Pauline conception of the Church should not be exaggerated.' (ibid.)

²⁸p. 68.

²⁹Cp. p.5 above.

³⁰p. 296.

³¹p. 69.

³²p. 68.

³³p. 69.

³⁴Ibid. The last two words of the quotation translate the German word 'Wesen' (p. 74).

³⁵Cp. the balanced observation by G. Krodel: 'Being "in" the world demands institutions, being not "of" the world prohibits the divinization of institutions.' ("Forms and Functions of Ministries in the New Testament", Dialog 8 (1969), pp. 191-202 (at p. 191).) The conception of office as both sacral in character and constitutive of the Church's being comes perilously close to the 'divinization of institutions'.

³⁶p. 69. The last four words of the quotation represent the German, 'im eigentlichen Sinne' (p. 74).

³⁷pp. 69-70.

³⁸pp. 54 (the German reads, 'eines wirklichen . . . Amts' (p. 58)), 69.

³⁹p. 65 n.63. This represents the German 'eigentlichen' (p. 71 n.3).

⁴⁰Indeed in view of the longstanding ecclesiastical and theological controversy in Germany which inevitably stands in the background, it is difficult to resist the feeling that part of the "hidden agenda" of von Campenhausen's work (whether consciously or not) was the desire to show that Rome is not entitled to claim Paul!

⁴¹See pp. 1-2, 27, 68-70.

⁴²p. 80.

⁴³p. 79f.

⁴⁴p. 70.

⁴⁵p. 67.

⁴⁶p. 296.

⁴⁷p. 68.

⁴⁸p. 76.

⁴⁹pp. 60, 63f, 76.

⁵⁰pp. 68, 296.

⁵¹p. 80. The German original is 'unmittelbaren Begabung' (p. 86).

⁵²p. 61. This is a translation of 'eine besondere geistliche Gabe' (p.66).

⁵³p. 80.

⁵⁴p. 64.

⁵⁵p. 79.

⁵⁶Jesus: pp. 266-97.

⁵⁷p. 271f.

⁵⁸p. 291.

⁵⁹p. 290f.

⁶⁰p. 291.

⁶¹p. 283. (This is in italics in the original.)

⁶²p. 291.

⁶³p. 286.

⁶⁴p. 287.

⁶⁵p. 286.

⁶⁶ibid. n. 139 (on p. 436).

⁶⁷p. 286.

⁶⁸pp. 266-70.

⁶⁹p. 270.

⁷⁰ibid.

⁷¹p. 271.

⁷²Note the following statements, for example:

. . . the attitude to charismatic phenomena and conduct arising out of charismatic experience constituted the chief threat to the unity and community of the Corinthian church. . . . The whole [of 1 Cor 13] is obviously aimed at the Corinthians' over-evaluation of charismatic phenomena . . . far from expressing the unity of the Spirit, charismatic phenomena in Corinth had in actual fact expressed lack of love, lack of faith, lack of hope; far from building up the Corinthian community, charismata constituted one of its chief threats.' (pp. 266-7).

In each case "charismatic" should be replaced by "pneumatic" or "ecstatic". See further note 74 below.

⁷³On this see Chapter III, pp. 368-83.

⁷⁴pp. 205-09. This confusion of the pneumatic with the charismatic leads to some difficulties in Dunn's exposition. Note, for example, the claim that 'for Paul there is nothing distinctively Christian in charismatic phenomena as such.' (p. 302: his italics). This implies that, like the pneumatic-ecstatic phenomena so prized by the Corinthian "pneumatics", there was a phenomenologically distinct set of charismatic events and experiences. Käsemann is surely nearer the mark with his claim that nothing is intrinsically charismatic and everything is potentially charismatic (see Introduction, p.6). Secondly, Dunn's statement implies that there is nothing distinctively Christian in the manifestation or experience of χάρις!

⁷⁵See pp. 377-83.

⁷⁶Brockhaus: Charisma, p. 191.

⁷⁷Brockhaus: Charisma, p. 190.

⁷⁸If (as we have suggested, and will argue in more detail in Chapter III) χάρισμα is an evaluative, rather than descriptive term, it is rightly applied only to those phenomena which manifest χάρις by building community. It can thus be used in specific cases only a posteriori, on the basis of its effect, not on the basis of its form.

⁷⁹p. 288f.

⁸⁰p. 289.

⁸¹For our own interpretation of these three passages see Chapter II (pp. 204-54), Chapter III (pp. 393-44), and Chapter IV (pp. 544-73).

⁸²He sees the role of the ἐπίσκοποι prefigured in the κυβερνήσεις of 1 Cor 12:28, and regards the ministry of the διδάκονοι as a more definite version of the activities referred to in Rom 12:8 and of the ἀντιλήψεις of 1 Cor 12:28 (p. 289).

⁸³p. 290.

⁸⁴ibid.

⁸⁵He characterises the teacher's role as follows:
The teaching function had more the character of 'office' than any other of the regular ministries. For it was constituted not merely by the charisma of the moment but primarily by the tradition from the past. The role of the teacher would therefore almost certainly be limited to those who had ability to retain, understand and teach that tradition. It would involve learning and studying, and would thus more or less from the first be a part or full time work or 'profession', with teachers dependent for their material support on their fellow Christians, particularly those whom they taught (Gal.6.6). (p.283).
 This involves the recognition that the teaching role required for its performance certain abilities that not all would have, so that, in this case at least, ministry is not the product solely of charisma (as Dunn understands it), and is not open to all.
 It is worth noting also that Dunn's equation of χάρισμα with πνευματικόν, with the consequent use of χάρισμα as a descriptive term identifying a phenomenologically distinct class of events and experiences, leads to the conclusion that it 'is not to be confused with human talent and natural ability. . . .' (p. 255). It is doubtful whether the implied divorce between the Spirit/grace and nature is rightly attributed to Paul (it would more accurately fit his Corinthian opponents, perhaps), and it results in this instance in the unlikely conclusion that the use of an ability in the service of the church cannot be regarded as 'a particular expression of charis' (which is how Dunn defines χάρισμα (p.253; italics his)).

⁸⁶See pp. 62ff.

⁸⁷See Introduction, p.19.

⁸⁸Paul, p. 205.

⁸⁹See pp. 37-39 above.

⁹⁰Authority, p. 79f.

⁹¹p. 71.

⁹²p. 68f.

⁹³Note p. 79, where, after sketching Paul's position, von Campenhausen says, "The next generation were unable to maintain this position". He then enumerates the factors which were responsible for the emergence of office (as quoted above: n. 90), implying that

they exerted no significant influence during the Pauline period, or that, if they did, their influence was held in check by Paul and his theology.

There is real danger of circular argument underlying von Campenhausen's exposition here: Pauline church order was eclipsed because these pressures became too intense after his death, and we know that they became too intense because Paul's distinctive church order was eclipsed.

⁹⁴Holmberg has demonstrated convincingly that this was in fact the case (Paul, pp. 162-81, 186-95).

⁹⁵See pp. 40-41 above.

⁹⁶See Authority, pp. 70, 76.

⁹⁷See Authority, pp. 76, 79, 296.

⁹⁸See p. 41 above.

⁹⁹Authority, p. 70.

¹⁰⁰p. 296.

¹⁰¹p. 58.

¹⁰²In his controversy with Brunner about the nature and order of the Church, Barth refers to the "ecclesiological Docetism" that is involved in the refusal to take seriously the Church's existence 'as an earthly-historical and therefore a visible community. . . .' (CD IV, 2, p. 712).

¹⁰³See p.37 above.

¹⁰⁴See pp.38-39 above.

¹⁰⁵Authority, p. 70.

¹⁰⁶p. 296.

¹⁰⁷p. 60.

¹⁰⁸p. 76.

¹⁰⁹See pp. 37ff above.

¹¹⁰"Ministry", p. 78. This is quoted with approval by Dunn: Jesus, pp. 291, 298.

¹¹¹Cp. the assertion that for Paul 'authority resides only within the concrete act of ministry as it occurs. . . .' ("Ministry", p. 83).

¹¹²Cp. the quotation from Dunn on p. 49 above.

¹¹³See Holmberg's discussion on the concept of authority (Paul, pp. 3, 124-35).

¹¹⁴This is what Martin appears to be getting at in the following comments:

M.E. besteht ein Grundfehler der Diskussion um das frühkirchliche Amt darin, dass man sich nicht klarmacht, ob und wie im konkreten Fall, d.h. in der alltäglichen kirchlichen Praxis, theologische Aussagen eingelöst werden können. Diese Aussagen geraten deshalb häufig in die Nähe von Ideologien. (Dienst, p. 32 n. 41: his italics).

¹¹⁵Holmberg: Paul, p. 207.

¹¹⁶See pp. 51-55 above and pp. 65-72 below, where analysis of Dunn's argument shows similar tendencies to the views of von Campenhausen just considered.

¹¹⁷Holmberg: Paul, p. 205.

¹¹⁸See p. 9 above.

¹¹⁹"The Authority of Other Ministries within the Pauline Churches" (pp. 280-91).

¹²⁰Chapter IX: The Body of Christ - the Consciousness of Community (pp. 259-300).

¹²¹Jesus, p. 259.

¹²²ibid.

¹²³ibid.

¹²⁴ibid.

¹²⁵ibid.

¹²⁶p. 270.

¹²⁷ibid.

¹²⁸pp. 290-91.

¹²⁹p. 290 (Dunn has this statement in italics.)

¹³⁰ibid. (This statement is also in italics.)

¹³¹ibid.

¹³²ibid.

¹³³See p. 53 above. Cp. also p. 45f.

¹³⁴See pp. 49-51 above. For our own interpretation of these passages see pp. 206-54 and 394-444 below.

¹³⁵Jesus, p. 289.

¹³⁶See pp. 49, 52 above.

¹³⁷The same may be said of von Campenhausen's argument: see

pp. 37-39 above and p.65f below.

¹³⁸ Rom 12:3-8 is also important, but 1 Cor is more prominent because of its greater length, and thus its fuller and more detailed treatment of the issues.

¹³⁹ It is less clear in von Campenhausen's study, because his exposition is presented as a general survey of Paul's teaching, with little discussion of specific passages. Nevertheless, a careful reading of his argument shows that 1 Cor 12-14 is a crucial source for his reconstruction of Paul's views.

¹⁴⁰ "Part Three: The Religious Experience of Paul and of the Pauline Churches" (pp. 197-342).

¹⁴¹ p. 200.

¹⁴² p. 209.

¹⁴³ ibid.

¹⁴⁴ The charismata/pneumatika are classified into four groups: miracles (ἐνεργήματα), revelation (ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος), inspired utterance, and service (διακονία).

¹⁴⁵ Concern about the conclusions derived from 1 Cor 12 by the consensus-approach has often been expressed: see for example Brockhaus: Charisma, pp. 93, 95, 209f, 216; Hainz: Ekklesia, p. 22; P. Grelot: "La structure ministérielle de l'Eglise d'après Saint Paul: A propos de »L'Eglise« de H. Küng", Istina 16 (1970), pp. 389-424 (esp. pp. 398ff); idem: "Sur l'origine des ministères dans les églises pauliniennes", Istina 16 (1971), pp. 453-69 (esp. pp. 460-61).

¹⁴⁶ See Jesus, p. 266.

¹⁴⁷ Some scholars have charged that the result of this approach is to portray Paul himself as virtually indistinguishable from the Corinthian pneumatics he was opposing. See, for example, L. Goppelt: Apostolic, p. 187 n. 23. Cp. also Bultmann's criticism that

Sohm one-sidedly pictures the members of the Christian congregations as religious individualists and enthusiasts and one-sidedly conceives the working of the Spirit as taking place in the inspirations of the moment. What Paul combats as a danger or what he at least restricts (1 Cor.12 and 14), Sohm regards . . . as the normal thing. (Theology II, p.98.)

¹⁴⁸ He defines charisma as an event, an experience, which is not to be confused with natural gifts, but which is supernatural, a manifestation of the Spirit (Jesus, pp. 254-57). The Corinthian pneumatics may well have seen this as a definition of the pneumatika they prized so highly.

¹⁴⁹ See pp.50-51 above.

¹⁵⁰ See pp.367-90 below.

¹⁵¹ Jesus, p. 289.

¹⁵² Authority, p. 55.

- ¹⁵³See pp.62-64 above.
- ¹⁵⁴Jesus, pp. 262-65.
- ¹⁵⁵p. 266.
- ¹⁵⁶p. 259.
- ¹⁵⁷pp. 259, 260, 266, 270, 297, 299, 345-46, 359-60.
- ¹⁵⁸p. 270.
- ¹⁵⁹p. 359. Cp. pp. 299, 346.
- ¹⁶⁰pp. 346, 360.
- ¹⁶¹p. 360.
- ¹⁶²ibid.
- ¹⁶³p. 200.
- ¹⁶⁴pp. 260-62.
- ¹⁶⁵See p. 65 above.
- ¹⁶⁶Holmberg, Paul, p. 206.
- ¹⁶⁷Holmberg, Paul, p. 205.
- ¹⁶⁸See pp. 37-39, 49, 52, 62-64 above.
- ¹⁶⁹See pp. 43f, 52-54 above.
- ¹⁷⁰See pp. 39, 49-50, 54-55, 55-62 above.
- ¹⁷¹The Sociology of the New Testament Church to A.D. 62: An Examination of the Early New Testament Church in its relation to its Social Setting (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Nottingham, 1972), p. 14f.
- ¹⁷²Cp. K.S. Hempill: The Pauline Concept of Charisma: A Situational and Developmental Approach (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1976), pp. 3ff.
- ¹⁷³C.J. Roetzel: The Letters of Paul: Conversations in Context (John Knox Press, Atlanta, 1975).
- ¹⁷⁴The situation from which each was written (i.e. the situation Paul was in) undoubtedly also had an important influence, perhaps more decisively in some cases than in others. This is perhaps especially true of Rom: see W.S. Campbell: "Why did Paul write Romans?", ExpT 85 (1973-4), pp. 264-9.
- ¹⁷⁵Although this has always been acknowledged in general terms, there has always been some tendency to adopt an abstracting, "proof-texting" approach to the study of Pauline theology. In recent years there has been a deliberate attempt on the part of scholars to achieve an interpretation of Paul's thought which gives adequate recognition

to the occasional nature of his letters. An impressive recent example is the work of J.C. Beker (Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1980)), who allows the occasional character of the letters to produce a hermeneutic which relates the contingency and the coherence of the apostle's thought as it finds expression in these letters (see esp. pp. 23-38).

¹⁷⁶ Mitte und Norm des Christlichen: Eine Auslegung von 1 Korinther 1, 1-3, 4 (NTAbh (N.F.) 5) (Verlag Aschendorff, Münster, 1968), p. 5f.

¹⁷⁷ See pp. 50f, 65f.

¹⁷⁸ Cp. Hemphill (n. 172 above).

¹⁷⁹ See pp. 43f, 54, 55-62 above, and Holmberg: Paul, pp. 162-81, 186-95.

¹⁸⁰ Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1980), p. 26.

¹⁸¹ Paul, p. 207.

¹⁸² To say this is not to espouse the opposite error; i.e. the reductionism which assumes that the empirical is the only reality, so that the true explanation of the origin and life of the churches is sociological. This error is exemplified in K. Kautsky: Foundations of Christianity, ET (Russell & Russell, New York, 1953), whose approach is vitiated by the "materialistic fallacy" against which Holmberg rightly gives a warning (Paul, p. 207).

¹⁸³ Cp. the quotation from C.S. Hill on p. 69 above. Cp. also the complaint of J.Z. Smith that the study of early Christian materials has been characterized by an overemphasis on a literary-historical and theological point of view to the detriment of the sociological. We have been seduced into a description of a Sitz im Leben that lacks a concrete (i.e., non-theological) "seat" and offers only the most abstract understanding of "life". ("The Social Description of Early Christianity", RelStRev 1 (1975), p. 19). See also the strikingly similar observation of G. Theissen: Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums (WUNT 19) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1979), p. 6.

As a final example we may note the observations of L.E. Keck:

. . . because Bultmann did not relate the theology of Paul and John very clearly to the communities for which they wrote, one has the impression that their theologies were not really affected by the hurly-burly of early Christian life. It is tantalising to ask: How much different would Bultmann's New Testament Theology have turned out had he probed each writer's . . . theology as both growing out of and responding to the theological and moral issues they perceived to be at stake in their communities? If their theologies had been related more clearly to the social realities of the early Christian communities? ("On the Ethos of Early Christians", JAAR 42 (1974), p. 439).

¹⁸⁴ Useful surveys of recent work in this area are pro-

vided by D.J. Harrington: "Sociological Concepts and the Early Church: A Decade of Research", TS 41 (1980), pp. 181-90; E.A. Judge: "The Social Identity of the First Christians: A Question of Method in Religious History", JRH 11 (1980), pp. 201-17 (esp. pp. 202-09); and R. Scroggs: "The Sociological Interpretation of the New Testament: The Present State of Research", NTS 26 (1979-80), pp. 164-79.

An extensive bibliography is provided by J.H. Elliott: A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1982), pp. 15-8 (and footnotes). To this must now be added A. Funk: Status und Rollen in den Paulusbriefen: Eine inhaltsanalytische Untersuchung zur Religionssoziologie (ITS 7) (Tyrolia Verlag, Innsbruck/Vienna/Munich, 1981), and W.A. Meeks: The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983).

Recognition of the impact and importance of this rapidly developing trend in biblical studies was given by the fact that the July, 1982 issue of Interpretation (Vol. 37, No. 3) was devoted to the theme of "Social Studies and Biblical Interpretation", with articles by B.J. Malina, B.O. Long, J.G. Gager, and W.A. Meeks.

¹⁸⁵F.W. Beare: "The Ministry in the New Testament Church: Practice and Theory", ATHR 37 (1955), pp. 3-19 (at p. 3).

¹⁸⁶Both of these features are especially evident in the work of G. Theissen. See the first three essays in the work cited: "Zur forschungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der soziologischen Fragestellung" (pp. 3-34); "Die soziologische Auswertung religiöser Überlieferungen: Ihre methodologischen Probleme am Beispiel des Urchristentums" (pp. 35-54), and "Theoretische Probleme religionssoziologischer Forschung und die Analyse des Urchristentums" (pp. 55-76).

¹⁸⁷Again, this is a prominent characteristic of Theissen's work. See his The First Followers of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis of the Earliest Christianity, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1978), in addition to the work cited above (n. 183: 5 of the essays in that work have also been published as The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity: Essays on Corinth (Edited and Translated and with an Introduction by J.H. Schütz) (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1982)). See also A. Funk: Status (n. 184); J.G. Gager: Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1975).

¹⁸⁸See, for example, C.S. Rodd: "On Applying a Sociological Theory to Biblical Studies", JSOT 19 (1981), p. 95-106; P. Richardson: Review of A. Schreiber: Die Gemeinde in Korinth, JBL 98 (1979), pp. 454-5; S.R. Isenberg: "Some Uses and Limitations of Social Scientific Methodology in the Study of Early Christianity", in P.J. Achtemeier (ed.): Society of Biblical Literature 1980 Seminar Papers (Scholars Press, Chico, 1980), pp. 29-49; E.A. Judge "Social Identity".

¹⁸⁹"Social Identity", p. 210.

¹⁹⁰For a discussion of the issues that have been raised see the Appendix at the conclusion of this chapter (pp. 140-50).

¹⁹¹op. cit. (n. 184).

¹⁹²Home, p. 7f.

193
p. 9.

194 See B.J. Malina: "The Social Sciences and Biblical Interpretation", Int 37 (1982), pp. 229-42; idem: The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology (John Knox Press, Atlanta, 1981); S.R. Isenberg: art. cit. (n.188)

195 See esp. his studies on 1 Cor in Social Setting (n. 187).

196 Paul, p. 2.

197
p. 5.

198 See esp. his treatment of "Leaders, Administrators" (Paul, pp. 100-103), which, despite its importance for the position he adopts in relation to office and authority (pp. 110-23), is quite sketchy and impressionistic in its approach.

199 Die Gemeinde in Korinth: Versuch einer gruppendynamischen Betrachtung der Entwicklung der Gemeinde von Korinth auf der Basis des ersten Korintherbriefes (NTAbh (N.F.) 12) (Verlag Aschendorff, Münster, 1977).

200
p. 11.

201 Cp. J.H. Elliott's response to Schreiber's decision to rely on the secondary exegetical literature in his study of 1 Cor:

This is most curious inasmuch as he has already criticised just this exegesis . . . for its "naive" asociological premises. Rather than to have isolated the exegetical and sociological functions of his analysis, he should have demonstrated their correlation.

(Review of Schreiber, Biblica 59 (1978), pp. 589-92(at p. 592)).

202 See p.76 above.

203 He concentrates on Weber's theory of authority because of its enormous influence on sociological discussion (Paul, pp. 607, 136-37).

204 Urban Christians, p. 6.

205 A most unsatisfactory feature of most discussions of "office" and its relation to ministry in the NT period is precisely this tendency to assume that no precise definition or analysis of the term is necessary (cp. our comments about von Campenhausen (p.43 above)). Notable exceptions are Brockhaus (Charisma, p. 24 n. 106) and Merklein (Amt, p. 280).

206 Paul, p. 2.

207
p. 128.

208
p. 129.

209
p. 2.

210
p. 131 (my italics).

²¹¹See pp. 149-60 and 191-95.

²¹²See R.M. Stogdill: Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research (The Free Press, New York, 1974), pp. 8f, 17: D.W. Johnson and F.P. Johnson: Joining Together: Group Theory and Group Skills (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1975), p. 20.

²¹³Note esp. the following passages:
Groups become structured in terms of positions and roles during the course of member interaction. A group is organized to the extent that it acquires differentiated positions and roles. Leadership represents one or more of the differentiated positions in a group. (Handbook, p.23.) Leadership is defined as the initiation and maintenance of structure in expectation and interaction. . . . Leadership is an aspect of role-differentiation in a group. The leader plays an active part in development and maintenance of role structure and goal direction, necessary for effective group performance. (p. 411).

²¹⁴See M.E. Olsen: The Process of Social Organisation: Power in Social Systems (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York, 1978), pp. 55-76.

²¹⁵E.P. Hollander: Principles and Methods of Social Psychology (Oxford University Press, New York, 1971), p. 470. He gives as an illustration of an "aggregate" a group of people riding in the same lift.

²¹⁶M. Argyle: Social Interaction (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1969), p. 271.

²¹⁷, . . . formalisation is a major defining characteristic of organisations.' (R.H. Hall: Organizations: Structure and Process (Prentice-Hall International Inc., London, 1974), p. 182). Cp. D. Katz and R.L. Kahn: The Social Psychology of Organizations (John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York, 1966), pp. 43, 48.

²¹⁸'It may not always be easy to determine the exact point at which a group emerges into an organisation.' (R.M. Stogdill: "Leadership, Membership and Organization", in D. Cartwright and A. Zander: Group Dynamics: Research and Theory (Tavistock Publications Ltd., London, 1953), pp. 39-51 (at p. 41).) Cp. C.R. Shepherd: Small Groups: Some Sociological Perspectives (Chandler Publishing Co., Scranton, 1964), p. 4.

²¹⁹Olsen: Process, p. 61.

²²⁰Johnson and Johnson: Joining, p. 2. Cp. also Shepherd: Small Groups, pp. 3-5.

²²¹L. von Weiss, quoted in Schreiber: Gemeinde, p. 15.

²²²P. Müller, quoted in ibid.

²²³F. Tönnies: Community and Society, ET (Harper & Row, New York, 1963). Tönnies defined "Gemeinschaft" as 'all intimate, private and exclusive living together', as distinct from "Gesellschaft", which is public life (p. 33), and maintained that the former is lasting and genuine,

while the latter is 'transitory and superficial' (p. 35). On this distinction see Hollander: Principles, pp. 473-74.

²²⁴W.J.H. Sprott: Human Groups (Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1958), p. 15 (quoting G.S. Cooley).

²²⁵Sprott: Groups, p. 16. He gives the city and the trade union as examples.

²²⁶On Paul's churches as "groups", see Meeks: Urban Christians, p. 74. Schreiber's detailed attempt to apply small-group theory to the study of 1 Cor (op.cit.), which argues that the Pauline churches were groups in this sense, is described by Meeks (with some justification) as 'too hasty an application of modern . . . theory to our sources. . . .' (p. 74, n. 1).

²²⁷Olsen: Process, p. 117 (his italics). Cp. Hollander: Principles, pp. 478-83.

²²⁸Olsen: loc. cit.

²²⁹P.L. Berger and T. Luckmann: The Social Construction of Reality (Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, London, 1967), p. 70f.

²³⁰Olsen: loc cit. Cp. Holmberg: Paul, pp. 167-68.

²³¹Paul, p. 175f.

²³²p. 63f.

²³³Church Order, 7m (p. 102).

²³⁴Schweizer gives some recognition to this when acknowledges that in 1 Cor 16:15-18

the church is called on to acknowledge those to whom God has given special gifts which they have long since been exercising, so that they can perform their ministry as widely as possible, with no time limit. (7m, (p. 103)).

However, he fails to follow up the implications of this exhortation by Paul, and to consider what it entails about the relation between Spirit and institution.

²³⁵H.-D. Wendland: Die Briefe an die Korinther (NTD) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1965), p. 102.

²³⁶Olsen: Process, p. 118 (his italics). Cp. Hall: Organizations, pp. 138, 198; Hollander: Principles, pp. 491-95.

²³⁷The Organisation of Society (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1965), pp. 48-66. Cp. Hollander: Principles, pp. 491-95.

²³⁸p. 49.

²³⁹pp. 50, 53, 64-6.

²⁴⁰Olsen: Process, p. 119 (his italics).

²⁴¹ibid.

242, In general, increasing size produces increasing complexity. . . .' (Olsen: Process, p. 120).

243 Johnson and Johnson: Joining, p. 41.

244 ibid.

245 ibid.

246 J.W. Thibaut and H.H. Kelley: The Social Psychology of Groups (John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York, 1959), p. 290.

247 T.M. Mills: The Sociology of Small Groups (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1967), p. 64.

248 Thibaut and Kelley: Psychology, p. 239.

249 See B.J. Biddle and E.J. Thomas (eds.): Role Theory: Concepts and Research (John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York, 1966); A. Funk: Status, pp. 22-37.

250 Olsen: Process, p. 214.

251 T.T. Herbert: Dimensions of Organisational Behavior (Macmillan Publishing Co., New York, 1976), p. 316. Cp. M.E. Shaw and P.R. Constanzo: Theories of Social Psychology (McGraw-Hill Inc., New York, 1970), p. 326: "role" 'refers to the functions a person performs when occupying a particular characterization (position) within a particular social context.' (Their italics.)

252 R.M. Stogdill: "Intragroup-Intergroup Theory and Research", in M. Sherif (ed.): Intergroup Relations and Leadership: Approaches and Research in Industrial, Ethnic, Cultural, and Political Areas (John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York, 1962), pp. 48-65 (at p. 55). Cp. Argyle: Interaction, p. 267.

253 Stogdill: loc. cit. Cp. Shaw and Costanzo: Theories, pp. 326-36.

254 Funk: Status, p. 33.

255 Herbert: Dimensions, p. 290.

256 R.L. Johnstone: Religion and Society in Interaction: The Sociology of Religion (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1975), p. 121.

257 Olsen, Process, p. 271 (his italics).

258 Argyle: Interaction, p. 230. Cp. also p. 271: '. . . small groups spontaneously develop a hierarchical leadership structure.'

259 Hall: Organizations, p. 146. Cp. Olsen: Process, p. 120.

260 Olsen: Process, p. 121 (his italics).

261 Institutions are 'patterns of ordering that are strongly established, widely recognised and accepted, and highly stable over time.' (Olsen: Process, p. 117).

- ²⁶²Dienst, p. 19.
- ²⁶³Berger and Luckmann: Construction, p. 79.
- ²⁶⁴Johnstone: Religion, p. 122.
- ²⁶⁵Hall: Organizations, p. 182. Cp. also p. 196: 'Formalization is the organizational technique of prescribing how, when, and by whom tasks are to be performed.' (His italics.)
- ²⁶⁶Argyle: Interaction, p. 272f.
- ²⁶⁷See p. 85 above.
- ²⁶⁸See pp. 41f, 43-44, 52f, 54 above.
- ²⁶⁹See pp. 56-57 above.
- ²⁷⁰The most comprehensive introduction to the discussion is Stogdill: Handbook, which includes a massive bibliography of the relevant literature (pp. 430-581).
- ²⁷¹Stogdill, Handbook, pp. 8f, 17; Johnson and Johnson: Joining, p. 20.
- ²⁷²'It is meaningless to consider the leader in isolation from the follower group.' (Stogdill: Handbook, p. 199. Cp. also pp. 18-19, 63-64, 82).
- ²⁷³pp. 89-92 above.
- ²⁷⁴'If all members perform exactly the same duties in exactly the same way there is no leadership.' (Stogdill: "Leadership", p. 42.)
- ²⁷⁵Cp. Olsen: Process, p. 271 (quoted on p. 92 above).
- ²⁷⁶In relation to society as a whole, Benoit has proposed a different classification, according to which status has three forms: economic (distinctions of wealth), political (distinctions of power), and prestige (distinctions of esteem) (E. Benoit: "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelations", in Biddle and Thomas: Role, pp. 77-80 (at p. 77)). Although not without its relevance, this classification is not so immediately applicable to group-interaction.
- ²⁷⁷See W.R. Scott: Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems (Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1981), p. 277; Argyle: Interaction, p. 234.
- ²⁷⁸'Social prestige is favourable evaluation that an actor receives from others.' (Olsen: Process, p. 272; his italics.) This is sometimes referred to as "status": see Herbert: Dimensions, p. 315.
- ²⁷⁹See Argyle: Interaction, p. 234.
- ²⁸⁰'Evidence from a diversity of studies indicates that leaders are persons who tend to rate higher than average in popularity.' (Stogdill: Handbook, p. 58.)
- ²⁸¹See Stogdill: Handbook, pp. 275ff.

²⁸²Stogdill: Handbook, p. 276.

²⁸³See Stogdill: Handbook, pp. 276, 284-92; Hall: Organizations, p. 208; Herbert: Dimensions, pp. 88-92; P.F. Secord and C.W. Backmann: Social Psychology (McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1964), pp. 275-76.

²⁸⁴Stogdill: Handbook, p. 287.

²⁸⁵Stogdill: Handbook, p. 286.

²⁸⁶Hall: Organizations, p. 208.

²⁸⁷ibid.

²⁸⁸Stogdill: Handbook, p. 276.

²⁸⁹Process, pp. 40-44.

²⁹⁰Olsen: Process, p. 42.

²⁹¹See Argyle: Interaction, p. 230; A. Etzioni: "Dual Leadership in Complex Organisations", American Sociological Review 30 (1965), pp. 688-98 (at p. 691); Hall: Organizations, p. 244; Hollander: Principles, pp. 590ff, 599; Johnson and Johnson: Joining, p. 17f; Thibaut and Kelley: Psychology, p. 289.

²⁹²Scott: Organization, p. 277.

²⁹³ibid.

²⁹⁴' . . . one individual may hold resources of importance to another in one area but be dependent on the same person because of resources held by the latter in a different area.' (ibid.)

²⁹⁵See Olsen: Process, pp. 41-42, 137.

²⁹⁶Olsen: Process, p. 136.

²⁹⁷See Hollander: Principles, pp. 590-91.

²⁹⁸Argyle: Interaction, p. 234.

²⁹⁹' . . . an individual's prior experiences and conditioning as well as his immediate behavior in a group, plus his accomplishments and reputation, and his positions in other groups combine to determine the role he will be able to play.' (Stogdill: "Intragroup-Intergroup", p. 56).

³⁰⁰Stogdill: Handbook, p. 413. Cp. Johnstone (Religion, p. 123), who speaks of 'the strong tendency within any group for higher-status persons to assume positions of power and be elected to office. . . .'

³⁰¹Thibaut and Kelley: Psychology, p. 286.

³⁰²Stogdill: Handbook, p. 413.

³⁰³Gemeinde, p. 129.

³⁰⁴ibid.

- 305 On this see Johnson and Johnson: Joining, pp. 20-23.
- 306 Johnson and Johnson: Joining, p. 22.
- 307 ibid.
- 308 Herbert: Dimensions, p. 378. Cp. Hollander: Principles, p. 600.
- 309 Johnson and Johnson: loc. cit.
- 310 ibid. Cp. Stogdill: "Leadership", p. 41.
- 311 See, for example, Etzioni: "Leadership", P.E. Slater: "Role Differentiation in Small Groups", American Sociological Review 20 (1955), pp. 300-10.
- 312 Stogdill: Handbook, p. 418. For a comprehensive listing of the "task functions" and "maintenance functions" of small-group leadership, see Johnson and Johnson: Joining, pp. 26-27.
- 313 See Slater: "Differentiation", p. 308f.
- 314 See, for example, Etzioni: "Leadership", pp. 689-90.
- 315, . . . the roles of task leader and social leader are combined in cohesive groups, but separated in poorly integrated groups.' (Stogdill: Handbook, p. 244.)
- 316 Stogdill: "Intragroup-Intergroup", p. 57. Cp. idem: Handbook, p. 30:
- Functions identified by the behavioral theorists and researchers include:
- Defining objectives and maintaining goal direction
 - Providing means for goal attainment
 - Providing and maintaining group structure
 - Facilitating group action and interaction
 - Maintaining group cohesiveness and member satisfaction
 - Facilitating group task performance
- The list of functions identified by the behavioralists grew out of research on basic group processes and the emergence of the leadership role.
- 317 See Herbert: Dimensions, pp. 377-78; Johnson and Johnson: Joining, p. 22; J. Klein: The Study of Groups (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, London, 1956), pp. 20-21, 23; Mills: Sociology, p. 92f.
- 318 Argyle: Interaction, p. 233.
- 319 See Johnson and Johnson: Joining, p. 41.
- 320 See pp. 90-91 above.
- 321 Hollander: Principles, pp. 596-97.
- 322 Stogdill: Handbook, p. 215.
- 323 Stogdill: Handbook, p. 239.

³²⁴Hollander: Principles, p. 497.

³²⁵'The member who talks and participates most actively in the group activities is the one most likely to emerge as a leader.'
(Stogdill: Handbook, p. 230).

³²⁶'The group member who possesses information enabling him to contribute more than other members to solution of the group task tends to emerge as leader.'(ibid.)

³²⁷Stogdill: Handbook, p. 414.

³²⁸Hollander: Principles, p. 497.

³²⁹Hollander: Principles, p. 493. Cp. Stogdill (Handbook, p. 246): 'Large groups make greater demands for leader skill and competence than small groups.' Cp. also Mott: Organization, p.66.

³³⁰Johnstone: Religion, p. 121f.

³³¹See p. 93 above. Cp. also Mott: Organization, p. 65.

³³²See the quotations from von Campenhausen on p. 56 above, for example.

³³³Scott: Organizations, p. 281 (his italics). Cp. Holmberg: Paul, pp. 124-35.

³³⁴Scott: Organizations, pp. 281-83.

³³⁵Cp. 2 Cor 10:8; 13:10.

³³⁶Olsen: Process, p. 97.

³³⁷Stogdill: Handbook, p. 285.

³³⁸Klein: Study, p. 12. She defines "functional authority" as 'authority arising from the nature of the task and vested, by implication, in the man who is recognised as best able to perform that task.'
(ibid.)

³³⁹Klein: Study, p. 16.

³⁴⁰Klein: Study, pp. 16, 24-39.

³⁴¹See the quotation from Parsons, Bales and Shils in Klein: Study, p. 25f.

³⁴²See p. 59f above.

³⁴³See p.49 above.

³⁴⁴See p. 60f above.

³⁴⁵These terms are derived from Merklein: Amt, p. 287.

³⁴⁶See pp. 88-95 above.

³⁴⁷See pp. 93-95 above.

³⁴⁸ See p. 94 above.

³⁴⁹ Katz and Kahn: Psychology, p. 173.

³⁵⁰ Olsen: Process, p. 121 (quoted on p. 93 above).

³⁵¹ Charisma, p. 24 n. 106. Cp. the definitions offered by Merklein: 'Amt als kirchliche Institution ist die Festlegung eines Rahmens für bestimmte Charismen im Zuge einer fortschreitenden Erkenntnis der ekklesiologischen Relevanz derselben.' (Amt, p. 285); and, 'Amt erscheint als kirchliche Definition gemäss der theologischen Reflex-Werdung der ekklesiologischen Relevanz bestimmter Charismen.' (ibid.) These have the virtue of recognising the fact that the exercise of functions that are important for the group generates expectations and recognition.

³⁵² ibid.

³⁵³ See pp. 18 and 57 above.

³⁵⁴ See pp. 41-45, 54-57f, 52-55 above.

³⁵⁵ Authority, p. 80.

³⁵⁶ ibid. Cp. the balanced observations of Bultmann, who says that

it is not justified to place the inception and development of church order and church office in such opposition to the sway of the Spirit as Sohm does. Intelligent conduct which arises from a recognition of what the situation demands does not exclude the possibility that the Spirit is working in such conduct. It is no less true that the services performed through the Spirit in and for the congregation do not contradict the nature of the Spirit simply because of being connected with an office. Such a conclusion would be necessary only if the Spirit's sway were regarded as restricted to the phenomena of an individualistic Spirit-possession. Early Christianity was spared from such a narrow view of the Spirit by the influence of Pauline . . . theology. . . . (Theology II, p. 99f.)

³⁵⁷ See pp. 81-82 above.

³⁵⁸ p. 86 above.

³⁵⁹ pp. 24f above.

³⁶⁰ Rom 12:6-8 is unlikely to reflect precise knowledge of the functions and structures evident in the Christian community in Rome, and does not therefore provide us with clear evidence about local leadership in the churches there.

³⁶¹ See pp. 73ff.

³⁶² "Social world" here refers to their environment rather than to their interpretation of it: see Meeks: Urban Christians, p. 8.

³⁶³ For a discussion of whether the texts provide sufficient data to permit such an approach, see the Appendix at the end of the chapter.

APPENDIX

THE VALIDITY OF A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH
TO NT STUDY: A SURVEY OF SOME RECENT DISCUSSION:

This Appendix is not intended to provide a comprehensive review of all the issues that have been raised in recent discussion about the validity and value of a sociological approach to NT study. It is descriptive in its approach, reporting the views that have been expressed rather than interacting with them, and limited in its purpose, in that it intends only to give some indication of the current state of discussion, in order to identify issues that need to be addressed and to show that this approach cannot be dismissed as unwarranted or invalid.

As we noted above¹, there are signs of an emerging reaction against the recent trend towards the use of the social sciences in NT study². Concerns have been expressed about three matters in particular.

(1) Attention has been drawn to 'the lack of consensus among scholars as to the definition, method, and direction' of sociological study of the NT³, and to the lack of a 'consistent theoretical and methodological perspective'.⁴ This problem is a reflection of the wide range of perspectives and approaches in sociology itself, in which a great variety of models and theories are current⁵. The result is a noticeable degree of confusion about what is being attempted in a sociological study of the NT, and about how it should be done.

(2) Concerns have been raised about the nature and derivation of sociological theories and models, and their applicability to first century data. We may summarise these concerns as follows.

(i) There is a danger of a "sociological reductionism", in which the phenomenon of early Christianity is explained purely in sociologic-

al terms--and thus explained away!⁶

(ii) It has been argued that 'models derived from data outside the ancient world' cannot be applied directly to that world⁷, as this would involve a gross anachronism.⁸

(iii) It has been claimed that inherent in a sociological approach to the NT is the temptation to squeeze the evidence into the mould of the model or theory being used, either by extrapolating from the theory to fill in gaps in the evidence, or by ignoring inconvenient evidence that cannot be made to fit the theory.⁹

(iv) Since the sociological theories cannot be tested in the normal way when applied to the NT (i.e., by participant observation or controlled experiment), there is a danger that the theory will simply be assumed to be true if any evidence at all can be shown to fit it.¹⁰

(v) Since sociological (and other social scientific) theories are based on recurrent patterns and trends in human society, the application of such theories to the NT data will inevitably tend to bypass or eliminate those respects in which early Christianity was sui generis, thus failing to understand it in its own context and on its own terms.

There may well be no comparable phenomenon known to history, and it could therefore prove a fundamental error to attempt to explain primitive Christianity by sociological methods which work through analogy and presuppose the repetitiveness of human behaviour.¹¹

(3) The nature of the evidence itself has also led to a questioning of the possibility of a valid and successful use of social scientific theories and procedures. In the first place, there is not much relevant evidence available, and what there is contains many gaps.¹²

While sociologists are happiest with masses of closely controlled data, the NT offers a relatively small collection of frankly tendentious accounts. . . .¹³

Indeed, Judge has insisted that we do not yet have a sufficiently pre-

cise understanding of the social context of early Christianity to permit us to understand it fully as a social phenomenon, let alone to attempt a sociological interpretation.

Until the work of mapping out their social identity and behaviour has been developed much further in juxtaposition with the conventions and practices of contemporary society, we are in no position to say who or what the first Christians were.¹⁴

Secondly, what evidence there is is not directly sociologically accessible. That is, most texts are speaking about theological verities, not sociological conditions.¹⁵

So the kind of data that will permit sociological analysis and interpretation is available only to a limited extent, and even then only indirectly.

These are all serious problems, and their nett effect is to question whether historical sociology is possible at all¹⁶, or at least whether it is possible in relation to the NT. However, those scholars who have been engaged in sociological study of the NT are not unaware of the difficulties, and several have given some indication of their response to them. We may conveniently summarise these responses in three sections, corresponding to the three sections above.

(1) The lack of consensus and of a clear methodological perspective is hardly surprising, in view of the relative novelty of this approach to NT study. Yet the fundamental questions of 'definition, method, and direction' are being addressed, most notably in the work of Theissen. He has published three important articles¹⁷ in which he has attempted to provide a rationale and to elaborate a methodology for this approach to the NT. Further clarification in this area can be expected as more work is done.

(2) The application of models and theories derived from a study of contemporary societies to an ancient society to which we have no

direct access may create some difficulties, but it is not invalid in principle.

(i) The danger of a "sociological reductionism" is not great, especially if those engaged in a sociological study of the NT are alive to the irreducibly theological focus and intention of the NT documents.¹⁸ Besides, the emergence of this approach to the NT is in part a response to the "theological reductionism" which has characterised much NT study, and a necessary corrective to it.¹⁹

Interest in the sociology of early Christianity is no attempt to limit reductionistically the reality of Christianity to social dynamic; rather it should be seen as an effort to guard against a reductionism from the other extreme, a limitation of the reality of Christianity to an inner-spiritual, or objective-cognitive system. In short, sociology of early Christianity wants to put body and soul together again.²⁰

(ii) In sociological discussion, models and theories have been shown to be capable of applying beyond the particular situation(s) from which they were derived.²¹ Therefore, since it is true

dass soziologische Forschung Modelle entwickeln kann, die von einer jeweiligen geschichtlichen Situation unabhängig sein können²²,

there is no reason in principle why these models should not be applied to ancient societies, to see whether they succeed in providing fresh illumination in our understanding of the data.

(iii) Sociology is, as Judge pointed out in criticising this approach,

less concerned with what is individual than with what is typical, recurrent, general . . . [and] . . . is less concerned with the singular conditions of a specific situation than with structural relationships that apply to several situations²³;

but it is surely just as valid to study those respects in which early Christianity was typical as to concentrate on those respects in which it was distinctive.

(iv) All interpretation of data assumes a theoretical perspective, and it is not always clear that the perspective which prevails

when a sociological approach is rejected is in any way superior.

The view that we should be content with a straightforward historical interpretation of the available facts is not without its difficulty:

The difficulty is that without interpretation there are no facts. Every observation entails a point of view, a set of connections. The pure empiricist would drown in meaningless impressions. . . . To collect facts without any theory too often means to substitute for theory our putative common sense. Making that substitution modernizes no less than does the scientist who follows his theory, for our common sense, too, is a cultural artifact. The advantage of an explicitly stated theory is that it can be falsified.

In writing social history, then, we cannot afford to ignore the theories that guide social scientists.²⁴

Thus, the use of sociological theories stands to aid the historian in his task, rather than to inhibit him:

To use concepts and methods developed in sociology or in other social sciences . . . does not turn the historian into a systematizing social scientist. Rather, these offer him sets of categories with which to order historical materials and possibly enhance the power of his interpretive or causal explanations.²⁵

(3) The problems posed by the nature of the data are also real, but not insurmountable. The fact that we are dealing with ancient rather than modern groups and situations does have one significant advantage. While contemporary sociology deals with social processes as they are unfolding, often with a view to predicting possible developments, historical sociology is dealing with social processes that have run their course and whose outcome is known.²⁶ In some respects, therefore, it may be easier to interpret historically-distant social processes than to interpret contemporary ones.

Although the sources on which we are reliant for our knowledge of early Christianity are not concerned with the same questions a sociologist would pose a sociological interpretation does not thereby become invalid or impossible.

Most New Testament texts, though perhaps reflecting the social structures of the Church, are not written to communicate information about them. Nonetheless they can be used in collecting such information without necessarily leading to a distortion

of what they have to say on other matters.²⁷

As a result of the text's orientation to other concerns, those who seek to engage in a sociological interpretation of the NT

must read the text as if it were a palimpsest. This means the researcher must work with the utmost caution and strictness, with adequate guard against over-enthusiasm.²⁸

Thus care and restraint are necessary; but, provided they are exercised, there is no reason why a sociological study of the NT should not be able to yield some valid insights.

In addition to anticipating and answering the kind of objections we have considered above, scholars committed to the sociological approach to the NT have also argued that it is in fact both necessary and successful.

(1) Its necessity stems from the importance and impact of the social context, social needs, and social processes of the early Christians on the NT documents, which have hitherto been approached in a onesided manner.²⁹ So, while ideas, individuals, and documents have been intensively studied,

the task yet before the exegetes is the interpretation of the biblical literature as products and reflections of a dynamic social process, of socioreligious movements.³⁰

(2) Its success lies in its heuristic impact. So, referring to the studies of Theissen, Elliott, and others, Gager claims that the

value of these approaches is not just that they "work", that sociological theories can be made to fit the data of early Christianity, but that they make a difference, they lead to new questions, new answers, and new understandings.³¹

Two principal conclusions emerge from this brief review. The first is that there are some real dangers in the application of social scientific models and theories to the NT--the danger of a "sociological reductionism", of a distorted treatment of the data, of treating working hypotheses as "laws", and so on. However, these dangers are not necessarily any greater than those inherent in the

use of any method which is designed to analyse only one dimension of a complex reality. Provided that proper caution and restraint are exercised, the results of this approach are likely to be no less valuable and no more incomplete than the results of other approaches to the NT documents.

The second conclusion to emerge from our discussion is that this approach needs to be given an opportunity to demonstrate what it is capable of achieving. The proper response to the over-enthusiasm with which some will hail this approach, as providing the "real key" to an understanding of the NT, is not a blanket denial of its validity or value, but a "wait and see" attitude, which is willing to allow it to demonstrate to what extent it can complement or enhance the understanding of the NT that has been arrived at by more familiar means.

One final matter that deserves to be mentioned is the tendency in some of the discussion for the terms "social" and "sociological" to be used in a rather loose, imprecise manner. As a result, a number of scholars have drawn a distinction between them, a distinction which is important as an indicator of where further work in this area is needed. Malherbe distinguishes 'social facts' and 'sociological theory', and says that

we should strive to know as much as possible about the actual social circumstances of those communities before venturing theoretical descriptions or explanations of them.³²

Similarly, Elliott refers to the way

the terms "social" and "sociological" have generally been used indiscriminately so that mere social description has³³ been equated--erroneously--with sociological explanation.

The latter task cannot be undertaken unless the former has proceeded sufficiently, as both Malherbe and Judge have insisted.³⁴ Yet both need to be seen as equally valid and necessary aspects of the one task, as Gager maintains:

. . . theoretical explanations without thorough descriptions are doomed to failure from the start. Conversely, however, . . . meaningful descriptions can never be devoid of assumptions, whether explicit or not, that verge on being theories in disguise. Thus when I speak of social description as distinct from sociological interpretation I do so only to highlight different aspects of a single task, not to propose that one can proceed without the other. Explanation without description is vacuous. Description without implicit theory is impossible.³⁵

While there is obviously some truth in Gager's insistence that description and interpretation are interrelated, it is equally the case that a specifically sociological interpretation and explanation cannot proceed unless the task of social description has succeeded in providing sufficient data for the theories to be applied to.

The distinction between social fact and sociological theory, or between social description and sociological explanation, thus suggests that there is room for a considerable amount of further progress to be made by both the social historian and the sociologist in the study of early Christianity, and also that there can and should be a significant degree of cross-fertilisation between the two approaches.

We conclude this brief review of the discussion about the sociological study of the NT by drawing attention to T.F. Best's five-fold prescription for sustainable progress towards a realisation of this new discipline's promise. He insists, firstly, that

the NT student must become fully competent in sociological techniques, to the point of using them from 'inside' the discipline rather than borrowing them as an outsider;³⁶

secondly, that the

. . . NT sociologist must move from a reactive stance, in which he uses models previously generated by sociologists in other fields, to an active stance in which he helps to generate the models to be applied to his own data;³⁷

thirdly, that the

. . . NT sociologist, precisely for the sake of accurate sociological analysis, must insist upon the importance of the faith-dimension in his texts. Sociology as such considers only the human dimension in human behaviour, and

systematically eliminates trans-human factors. Yet these are essential to the data itself;³⁸

fourthly, that

we must resist the tendency in sociological theory to regularize the data in favour of interpretive theories;³⁹

and finally, that

NT sociology must resist its own tendency to abstraction,⁴⁰ and must seek to enter sympathetically into the real human situations underlying the text.

Best's conclusion will also serve as a suitable conclusion to this brief review of the discussion about sociological study of the NT: we 'are presently in an experimental stage', but there is a real prospect that 'the discipline will . . . come of age.'⁴¹

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX:

- ¹p. 78.
- ²See esp. C.S. Rodd: "Applying": E.A. Judge: "Social Identity"; W.A. Meeks: Urban Christians, pp. 1-7.
- ³R.S. Kraemer: Review of G. Theissen: Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity and A. Malherbe: Social Aspects of Early Christianity, JBL 98 (1979), pp. 436-38 (at p. 436).
- ⁴T.F. Best: "The Sociological Study of the New Testament: Promise and Peril of a New Discipline", SJT 36 (1982), pp. 181-94 (at p. 187).
- ⁵R. Scroggs: "Sociological", p. 166.
- ⁶Scroggs: "Sociological", p. 167.
- ⁷Kraemer: art. cit., p. 437.
- ⁸It is to this that Judge's "sociological fallacy" refers: see p. 75 above. Cp. also Best: "Sociological", pp. 188-89; D.J. Harrington: art. cit., p. 182.
- ⁹Rodd: "Applying", p. 98f; Judge: "Social Identity", p. 206 (quoting G.S.R. Thomas' review of Gager's Kingdom and Community); D.L. Bartlett: "John G. Gager's 'Kingdom and Community': A Summary and Response", Zygon 13 (1978), pp. 109-22 (at p. 119).
- ¹⁰Cp. Rodd: "Applying", pp. 98f, 104; P. Richardson: Review of Schreiber: Gemeinde, p. 455.
- ¹¹Judge: "Social Identity", p. 213.
- ¹²Best: "Sociological", p. 188; Scroggs: "Sociological", p. 166.
- ¹³Best: loc. cit.
- ¹⁴"Social Identity", p. 213. Cp. also p. 210.
- ¹⁵Scroggs: "Sociological", p. 166.
- ¹⁶This is the main thrust of Rodd's article.
- ¹⁷See Chapter 1, n. 186.
- ¹⁸See Best: "Sociological", p. 192.
- ¹⁹Meeks: Urban Christians, p. 3f. See also pp. 68f, 72f above (esp. the quotations in n. 183).
- ²⁰Scroggs: "Sociological", p. 165f. Cp. also C.S. Hill: Sociology, pp. 9-15; S. Barton: "Paul and the Cross: A Sociological Approach", Theology 85 (1982), pp. 13-19 (at pp. 13f, 18).
- ²¹A. Schreiber: Gemeinde, pp. 9-10.

- ²²Schreiber: Gemeinde, p. 9 n.38.
- ²³G. Thiessen: Social Setting, p. 176f.
- ²⁴Meeks: Urban Christians, p. 5.
- ²⁵S.M. Lipset, quoted in Holmberg: "Sociological", p. 196 n.29.
- ²⁶Cp. B.J. Malina: "Social Sciences:", p. 238.
- ²⁷Holmberg: Paul, p. 3.
- ²⁸Scroggs: "Sociological", p. 166.
- ²⁹See pp.68f, 72f above (esp. n. 183).
- ³⁰J.H. Elliott: Home, p. 5.
- ³¹J.G. Gager: "Shall we Marry our Enemies?--Sociology and the New Testament", Int 37 (1982), pp. 256-65 (at p. 264).
- ³²Social Aspects, p. 20.
- ³³Home, p. 3. Cp. also Best: "Sociological", p. 185.
- ³⁴Malherbe: loc. cit.; Judge "Social Identity", pp. 210, 213, 216f.
- ³⁵"Marry", p. 259.
- ³⁶"Sociological", p. 191. But cp. p. 75 above.
- ³⁷ibid.
- ³⁸p. 192.
- ³⁹ibid.
- ⁴⁰p. 193.
- ⁴¹pp. 193-94.

CHAPTER II

LOCAL LEADERSHIP IN THE CHURCH OF THESSALONICA

I THESSALONIANS: INTRODUCTION

The approach to the study of the Pauline material outlined in the previous chapter requires us to establish the chronological position of 1 Th in the Pauline mission and to outline the situation to which it was addressed before we begin detailed exegetical study of the relevant sections of the letter. This Introduction will therefore consider (1) the letter itself, dealing with questions about its unity and its occasion, date and provenance, and (2) the church-situation reflected in the letter.

I. THE LETTER:

1. Its Unity:

While there are no longer any substantial doubts about the letter's authenticity¹, its unity has been questioned in a number of recent studies.² The most significant of these are by K.G. Eckart³ and W. Schmithals⁴, both of whom seek to show that the canonical form of 1 Th is secondary, the product of post-Pauline redaction in which originally separate letters to Thessalonica were combined. Their arguments have not met with widespread acceptance because of the penetrating criticism to which they have been subjected in several different studies.⁵

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to enter into detailed examination of the arguments for and against these hypotheses, the fact that the unity of all three Pauline letters we are to study has been questioned invites some general observations about such compilation hypotheses. There are four major considerations which relate to the arguments of Eckart and Schmithals, and also to those of the various scholars who have denied the unity of 1 Cor and Phil.

(1) Compilation hypotheses are often supported on formal grounds. In fact, the arguments of Eckart and Schmithals are primarily form-critical in nature. In particular, they maintain that the composite character of 1 Th is betrayed by the presence within it of several introductory thanksgivings (1:2ff; 2:13ff; 3:6ff) and several letter-endings (3:11f; 5:23ff). However, these claims have been invalidated on form-critical grounds⁶, and recent form-critical study of the Pauline letter has supported the unity of 1 Th.⁷

Two general points about such form-critical arguments should be noted. First, reliance upon such arguments should reflect adequate comparative study of the relevant epistolary form, lest (as in the arguments advanced by Eckart and Schmithals) the epistolary function of the passages concerned be misconstrued.

Secondly, these arguments tend to assume Paul's adherence to certain standard epistolary forms and conventions, and thus face two important objections. First, they are inclined to underestimate the extent to which material considerations predominated over formal ones in Paul's letter-writing (or better, letter-dictating) style.⁸ Paul was not seeking to produce literature, but to fulfil his apostolic commission. The origin of his letters as instruments of mission, and their consequent kerygmatic and didactic-paraenetic purpose, should lead us to expect that we will find in them a creative adaptation of epistolary conventions in the service of the Gospel and the churches. Secondly, these arguments tend to overestimate the fixity of certain epistolary forms. Scholars have not always avoided the error of finding the Pauline letters defective by comparison with a standard letter-form which is more an artificial construct than an attested reality.⁹

(2) Compilation hypotheses also rely upon material considerations. There are two main types of argument employed in this regard.

The first seeks to demonstrate the letter's stylistic disunity by pointing to abrupt or unexpected changes in theme, perspective, or mood. However, it is necessary to insist that the mere occurrence of stylistic irregularities does not suffice to demonstrate a letter's disunity:

. . . nicht jede Abweichung von einem sonstigen Briefthema, nicht jeder Wechsel im Ton und Inhalt, nicht jeder unvermittelte Übergang und nicht jede Wiederholung rechtfertigen eine literarische Operation.¹⁰

In fact, the circumstances in which Paul's letters were composed provide us with prima facie grounds for expecting a certain lack of stylistic unity or literary polish, for they were a more or less immediate response to information or events, dictated to an amanuensis¹¹ (but not necessarily at one sitting), and then despatched as soon as possible without the leisurely rewriting that is the necessary precondition of the unity and polish characteristic of works of literature.¹² Clearly, the onus probandi rests on the advocate of a compilation hypothesis, who must show that stylistic irregularities in Paul's writings are incompatible with the unity of letters of the kind that Paul sent to his churches.

The second type of argument seeks to demonstrate a letter's conceptual disunity, so as to show that the different sections of the letter could not have been written at the same time and in the same set of circumstances. The only proper and adequate test of such claims is the exegetical one; just as, conversely, the

success of our exegesis . . . must be the final proof of the unity of the letter.¹³

A prime requisite for such success in exegesis is a determination to persevere with difficulties in the text in order to penetrate the full range and depth of the author's thought. So exegesis will normally involve wrestling with apparent confusions or contradictions in the text in the knowledge that a too ready assumption that these things

cannot be resolved or explained may simply betray the exegete's failure to grasp the profundity and subtlety of the author's mind or his ignorance of the author's circumstances. Thus, in relation to a letter's conceptual unity, compilation hypotheses (like interpolation hypotheses, which are sometimes associated with them) should therefore be a last resort. This must not be taken to imply that such attempts to demonstrate on conceptual grounds that a canonical document is the product of compilation and redaction are never necessary or legitimate; however, it does imply that an alternative explanation of the difficulties may often be both possible and preferable.

(3) In order to be fully cogent a compilation hypothesis should involve some account of the editorial Sitz im Leben--who joined together originally separate Pauline letters, in what circumstances, and for what reasons?¹⁴ It is one of the merits of Schmithals' approach that he offers such an account.¹⁵ He argues that, since the extent of the redaction of the Pauline correspondence he claims to have demonstrated would disclose an unprecedented "Kompositionspsychose" if the editing was undertaken by different individuals in different situations, it is highly probable that one collector-editor was responsible for all of it. His editorial achievement--a Pauline corpus of seven letters--provided the Church with a powerful weapon in its struggle against Gnosticism. This hypothesis has been seriously undermined by the arguments of H. Gamble¹⁶, and to the extent that it fails, the various compilation hypotheses advanced by Schmithals are correspondingly weakened.

There are two significant problems confronting any attempt to reconstruct the presumed editorial Sitz im Leben. First, where there is no evidence of the activity of a redactor, apart from the character of the letter(s) concerned, such reconstructions risk the

use of the unknown to bolster up the uncertain. Historical hypotheses concerning the redactor cannot demonstrate the validity of literary hypotheses concerning the letter(s), which must be demonstrated on literary grounds; at best, they may show that the editorial process envisaged is historically plausible.

Secondly, such theories are suspect on the basis of the lectio difficilior principle, for they must explain why it was that the editorial task was performed so inadequately as to leave the resultant composite letter bearing so many signs of its secondary character so close to the surface. As A.J.M. Wedderburn observes,

. . . the argument points to tensions and untidy sequences of thought as signs of . . . editorial activity and seeks to produce more coherent letters, free from internal contradictions; paradoxically the more successful this argument is the less plausible it becomes, since one then has to explain why anyone should take these tidy, coherent letters and fit them together in such untidy, incoherent ways; in other words the text-critical principle of giving preference to the more difficult reading applies here too on a larger scale.¹⁷

(4) Where there are conflicting compilation hypotheses, offering differing reconstructions of the textual prehistory of a particular canonical letter, the plausibility of all militates against the probability of any. The fact that the same letter can be divided up with some plausibility in several different ways suggests that the beauty of the reconstruction owes more to the eye of the critical beholder than to the actual literary and historical realities. Thus a multiplicity of compilation hypotheses relating to any particular canonical letter weakens the case for regarding any one of them as the most adequate explanation of the form and contents of the letter.

Returning now to 1 Th, the hypotheses of Eckart and Schmithals referred to above are vulnerable to criticism in the light of points (1), (2) and (4) above, and cannot be considered to

have demonstrated the disunity of the letter. There are no substantial reasons for doubting that the letter we have is the letter Paul sent to the Thessalonians.¹⁸

2. Its Occasion, Date and Provenance:

The letter constitutes Paul's¹⁹ immediate and joyful response to the good news about the church brought by Timothy on his return from Thessalonica (3:6). The view that it also contains Paul's reply to a letter from the church or the church leaders²⁰ is not impossible, but neither is it necessitated by the evidence. The features of 1 Th upon which this hypothesis depends (especially the use of $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ or $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ at 4:9,13 and 5: 1,12, and the associated transitions from one theme to another) need only indicate that Paul is dealing in turn with various items in Timothy's verbal report.²¹

The clear indications in the letter that only a relatively brief period has elapsed since Paul's departure from Thessalonica (2:17-18; 3:1-2,6), the way Paul refers to Athens as though he is no longer there (3:1), and the evidence of Acts that Paul went from Athens to Corinth and that Timothy rejoined him there (Acts 18:1,5). all point to Corinth as the letter's place of origin. This enables us to date it with reasonable confidence in 50 or 51.²² This means that 1 Th may be the earliest extant Pauline letter.²³

Although the material in 2 Th will be used in this chapter only by way of comparison or illustration and will not be studied independently, it will be treated as authentically Pauline²⁴, written shortly after 1 Th²⁵ to deal both with a new problem that had arisen (2:1-2) and with a worsening of problems referred to briefly in 1 Th (cp. 1 Th 4:11-12, 5:14 and 2 Th 3:6-15).

II. THE CHURCH-SITUATION:

What situation in the church is reflected in 1 Th? What was it about the circumstances in Thessalonica that led Paul to write

as he did? One influential answer to these questions is that Paul had to deal with the problems posed by the presence of false teaching in the church. We shall now seek to demonstrate that this view is ill-founded, and shall then consider the purpose of the letter in relation to the church-situation.

1. Opponents in the Church?

In deliberate opposition to the influential view of F.C. Baur, W. Lütgert argued that the Thessalonian letters were written to counter the problems posed by a group of pneumatic enthusiasts, precursors of the Gnostics of the second century.²⁶ His study provided the starting-point for two recent interpretations of the Thessalonian situation. W. Schmithals has argued that the opponents involved were Jewish-Christian Gnostics, the same kind of opponents Paul faced when writing to the churches of Galatia, Corinth and Philippi.²⁷ R. Jewett sought to demonstrate that Paul was combating an "enthusiastic radicalism" which had some affinities with Gnosticism, but which lacked the characteristic docetic Christology and preoccupation with γνῶσις and σοφία.²⁸

Despite their differences, these three studies are united by their claim that the key to the interpretation of 1 Th is the presence of false teaching within the church. We cannot enter here into detailed examination and criticism of the arguments of each of these scholars, but must confine ourselves to a number of general criticisms.²⁹

The fundamental problem with these three studies, and others which share their approach to the interpretation of 1 Th, may be stated briefly: they give too little weight to explicit statements in the letter about the church-situation and too much weight to what they regard as implicit in Paul's exposition.

With regard to the latter point, much of the letter is in-

terpreted as an implicit attack on errors of belief or behaviour which reflect opposition to Paul's teaching. However, some of the passages concerned contain no indication that they are intended as rebuttals of false teachings, but read quite naturally as normal pastoral exhortation and instruction. Other passages do warn against error, but contain no suggestion that these errors are being deliberately fostered in the church. They appear to be unhappy lapses in faith and obedience rather than deliberate violations of apostolic teaching. In both these kinds of passages the interpretations proposed by Lütgert, Schmithals and Jewett become plausible only when we assume what they are seeking to establish; namely, that Paul wrote the letter to attack false teaching in the church. As Best observes, the basic problem

in the position of both Schmithals and Jewett is methodological. They assume that there are opponents to be described and then they set out to discover them in every nook and cranny of the letter.³⁰

With regard to the former point--that this approach gives too little weight to what is explicit in the letter--two observations are in order. First, the tone of the letter constitutes strong presumptive evidence against any hypothesis which regards 1 Th as largely polemical. Paul writes in a predominantly joyful and eirenic manner³¹, and such warnings as he gives are neither extensive enough nor vehement enough to suggest that serious and deliberate error is at work. In fact, the tone of the letter implies Paul's satisfaction with the condition of the church, and leads most naturally to the conclusion that

there is no passion [sc., in 1 Th] as there is in so many of Paul's other letters because there is no group against which Paul can be passionate.³²

Secondly, the content of the letter also tells against any attempt to interpret it in polemical terms. Negatively there is no refer-

ence to any hostile group in the church, nor any calls for the believers to turn away from false teaching. Positively, the substance of Paul's address to the church scarcely allows the possibility that he was aware of serious error within it. In the first place, he joyfully acknowledges the soundness and vitality of the Thessalonians' faith (1:2-5,8; 2:13; 3:6-8; 4:1,9-10; 5:11). Secondly, he rejoices in their undiminished affection for him and their earnest desire to see him again (3:6). Thirdly, he clearly states that many of the warnings and admonitions he gives in the letter are repetitions of the initial instruction he gave them when he was in Thessalonica (3:3-4; 4:1-2,6,11; 5:1-2); they cannot therefore have been directed against false teaching that has subsequently entered the church. Rather, they address problems constantly facing believers by virtue of the residual influence of their pre-Christian ways or the continuing pressure exerted by their pagan environment. Fourthly, the only opposition referred to in the letter comes from outside the church. ὁ πειράζων is intent upon destroying the church (3:5), and θλίψεις are the weapons he uses (3:3). From the beginning the Thessalonians experienced great θλίψις (1:6), which involved the hostility and active opposition of those around them (2:14). The θλίψεις currently afflicting them (3:3)³³ are best understood as a continuation of the same opposition. Their content is best ascertained by relating three adjacent aspects of this section of the letter. First, the immediate context of 3:3 indicates that these θλίψεις constitute a serious threat to the Thessalonians' πίστις (3:2,5). Secondly, the broader context gives considerable prominence to the question of the Thessalonians' attitude to Paul (2:17-3:10). The contents and tone of this passage (Paul's emphatic reassurances about his longing to see them and his deep affection for them and commitment to them; his explanation of his unsuccessful attempts to return to Thessalonica; and

his expression of joy and gratitude at the news of their affection for him and desire to see him) suggest that Paul was aware of doubts about his commitment to the Thessalonians and suspicion about the reasons for his failure to return. Thirdly, 2:1-12 also implies that various insinuations have been made about the character and motives of Paul's mission in Thessalonica. Taken together, these three aspects of the letter most naturally suggest that, during Paul's enforced absence, the church's opponents have sought to shake the Thessalonians' confidence in him by depicting him as a scoundrel who had no concern or affection for them. To discredit Paul by means of such allegations would be an obvious tactic to use for those whose aim was to undermine the Thessalonians' confidence in the Gospel they learned from Paul, and by this means to destroy the church. Paul's references to the church's *θλίψεις* thus suggest that in

der Anfechtung von aussen sieht er die Gefahr zum Abfall.³⁴

It is not false teaching within, but opposition without, that threatens the church.³⁵

There is thus a strong case against the view that 1 Th is to be interpreted as a polemic against false teaching in the church. An alternative account of Paul's intention, and thus of the church-situation, is needed.

2. The Purpose of the Letter:

1 Th discloses a certain ambivalence in Paul's attitude toward the Thessalonians: he rejoices over them (1:2-5; 3:6-9), and yet he is anxious about them (2:17-3:5; 3:10). This ambivalence is a natural consequence of the events surrounding the foundation of the church and Paul's subsequent relationship with it. He was separated prematurely from the church (*ἀπορφανισθέντες ἀφ' ὑμῶν*: 2:17), and has been repeatedly frustrated in his efforts to return (2:18). Throughout the period of his enforced separation from the church he

has been thanking God constantly for all that occurred while he was there (1:2-10); yet he has also been anxious lest the young church should have been destroyed before he was able to return (2:17-3:5). He could not endure the frustration of being unable to return and strengthen the church or the uncertainty about what had happened to them, so he sent Timothy to Thessalonica (3:1-2). Now that Timothy has returned and "evangelised"³⁶ Paul concerning the church's faith and love (3:6), Paul's joy and gratitude find expression in the letter he writes. Yet even in this outpouring of joy, there are still two sides to Paul's attitude to the church: he both rejoices in the stability of their faith (ὁμεῖς στήκετε ἐν κυρίῳ: 3:8) and desires to remedy its ὑστερήματα (3:10).

This two-sidedness in Paul's attitude to the church is reflected in the structure of the letter. 1 Th consists of two major sections (chapters 1-3 and 4-5) whose contents are indicated by the principal verbs with which each begins: εὐχαριστεῖν and παρακαλεῖν (4:1).³⁷ These two sections may be characterised as, respectively, philophronetic³⁸ and paraenetic in character, and their juxtaposition provides a clear indication of the purpose of the letter. Paul writes to express his gratitude for the Thessalonians and also to exhort them to further progress, greater faithfulness, and deeper obedience. This combination of acknowledgment and exhortation shows that Paul see the church

als eine, die sich auf dem rechten Weg befindet und die zu weiteren Fortschritten aufgefordert werden kann.³⁹

The object of the letter is thus to issue a "call to fulfilment"⁴⁰, to urge the Thessalonians to travel further along the "Weg zur Vollendung".⁴¹ This purpose is implicit in the philophronetic section and explicit in the paraenetic section of the letter.

Each element of the letter's first section (the thanksgivings, the apologia, and the apostolic parousia⁴²) serves to convey

this call to fulfilment.

The related thanksgivings in 1:2ff, 2:13f, and 3:9, like all the Pauline introductory thanksgivings, have important didactic and paraenetic functions.⁴³ In reporting to the Thessalonians the content of his prayers of thanksgiving, Paul is reminding them of the church's beginning. This is not for the sake of a disinterested

Erinnerung an Geschehenes. Vielmehr will er seine junge Gemeinde . . . dem Blick auf den grossen Anfang zum Ausharren und Fortschreiten auf dem begonnenen Weg anhalten,⁴⁴

Likewise, the apologia (2:1-12), although it functions on other levels as well, has an implicit hortatory function. Paul appeals to the Thessalonians' recollections of his ministry not merely to ensure his vindication in the face of unwarranted charges against him, but also to elicit their imitation of his example.⁴⁵ Like him, they are to let their lives be shaped and controlled by the Gospel.

In the course of the apostolic parousia section (2:17-3:13) Paul clearly indicates his desire for the shape and content of the church's life: steadfastness in the face of affliction, a firm faith, a love that continues to grow both mutually and universally. All that he says about these things serves to exhort the believers to continue to manifest them in their common life.

The call to fulfilment is explicit in the last two chapters of the letter. This is clear from the programmatic statement with which this paraenetic section begins (4:1), which combines the acknowledgment and exhortation through which the call to fulfilment is sounded. Paul both acknowledges that the Thessalonians are living in accordance with the apostolic teaching (παρελάβετε παρ' ἡμῶν τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν θεῷ καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε⁴⁶) and also urges them to do so more fully (ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον). This statement serves as a rubric indicating the tenor of the material

that follows. It is echoed in 4:9-10 and 5:11, where the same combination of acknowledgment and exhortation is found. The occasion and intention of the eschatological section (4:13-5:11) are best determined in the light of this basic motif of the paraenesis. When interpreted in this way, this section provides no indication that the church is being led astray by false eschatological teaching. It is not false teaching but discouragement, lack of resolution, and lack of understanding that Paul deals with here.⁴⁷ He therefore reiterates fundamental teaching whose implications they have not adequately grasped (4:13-14; 5:1-2), in order to lead them to continue in proper faith, hope and love (5:8).⁴⁸

The character and intent of the letter may thus be summarised as follows: what Paul has learned about the condition of the church from Timothy leads him both to acknowledge with joy and gratitude their stability and faithfulness and also to exhort them to go further and deeper in faith and obedience. It is true that certain false turnings threaten to lure the Thessalonians away from the right path, so that Paul has to issue certain warnings against these errors; however, on the whole,

Paul n'a pas de grands abus à reprimer, de questions graves à trancher. Pas de menaces, à peine des ombres. C'est une question de progrès et non de fautes ou d'erreurs.⁴⁹

At this point we must give some attention to an important view of the paraenetic material in 1 Th which, if correct, would largely exclude the interpretation we have just offered, as well as the interpretation we have rejected, which sees 1 Th as primarily polemical.

This view regards Paul's paraenesis as perfectly general in character: far from reflecting the situation in the church, it has no specific connection with what is happening in Thessalonica. This approach is associated especially with M. Dibelius, who maintained

that the paraenetic sections of the Pauline letters

lack an immediate relation with the circumstances of the letter. The rules and directions are not formulated for special churches and concrete cases, but for the general requirements of Christendom.⁵⁰

Accordingly, he does not regard 1 Th 4-5 as directed to the particular needs and problems of the church in Thessalonica.⁵¹

Dibelius' form-critical approach to Pauline paraenesis was developed by D.G. Bradley in his study of the topos.⁵² He described this form as an abbreviated but self-contained treatment of some common issue or problem. Topoi are usually found in clusters with little logical relation to one another, and are only loosely related to their literary context. Bradley regards 1 Th 4:9-5:11 as such a cluster of topoi, and thus maintains that the contents of this section are merely of general applicability. Since the material was not occasioned by anything peculiar to the Thessalonian church, it cannot be used to reconstruct the nature of the church-situation there.

This approach to the interpretation of the paraenesis in 1 Th is unsatisfactory for three main reasons. In the first place, with regard to the form-critical issue, H. Boers rightly observes that, although the form of 1 Cor 7:1ff; 7:25ff; etc. is that of the topos, the content of these passages is directly related to the situation in the Corinthian church, since each of these sections deals with issues raised in the church's letter to Paul.⁵³ This shows the danger of attempting to determine the occasion and intention of such paraenetical material solely with reference to its form and without regard to its literary and historical setting. This observation leads directly to the next criticism of this approach.

Secondly, with reference to 1 Th in particular, this approach does not give sufficient weight to the circumstances in which the letter came to be written. Paul's own relatively fresh

memories of the church, Timothy's up-to-date report on its condition, and Paul's eagerness to make good the ὅσπερῆματα in the Thessalonians' faith, together create the strong probability that Paul's paraenesis will address those ὅσπερῆματα in a direct and effective manner.⁵⁴

Thirdly, this approach paints a distorted picture of Paul's apostolic ministry. He was not, as V.P. Furnish rightly maintains, a purveyor of 'miscellaneous bits and pieces of ethical wisdom', and therefore the attempt

to view Paul's exhortations . . . as a "bag of answers to meet recurring problems and questions common to the members of different early Christian communities" is not successful. There are few passages in the Pauline letters which can not be related in some significant way to particular problems and needs the apostle is confronting.⁵⁵

For these three reasons the approach of Dibelius and Bradley is to be rejected as inaccurate. Interestingly, by disallowing any real or specific connection between the content of the paraenesis and the condition of the church this approach represents the opposite error to the one we considered in the previous section, in which there is a tendency to interpret all of Paul's statements as rebuttals of false teaching, so that the paraenesis becomes a mirror-image of the church's problems.

A balanced approach is required, in which recognition is given both to the situational orientation of the paraenesis and to the possibility that at least some of it may be addressed to the Thessalonians simply as Christians, and not to distinctive Thessalonians needs or problems. That Paul deals with certain issues, and not others, does provide a valid insight into the church-situation; yet some of the paraenesis is of such brevity (especially 5:12-22) that it can hardly be intended to resolve serious problems in the church.

As the material in 5:12-22 will be a major focus of attention in the remainder of this chapter, we must briefly indicate

how far it may be used to provide insight into the actual condition of the church. The brevity of the material and the probability that much of it is traditional in origin⁵⁶ mean that some commentators regard it as quite general in character, in contrast to the other material in chapters 4 and 5.⁵⁷ However, the arguments we have presented above against the approach of Dibelius and Bradley suggest that it may nevertheless be seen as relevant and appropriate in relation to the church-situation. We have every reason to believe that, on the basis of Timothy's report, Paul regarded it as important to say these particular things, but saw no necessity to say any more than he did. In 5:12-22 he addresses real issues, but not major problems.

Our brief discussion of these preliminary issues can now be concluded. We have argued that 1 Th is intended to issue a "call to fulfilment": ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον(4:1,10). The direction in which Paul is seeking to move the believers is not "other than" (1 Th is not a polemic against false teaching in the church) but "more than"--the church is not being called to abandon false paths but to proceed even further along the right path.

It is thus doubly advantageous to begin our study of the Pauline evidence by examining 1 Th: it provides us with the earliest relevant material, and it does so free of the one-sided emphases that inevitably characterise a polemical document. We can be confident that 1 Th presents us with an accurate indication of some aspects of Paul's understanding of church and ministry, and also with an accurate insight into some aspects of the structure and functioning of the church in Thessalonica. It may not inform us exhaustively, but it will inform us reliably.⁵⁸

1 THESSALONIANS: EXPOSITION:

We have argued above⁵⁹ that the exercise of local leadership in Paul's churches can only be understood adequately when it is seen in its right context. That context is the interplay between apostolic direction of the church, the corporate responsibility of the members of the church, and the mutual exercise of gifts and ministries within the church, in the course of which some believers come to have a distinct and recognised leadership-role.

Il existe une dialectique délicate entre Paul, l'assemblée et les divers responsables. Nul ne peut se dégager d'une responsabilité par rapport à l'Evangile, à annoncer par la vie et par la parole. Mais Paul en a la charge propre. Les collaborateurs de l'Apôtre participent à cette charge. Dans les communautés, des responsables ont fonction de diriger, reprendre, discerner ce qui vient de l'Esprit. Mais personne n'est dispensé du devoir de correction fraternelle, ni du devoir de discernement, ni d'une responsabilité par rapport à ses propres responsables.⁶⁰

So the emergence, forms and scope of such local leadership as may have existed in the Thessalonian church must be analysed in relation to Paul's own leadership of the church on the one hand, and the exercise of mutual ministries and corporate responsibility by all the believers on the other hand. Accordingly, before we turn to an examination of 1 Th 5:12-13, we will give some consideration to both of these aspects of the church's life.

I. APOSTOLIC LEADERSHIP:

Our concern in this section is a limited one. We will not be examining the general question of Paul's conception of his apostleship and of his apostolic authority, not only because there are a considerable number of detailed studies of this subject available⁶¹, but also because it does not enter directly into the scope of our investigation. Rather, our task is to discover what the letter discloses about his exercise of leadership towards the church, particularly in view of the need to determine what room there is for

local leadership to emerge alongside Paul's own leadership, and how such leadership was understood in relation to Paul's.⁶² 1 Th gives some insight into how Paul (and his companions) led the church while he was in Thessalonica, and shows him continuing to exercise leadership in his absence. This leadership is portrayed as an expression of the relationship Paul sees as existing between himself and the church. From this point of view, this relationship has two primary aspects: its origin in the missionary preaching by which Paul founded the church, and its continuation in the pastoral responsibility he bears for the church. These two aspects of his relationship to the church correspond to the two fundamental dimensions of his apostolic task. As an apostle, he has an extensive, missionary responsibility (he has been entrusted with the Gospel: 2:4), and an intensive, pastoral responsibility (he has been entrusted with the church).⁶³ His calling is to found the church and to nurture the church, to call it into being through the Gospel and to keep it true to the Gospel. These two dimensions of his apostolic task are related, in their turn, to the two horizons by which his mission is bounded: viz., his past commissioning by the Lord and the future coming of the Lord. So he labours as one who has been divinely commissioned, entrusted with the Gospel and sent to the Gentiles (2:4,16), and as one whose work will find its consummation and its reward at the Parousia, when his churches will be his joy and his crown (2:19-20).

These two horizons to which he looks, and the two dimensions of his apostolic task which are correlated with them, form the outer contours of his ministry to the Thessalonians. The inner content of that ministry--his exercise of leadership in founding the church and then caring for the church--is our concern in this section. Because it bears more directly on our theme, the latter aspect will be consid-

ered more fully.

1. Paul founded the church:

As an apostle, Paul has been commissioned to speak (λαλεῖν: 2:2,4), or to proclaim (κηρύσσειν : 2:9), the Gospel, the λόγος θεοῦ (2:13), to the Gentiles (2:16). He fulfilled this commission in relation to the Thessalonians⁶⁴ with courage (2:2), integrity (2:3-6), and self-giving love (2:7-9). By the power of the Spirit of God, his missionary proclamation was effective (1:4-5): the message was received (1:6; 2:13) and so the church came into being.

The letter makes it clear that Paul's work had not ended when the missionary proclamation was believed, for it contains many reminders of the pastoral instruction and exhortation which he and his two colleagues gave the Thessalonians after they had become believers. So Paul begins the paraenetic section of the letter by reminding them that he taught them τὸ πῶς δεῖ . . . περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν θεῷ, by giving them παραγγελίαι which specified the content of obedience to God's will (4:1-3).⁶⁵ One such παραγγελία was the instruction that they should work and live quietly (4:11).⁶⁶ He taught them that the God whose will they should obey is the righteous Judge of men who requires moral purity and integrity in His people (4:3,6). They learned from him that it is the lot of believers in this age to undergo θλίψεις (3:3-4), and that this age of tribulation will end when the Lord comes ὡς κλέπτῃς ἐν νυκτὶ (5:1-2). This instruction was accompanied by earnest pastoral exhortation, urging the believers to live worthily of the God who called them into His glorious kingdom (2:11-12). These references show that before his premature and painful separation from them (ἀπορφανισθέντες ἀφ' ὑμῶν: 2:17), Paul and his colleagues had taught the Thessalonians many of the principal ethical and social implications of the Gospel they had proclaimed.

The frequent recall of this foundation period which is found throughout the letter indicates that Paul regards the contents of that period as of continuing significance, for it created, and determined the shape of, a relationship between the apostle and the church which will find its fulfilment at the Parousia (2:19-20). The church is to allow its life in the present and the future to be shaped by that foundational period in the past, when traditions were delivered which are to be recalled and obeyed, an example was given which is to be remembered and followed--and a Gospel was proclaimed which is to continue to be believed and proclaimed. Likewise, Paul's present care for the church is a continuation of the ministry he began when he came to Thessalonica.

2. Paul leads the church:

1 Th shows clearly that Paul's apostolic responsibility for the Thessalonians was not exhausted by this foundational missionary preaching and pastoral instruction and exhortation. Paul has not forgotten them or ceased to long for them and labour over them in prayer (1:2-5; 2:13; 3:6, 10-13); in fact, he has attempted several times to return (2:17-18), and still hopes to do so in order to remedy the ὁστέρηματα in their faith (3:10). Furthermore, he sees his relationship with the church as continuing until the Parousia (2:19-20).⁶⁷

During the period of his reluctant absence from Thessalonica, Paul's responsibility for the church is exercised in a mediated, indirect manner. 1 Th refers to four different means by which his relationship with them is sustained and his oversight of them is implemented: viz., his prayers, his example, his envoy, and the letter itself. We will examine each of these in turn, to see how Paul understands the content, scope and purpose of his continuing leadership of the church.

(a) His Prayers

Prayer was a vital element in Paul's apostolic ministry and thus in his care of his churches.⁶⁸ The importance of prayer for Paul is reflected in both the form and the content of 1 Th.⁶⁹ Prayers and prayer-blessings form an important part of the letter's structure, with the introductory blessing (1:1), the introductory thanksgiving (1:2ff)⁷⁰, the wish-prayer forming a transition between the letter's philophroneic and paraenetic sections (3:11-13)⁷¹, the concluding wish-prayer (5:23)⁷², and the final blessing (5:28). They also help to convey the letter's message, as both the thanksgivings and the intercessions epitomize that message and emphasise its paraenetic intention.⁷³

Paul assures the Thessalonians that he prays constantly for them (1:2ff; 2:13; 3:10). What he prays, in both his thanksgivings and his intercessions, reflects his understanding of both his apostolic responsibility and also the eschatological position of the church as it lives between the decisive inauguration and final fulfilment of the promised salvation. The "already" of the apostolic proclamation is mirrored in the establishing of the church through the impact of Word and Spirit (1:4-5), and this leads Paul to joyful thanksgiving: as the one whose preaching founded the church, he thanks God for the Thessalonians' initial response to the Gospel (1:2-10; 2:13) and for their continuing response to its truth and power (1:3; 3:6-9). The "not yet" of the apostolic proclamation is mirrored in the church's present condition, and this leads Paul to earnest intercession: because he remains responsible for the church, he asks to be able to return to them so that he can lead them into a deeper and fuller faith (3:10-11), and also prays that they will grow in love and holiness in order to reach that perfection that God intends (3:12-13; 5:23).

This constant thanksgiving and intercession is not only a normal expression of Christian devotion (5:16-18); it also reflects both Paul's sense of dependence on God for the success of his mission and his sense of responsibility for the church he founded. He brought the believers to God through his preaching (1:9) and he still brings them to God in his prayers.

Although he is responsible for the church, Paul does not stand aloof from it or regard himself as detached from it. Indeed, as the church is not independent of Paul, so--at least in regard to prayer and all that it represents--Paul is not independent of the church. He requests the church to pray for him, just as he prays for it: Ἀδελφοί, προσεύχεσθε [καὶ] περὶ ἡμῶν (5:25).⁷⁴

At the beginning of the letter Paul had assured his readers of the unceasing prayers of thanksgiving and supplication made for them; now at the end he invites them to complete the intercessory circle of mutual responsibility.⁷⁵

This request for prayer indicates an obvious and important channel for both their love for Paul and their participation in his mission (cp. 2 Th 3:1-2).

The apostle needs the church's prayers; the church likewise depends on the apostle's prayers, not only in the sense that it cannot remain faithful or make progress without the continued presence and blessing of God for which Paul prays, but also because it learns from his prayers. Paul's prayer-reports in the letter have an important didactic and paraenetic function, as they reinforce the teaching and exhortation contained in the letter; they also have an important paradigmatic function, as they teach the Thessalonians how to pray as Christians.⁷⁶ Paul is thus both intercessor and exemplar: behind the praying church stands the praying apostle, who prays as he teaches and teaches as he prays.

Thus, the apostle's prayers, the joyful thanksgivings and

earnest intercessions reported in the letter and offered daily, are one important means by which he continues to exercise his responsibility for the church.

(b) His Example:⁷⁷

The language of imitation is found at three points in the letter⁷⁸, and in all three passages Paul is referring to something that has already occurred. Moreover, in 1:6 and 2:14 he speaks of what happened to them rather than anything they did, of the "Schicksalsgemeinschaft"⁷⁹ which binds the church to the apostolic band and also to the Lord. The Thessalonians' experience demonstrates how the Gospel creates its own distinctive pattern in the lives of those who receive it--the pattern of $\theta\lambda\iota\psi\iota\varsigma$ juxtaposed with $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, of being stricken and yet being sustained, of receiving life in death (cp. 2 Cor 4:7-12, 6:4-10).⁸⁰ As the apostolic band had exemplified this pattern of Christian experience to them (2:2), so they now exemplify it to others (1:6-7).

In view of all this, is there any basis for the view that Paul intended to provide an example which he expected the Thessalonians to follow?⁸¹ That he did have this intention is made evident by a careful examination of 1:5-6 and 2:1-12.

In 1:5-6 Paul links together the proclamation of the Gospel (v.5a), the conduct of those who proclaim it (v.5b), and the nature of the response it receives from its hearers (v.6). These three things are linked on two levels. First, God's power is demonstrated in all three: His power attends the preaching of the Gospel (v.5a), and shapes the lives of both those who preach it and those who receive it in the manner considered above. Secondly, all three things are linked at the level of human intentionality. In the first place, the Thessalonians were $\mu\iota\mu\eta\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$ of Paul (and of the Lord) not just in the sense that there was some correspondence between the sufferings

they experienced, but also because of the way they responded to those sufferings. V.6 is not simply a statement about their external circumstances--they received $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ from their opponents and $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ from the Holy Spirit; it also acknowledges their inner resolve and steadfastness. This is precisely the same quality of commitment to the Lord and the Gospel that they knew to have been displayed by Paul, Silvanus and Timothy in Philippi (2:2), and so their response to their afflictions (v.6) may rightly be said to represent a conscious following of an example (v.5b).⁸²

Secondly, the connection between the proclamation of the Gospel (v.5a) and the conduct of the preachers (v.5b) is also a matter of deliberate intention. In a statement that clearly foreshadows the apologia of 2:1-12⁸³, Paul declares that the behaviour of the apostolic band in Thessalonica ($\text{o}\acute{\iota}\text{o}\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\iota\nu$ ⁸⁴) was for the Thessalonian's sake ($\delta\iota'\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\varsigma$). On one level, this anticipates the reference in 2:8-9 to their genuine, self-giving love for the believers; but we should also see another level of meaning here: their conduct was $\delta\iota'\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\varsigma$ in the sense that it was necessary for them to exemplify that new way of life about which they instructed the new converts. This was a practical demand of the mission which could not have failed to impress itself upon Paul.⁸⁵ The lives of the pioneer missionaries would inevitably serve as models of the Christian way of life for their converts, who were unlikely to have encountered Christians before. As a result, the preachers were under a particular obligation to conform their conduct to the demands of the Gospel. So Paul is confident that the Thessalonians know the genuineness of his ministry ($\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma\ \text{o}\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \text{o}\acute{\iota}\text{o}\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$: v.5b) by the correspondence between his conduct and the content of his preaching and teaching.

This connection is made even more clearly in 2:1-12. As we

have noted before⁸⁶, this passage has both apologetic and hortatory functions: it constitutes a rebuttal of certain misrepresentations of Paul's ministry, and it also serves to challenge the Thessalonians to let their lives be determined by the call of God that is heard in the Gospel (2:12). Paul's appeals to their knowledge⁸⁷ may therefore be seen to have two aims. He is confident that their memories provide sufficient evidence to acquit him of the charges being laid against him; he also believes that his conduct provides a model of the way of life to which they are called, so that as they recall his conduct they will be able to see more clearly some of the implications of their Christian commitment.

That 2:1-12 does show that Paul regarded his conduct as paradigmatic is confirmed by the parallels between it and 4:1-12, where he reminds the Thessalonians of the instruction he had given them about the Christian life. He had taught them how to live in a way pleasing to God (4:1); and he himself seeks to please God, not men (2:4). He taught them τὸ μὴ...πλεονεκτεῖν (4:6); likewise, his conduct was not ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας (2:5). He taught them that the Lord is an ἑκδικῶν (4:6); and he is constantly aware that God examines his heart (2:4). The call of God which they heard in his preaching was not ἐπ' ἀκαθαρσίᾳ (4:7); and his παράκλησις was not ἐξ ἀκαθαρσίας (2:3). He taught them that they should work with their hands (4:11); and he did so himself (2:9).⁸⁸ So the letter will serve to remind the Thessalonians that Paul practised (2:1-12) what he preached (4:1-12). Like a father, he exhorted them to live worthily of God (2:11-12), and just as a father must teach by example as well as precept, so Paul was aware that his life had to exemplify that worthy "walk" to which he summoned them. The fact that Paul's reference to his fatherly pastoral exhortation (2:11-12) is preceded by a reminder of the uprightness of his conduct (2:10) may well reflect

his awareness that he could not with integrity call upon them to live in a way that he was not already demonstrating.

Paul's consciousness of providing an example may also be reflected in 5:16-18a, where he exhorts the Thessalonians πάντοτε χαίρετε, ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε, ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖτε. Whether or not he had previously instructed them about these matters⁸⁹, one obvious way in which they could discover what Christian joy, prayer, and thanksgiving meant was by reading the letter! These three exhortations clearly recall the three dominant motifs in the apostle's stated attitude towards the church: he rejoices over them (2:20; 3:9); prays for them (1:2; 3:10-13; 5:23), and thanks God for them (1:2-10; 2:13; 3:9). Paul's own conduct, as described in the letter, thus models the Christian devotion to which he calls them.

It is important to note, too, the parallels between what he prays for the Thessalonians and how he behaves himself. He prays that they will be filled with an ἀγάπη that increases and abounds (3:12); he demonstrated just such a love for them (2:8), and still does (καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς: 3:12). He prays that they will become ἀμέμπτους ἐν ἀγιωσύνῃ (3:12); his own conduct towards them was ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως καὶ ἀμέμπτως (2:10). There is thus a close correspondence between what Paul has taught the Thessalonians to be, what he prays for them to become, and what he is himself.

As an apostle, Paul knows that his life is to be determined in a comprehensive way by the Gospel with which he has been entrusted.⁹⁰ His teaching was therefore embodied in his conduct; his conduct enshrined his teaching. 1 Th does not, therefore, present a different picture from that of 2 Th, which portrays the transmission of παραδόσεις and the provision of a τύπος as complementary aspects of Paul's ministry (3:6-10). In 1 Th, too, Paul's ministry is shown to have wedded λόγος and τύπος.⁹¹ The letter reminds the Thessalonians

of both his teaching and his example, because both are to continue to guide them as they seek to move onwards to a deeper faith and a wider obedience.

(c) His Envoy:

A third means by which Paul exercised oversight of the church during his absence from it was the sending of Timothy as his envoy (3:1ff).⁹² How did Paul see the relationship between Timothy, the church and himself?

On the one hand, Timothy is described in terms which portray him as equal in status to Paul, and exercising the same ministry as his. He stands alongside Paul as his "brother" (3:2). In this context ἀδελφός must mean more than "fellow-Christian", for this epithet would appear both banal and superfluous here. It is likely to bear a more specific meaning:

non point frère en tant que chrétien, mais comme collègue aimé et collaborateur.⁹³

Timothy also stands alongside Paul as one who, like him, works with God: he is συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ...⁹⁴ This indicates the εὐαγγέλιον as Timothy's sphere of service: he is active in preaching the Gospel, and he does so in the context of the Pauline mission.⁹⁵ It also designates him as God's συνεργός in this service of the Gospel. Paul is indicating here, not that Timothy is his fellow-worker (a thought he normally expresses by συνεργός μου⁹⁶), but that he works with God--or better, that God works with him and through him.⁹⁷

Thirdly, Timothy had earlier in the letter been designated, by implication, an ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ (2:7).⁹⁸ This would obviously not have the same distinctive meaning as it does in Paul's use of it as a self-designation in other letters; rather, it must have the more general sense of "missionary".⁹⁹ Timothy is not an apostle in

that he has seen the Lord and been commissioned by Him, but in that his service of the Gospel in the Pauline mission arises out of his having been called and equipped for service by the Risen Christ.¹⁰⁰ And because he does apostolic work, he has apostolic rights (2:7).

On the other hand, Timothy is described in terms which portray him as Paul's subordinate. Paul sent him to Thessalonica: ἐπέμψαμεν Τιμόθεον (3:2).¹⁰¹ Because he went as Paul's emissary, his ministry to the church was an expression of Paul's concern and responsibility for it. Paul had been concerned about the θλίψεις which threatened to overwhelm the believers, and about the Thessalonians' attitude to him. So Timothy's task was both to strengthen the believers and exhort them in regard to their πίστις¹⁰² and also to demonstrate Paul's concern and affection for them. His report on the condition of the church (his "Gospel": 3:6) was reassuring to Paul in both respects. He was able to report that the Thessalonians continued in faith and love, and that they retained a strong affection for Paul (3:6-8).¹⁰³

Timothy's subordination to Paul also becomes evident when we compare the ways Paul describes Timothy's recently-concluded visit to Thessalonica and his own anticipated visit. Both are related to the Thessalonians' πίστις (3:2,10). Yet Timothy's visit was something of a "holding operation"--while he was sent to strengthen what was already there (3:2), Paul wants to supply what is still lacking (3:10). Timothy may conserve and consolidate faith, but Paul will expand and develop it.

So Timothy both stands alongside Paul as his colleague, as God's co-worker, and as Christ's apostle, and yet also stands under him, since these things are true of him in the context of the Pauline mission. He works with Paul, and yet also for him: he went to Thessalonica as God's servant and Paul's representative, so that his

ministry there was an instrument both of God's good purpose for the church and of Paul's care and responsibility for it.

(d) His Letter:

Paul's letter to the church is one obvious way in which he continues to exercise his responsibility for it. How much importance did he attach to this letter?

R.W. Funk has argued that Paul regarded his letters as necessary but inadequate substitutes for his personal presence¹⁰⁴, and that since he regarded the oral word as more necessary and more powerful than the written word, Paul did not attribute the same kind of authority to his letters as he attached to his preaching.¹⁰⁵ Funk's arguments have been effectively challenged in a little-noticed article by M.R. Stirewalt, Jr.¹⁰⁶, who argues that, in contrast to the widespread dissatisfaction in the Graeco-Roman world with letters as a means of communication, which was based both on uncertainty about when or even whether letters would reach their destination and on a preference for conversation over correspondence, Paul had a very positive attitude to the letter as a means of communication.¹⁰⁷ The problem of letter-delivery was solved for Paul by the constant stream of travellers moving between Paul and his churches¹⁰⁸, and Paul himself showed no sign of distrust of the written word.¹⁰⁹

Stirewalt therefore concludes that Paul

considered the written and oral word of equal validity. . . . The letter was seldom a substitute. Rather, its independent, affirmative, and constructive role is witnessed by Paul's own words, by the complaints of his opponents, by the requests for instruction which he received from congregations . . . , and by the results actually effected within the churches by his writings.¹¹⁰

Stirewalt's argument tends to overreact to the views of Funk which he sets out to correct, for it can scarcely be denied that Paul's letters are a substitute for face-to-face contact--he writes to the Thessalonians because he cannot come to visit them! 1 Th is

a means of expressing his relationship to the church in the period between his past visit and his anticipated future visit; it therefore involves both recollection and anticipation. Its impact and authority derive partly from this fact. Because it prompts recollection, by rehearsing the content and significance of the past meeting between the apostle and the church, it ensures that the church's life will continue to be shaped by what the believers learned and witnessed at that time in Paul's λόγος and τύπος. Likewise, because the letter invites anticipation, as it foreshadows the character and content of the future meeting between the apostle and the church, it serves to summon the church to continuing faithfulness and progress in view of this reunion. In this way, the letter focuses attention on the effective authority of the apostolic parousia, past and future.

Yet the letter also has a significant present authority of its own, since it acts as a medium through which the authority of the apostle engages with the church and its needs between these past and future meetings. The importance Paul attached to the letter in this regard is reflected in 5:27: ἐνορκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον ἀναγνώσθαι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. The force of ἐνορκίζω κτλ should not be diluted: it is more than just 'un souhait très pressant',¹¹¹ or a variation of the παρακαλῶ- formula.¹¹² Rather, as von Dobschütz correctly observes, the form of the statement ist auffallend feierlich und wichtig.¹¹³

As an intensified form of ὀρκίζειν, ἐνορκίζειν denotes a "solemn direction, an adjuration"¹¹⁴, and its solemnity is heightened in this instance by the fact that Paul¹¹⁵ invokes the κύριος as witness and judge of the church's conduct in this matter. How the letter is received and what is done with it are clearly far from inconsequential in Paul's estimation. The importance he attaches to the letter is

also demonstrated by his insistence that it be read to all the church members. Whatever the reason may have been for this emphasis on $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ¹¹⁶, it is clear that Paul regards the letter as being of the greatest importance for every believer.

The importance that is attached to the letter in 5:27 is best seen as stemming from the fact that it brings the preaching, teaching, exhorting, admonishing apostle into the church's midst:

Wenn der Brief . . . in der Gemeinde verlesen wird, ist Paulus dort »anwesend« . . .¹¹⁷

It is thus an instrument of Paul's apostolic authority. This subject has recently been illuminated in a study by K. Berger¹¹⁸, who argues that the closest parallel to the form and content of the apostolic letter is not (as Deissmann claimed¹¹⁹) the private letter common in the papyri, but the

literarisch fixierte Rede theologisch verbindlicher Autoritätsfiguren im Judentum (Prophetenbrief, Testament, Apokalypse) . . .¹²⁰

Accordingly, Berger argues that

die Apostelbriefe schriftlich fixierte, adressierte apostolische Rede sind.¹²¹

The key to a correct evaluation of the authority of the apostolic letters is thus not their letter-form, but the fact that they were produced by the apostle, whose status and authority most closely resembles that of the great authority-figures in Judaism, such as the prophets.

So Paul writes as he had preached and taught, as ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ, and his letter, which reiterates, expands, and applies the message he proclaimed and the teaching he gave at the beginning, shares in the authoritative, Word-of-God character of that preaching.¹²² So 1 Th cannot be regarded as an inferior surrogate for the effective authority of the apostolic parousia:

Ses lettres, qui prolongent sa parole et portent le même message, détiennent une égale autorité . . .¹²³

It is true that the letter does not deal exhaustively with all the church's needs, so that Paul will still find ὅσπερ ἡμᾶτα that require his attention when he returns to Thessalonica (3:10), but this is a reflection of the relative limitations of the letter's scope, not an indication of its lesser authority.

So we conclude, in opposition to the views of Funk, that the letter is seen by Paul, and is to be received by the church, as an important and effective instrument of apostolic authority and responsibility.

We have now seen how 1 Th shows the absent apostle continuing to exercise oversight of the church, and to provide direction for its life, by means of his prayers, his example, his envoy, and his letter. We must now consider how this mediated apostolic leadership may be related to the exercise of local leadership in the Thessalonian church.

3. Apostolic leadership and local leadership:

We have seen that for all the constraint upon him to preach the Gospel in unevangelised regions (cp. Rom 15:20-21), Paul has a clear sense of continuing responsibility for the church he has founded. The great desire of both apostle and church is that Paul should be able to return to Thessalonica. This longing is not simply the result of friendship and affection, although that is plainly an important element in the situation, but also arises (for Paul) out of his awareness of being responsible to the Lord for the church's faithfulness and progress to maturity. Until he is able to return to Thessalonica, Paul continues to discharge his responsibility for the church by means of constant prayer, the continuing force of his example, the visit of his envoy, and the letter that is to be read to all the believers for their instruction and encouragement. In all of this, Paul clearly regards himself as having an extensive and continuing authority over the life

of the church, which involves giving further, deeper teaching about God's saving purposes and His will for the church's life (3:10; 4:13-18; 5:12-22), as well as recalling the foundational preaching by which they were already living. It is clear, too, that Paul envisages this relationship with the church as continuing into the future, for its ultimate horizon is the Parousia (2:19-20). However, it is also clear that his commission to preach the Gospel to the nations (2:14,16) precludes any permanent stay in Thessalonica or any exclusive relationship with the Thessalonians (1:7-9; 2:2; 3:1; 4:10; cp. 2 Th 1:4; 3:1-2). This means that his leadership will often be exercised indirectly, in his absence, rather than face-to-face.

The nature of this relationship between the authoritative but absent apostle and the church will obviously have a significant influence on the strength and scope of any local leadership in the church. Both aspects of that relationship need to be considered in this connection, for both Paul's extensive, missionary responsibility as Gospel-preacher and his intensive, pastoral responsibility as church-founder are likely to have an influence on the situation.

On the one hand, Paul's clear sense of pastoral responsibility as a church-founder, and therefore church-leader, will have a direct bearing on the way any local leadership is exercised and understood. This has been clearly recognised by Martin, who argues that one of the principal reasons for the general absence of formally-defined leadership in the Pauline churches was

dass der Apostel Paulus als Gemeindegründer potentiell immer verfügbar blieb. . . .¹²⁴

Martin specifies the implications of this "potentielle Verfügbarkeit" as follows:

Da Paulus die Gemeindedienste durch seine Autorität stützte, Normen für die Verkündigung setzte, und schliesslich Anweisungen für das Gemeindeleben gab, bestand keine dringende Notwendigkeit, die Entscheidungskompetenzen in den paulinischen Gemeinden genau zu regeln.¹²⁵

He is followed here by Holmberg, who says that the decisive reason for the relative insignificance of local officials in Paul's churches

is . . . the personage of Paul himself. The founder has not left the scene, but is fully and energetically active in his churches. . . . His letters show that he had full control over the life and development of his churches and regarded himself as having a permanent responsibility for them. Even if he aimed at fostering maturity and independence in his churches the letters do not give the impression that he gave them the reins. And it is just this "potential accessibility" of the apostle, the fact that he is still actively present and his authority fully accessible, that prevents the full (social, legal and theological) development of those beginnings of an office structure we observe in the Pauline letters.¹²⁶

On the other hand, the fact that Paul's extensive, missionary responsibility will continue to lead him across new frontiers for the sake of Christ means that his pastoral responsibility for the church will increasingly be exercised in his absence. The importance of Paul's absence as a factor in the development of church structures has been emphasised by Schreiber in his study of the Corinthian church.¹²⁷ He argues that the

Abreise des Apostels aus Korinth ist ein fundamentaler
Einschritt in der Entwicklung der Gemeinde. . . .¹²⁸,

and relates Paul's absence both to the "leadership vacuum" created by his departure¹²⁹ and to the increased autonomy and self-reliance that the church would acquire as a result of his absence.¹³⁰ So Paul's absence from the church creates room for the exercise of leadership at local level:

Ist der Apostel auch während seiner Abwesenheit von Korinth als Gemeindeführer anzusehen, so schließt dies aber nicht die Existenz 'örtlicher Autoritäten' in der korinthischen Gemeinde aus.¹³¹

There is clearly some validity in both these points of view. The authoritative leadership of the apostle would obviously be likely to inhibit the emergence of strong, independent local leadership. Yet the absence of the apostle would obviously be likely to create both the need and the room for the emergence of stable, recognised local leadership. It remains for us to investigate the extent to which

either or both of these factors have influenced the church in Thessalonica. However, before we begin a detailed examination of 5:12-13 and its implications, we must consider the other feature of the church's life which forms the context in which local leadership emerged: viz., the exercise of mutual ministries and corporate responsibility by all the believers.

II. MUTUAL MINISTRY AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY:

In addition to its focus on the relation between apostle and church, 1 Th also gives considerable attention to the internal life of the church. It is significant that the two basic motifs in Paul's message to the church¹³²--grateful acknowledgment of existing vitality and faithfulness (εὐχαριστῶ) and exhortation to further growth and progress (παράκαλῶ)--occur together in Paul's references to believers' relations with each other. He acknowledges the mutual love (4:9-10) and mutual exhortation and upbuilding (5:11) that characterise the church's life, and at the same time calls for a deepening of these ministries (4:10; 5:11; cp. 4:18; 5:14-15). The "call to fulfilment" which the letter conveys¹³³ is heard most clearly in this combination of acknowledgment and exhortation. In both Paul addresses each one and everyone, directing his attention to both the believers' mutual relationships and ministries and to their corporate solidarity and responsibility. There is both a face-to-face and a side-by-side aspect to relationships within the church.

This mutual ministry and corporate responsibility forms an important part of the context in which local leadership emerges, so that the nature and scope of that leadership cannot be accurately understood except in relation to the activity and responsibility of all the members of the church:

. . . les activités qui distinguent des autres certains membres des communautés, devront être comparées à celles qui sont attribuées à tous sans distinction fonctionnelle entre eux. Il est impossible de traiter des ministères . . . hors de leur relation avec le rôle de tous les baptisés . . . Le »spécifique« du ministère ne peut être défini tout seul; il apparaît dans une dialectique.¹³⁴

We will now consider what 1 Th indicates about both the mutual ministries and corporate responsibility of the Thessalonians.

1. Mutual Ministry:

As we have noted, the mutual ministries of believers are a matter for both acknowledgment and exhortation in the letter.

(a) Acknowledgment:

The first passage to note in this connection is 4:9-10, where Paul acknowledges that the mutual love that is so evident in the church's life shows that he does not need to write about φιλαδελφία, and affirms that this reflects the work of God in their midst.¹³⁵

Their φιλαδελφία is so strong because they are θεοδίδακτοι... εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους.

The meaning of ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε¹³⁶ has been interpreted in a variety of ways¹³⁷, but it is best understood as a reference to the activity of the Spirit.¹³⁸ The import of Paul's statement is that what the prophets had promised and what the Jews were still awaiting, the Thessalonians were already experiencing: the direct activity of God in their midst. The mutual love between the believers is the work of the Spirit of God, and is a clear sign that they are experiencing the fulfilment of what was promised for the people of God in the new age:

Von Gott gelehrt zu sein, gehört . . . zur eschatologischen Heilszeit.¹³⁹

There is also another important implication in this acknowledgment. Since what God has effected reveals what He wills, it is clear that such mutual love is God's will for the church's life. So

it is by the will and work of God that the church lives as a family, whose life is characterised by φιλαδελφία.

This metaphorical use of a word that appears to have been used only in a literal sense prior to the NT¹⁴⁰ attests both the reality and strength of the mutual love experienced by believers and also the concomitant conviction that the church is a divinely-founded family.¹⁴¹ The members of the church are ἀδελφοί.¹⁴² This term was often used in a non-literal way in Greek literature¹⁴³, especially for members of religious societies¹⁴⁴, so Paul's metaphorical use is not unparalleled. What is unparalleled, however, is the extent to which he uses it¹⁴⁵, and the way his usage constitutes a break with his Jewish heritage. In the Jewish tradition the widest sense that "brother" could have was "co-religionist".¹⁴⁶ Thus, to find a Jew (Paul) addressing Gentiles as ἀδελφοί is a vivid demonstration of the conviction that all who call upon Jesus as Lord belong to the people of God.¹⁴⁷ This Christian¹⁴⁸ use of ἀδελφός has its ultimate origin in Jesus' teaching about God as Father, with disciples as brethren in a family whose boundaries traversed those of physical kinship.¹⁴⁹

The family consciousness attested in 4:9 is also reflected in the practice of the φίλημα ἁγίων (5:26). Kissing was a common expression of kinship, friendship or respect in the ancient world, and a common mode of greeting¹⁵⁰, so the exchange of kisses in the church meeting is hardly unique, especially as this seems to have been the practice in various religious societies and in the mysteries at this period.¹⁵¹ Yet Paul refers here to the φίλημα ἁγίων, which is so called because it

denotes the kiss proper to and seemly for the ἁγιοί ...¹⁵²
It is therefore as the people of God, and as those who love each other (4:9-10), that they exchange this kiss; so this practice of

the Pauline churches¹⁵³

confirms and actualises the unity of the community as a brotherhood . . . , i.e., as the eschatological family of God.¹⁵⁴

The power and pervasiveness of this family-sense is attested by the widespread use of family-terminology within the NT and in other early Christian writings.¹⁵⁵ If it has its origin in the teaching of Jesus, the source of its prevalence and importance is to be located in the Christian experience of God's love:

Les chrétiens sont frères parce que Dieu les aime. . . .¹⁵⁶

One significant corollary of all this is the awareness, also reflected in 1 Th, of the radical distinction between believers and unbelievers, between the church and the world.¹⁵⁷ Unbelievers are οἱ ἔξω (4:12)¹⁵⁸ or οἱ λοιποὶ (4:13; 5:6). The obverse of this sense of separation from those who do not believe is a strong sense of mutual belonging:

Es sind nicht Freunde, die zusammen kommen, sondern Geschwister, die zu einer Familie gehören.¹⁵⁹

So the mutual love that is so evident amongst the Thessalonians demonstrates the presence of the Spirit and forms the substance of that brotherhood, that family-fellowship, that is the church's true character.

The mutual love that Paul acknowledges in 4:9 will find expression in many kinds of mutual service. Amongst them are the mutual παρακαλεῖν and οἰκοδομεῖν referred to in 5:11, where Paul's exhortation to practise these ministries is followed by the acknowledgment καθὼς καὶ ποιεῖτε. This should not be dismissed as a purely gratuitous addition, or as a ploy to make the Thessalonians more amenable to his instructions, for it accords with the "call to fulfilment" that underlies the paraenesis as a whole.

Paul acknowledges that the Thessalonians are engaged in

mutual παρακαλεῖν. The preceding summons to alertness and stability (5:1-10) suggests that the word means "exhort" (rather than "comfort") in this context.¹⁶⁰ The Thessalonians are thus engaged in a mutual re-issuing of the call first sounded by Paul and his colleagues at the time of the church's foundation: the call to live worthily of the God who calls them into His glorious kingdom (2:12), or (as Paul has just expressed it: 5:4-8) the call to live as children of light, alert for the coming Day and clothed with faith, hope and love. Such exhortation is a central element in Paul's ministry (2:11-12); it is what Timothy was sent to do amongst them (3:2); and it is what the Thessalonians are to do reciprocally in the course of the church's common life.¹⁶¹ In this respect, the responsibility of each believer towards his brothers is not any different in kind from the responsibility of the apostolic band towards the church as a whole.

The Thessalonians are also engaged in mutual¹⁶² οἰκοδομεῖν. This is an important term for Paul, who uses both the verb and its cognate noun οἰκοδομή to refer to both his own apostolic ministry¹⁶³ and other ministries within the churches.¹⁶⁴ As he uses it, it is a term for the process of the growth and development of the community in salvation history.¹⁶⁵

This growth and development applies also to the individual believer (1 Cor 14:17), but primarily in the context of the common life of the church. This "sens communautaire"¹⁶⁶ is evident in the verse we are considering, where "upbuilding" is not a private activity or achievement, but a function of reciprocal interaction amongst the believers.

This is the only place in Paul's writings where these two verbs are linked¹⁶⁷, and their conjunction here suggests that upbuilding results from mutual exhortation.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the upbuilding of the church is shown to derive from the responsibility and care

of each for all and of all for each.¹⁶⁹

(b) Exhortation:

Both of the acknowledgments of mutual ministry we have just considered are linked with exhortations for these ministries to be continued and extended.

With the acknowledgment θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν goes the appeal παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, περισσεύειν μᾶλλον (4:9-10). The church needs to exhibit even more fully that mutual love that characterises the family-life of the people of God.

The conjunction of acknowledgment and exhortation here reflects two important convictions. First, the believer's moral effort (περισσεύειν ...) is not rendered superfluous by the efficacious work of the Spirit (θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε) --believers taught by God to love must still determine to love!¹⁷⁰ Secondly, the powerful activity of the Spirit in the church does not eliminate the need for continuing apostolic instruction and exhortation. God accomplishes His purpose in the church by the work of the Spirit (4:8) and word of the apostle (4:1-2).¹⁷¹

The same combination of acknowledgment and exhortation is found in 5:11, where Paul urges the Thessalonians to go on doing what they are already doing. The content of this verse, and its context, emphasise two important truths about this mutual ministry. First, the responsibility for the church's growth, for the faithfulness of every believer to his calling as a son of light (5:5), rests upon every member of the church:

The care of souls is not the privilege of a class but the duty of all.¹⁷²

All are responsible¹⁷³, and this corporate responsibility is to be discharged through the mutual ministry of παρακαλεῖν and οἰκοδομεῖν.

Secondly, this ongoing mutual exhortation and upbuilding has as its basis the apostolic proclamation of salvation in Christ.

It is the truth about Christ, the crucified and coming one (5:2,9-10), that stimulates and shapes mutual exhortation: διὸ παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους (5:11). On the basis of the apostolic teaching, heard before (5:1-2) and now emphasised and expanded (5:3-10), continuing and effective exhortation becomes possible. This exhortation will reflect a knowledge of the proper horizons of Christian existence, a knowledge of where you are as a believer; viz., living in the "Zwischenzeit", between the decisive saving event of the past (5:10; cp. 4:14) and the fulfilment that is yet to come (5:2,9; cp. 1:10; 4:14-17), both sharing already in the benefits of the former and yet to share in the glories of the latter. It will also reflect, therefore, a knowledge of what you are as a believer; viz., a son of light, or of the Day, who is thereby committed to living in a new and different way (5:6-8).

There is an inner connection between these two truths: all are responsible because the apostolic teaching is addressed to all.¹⁷⁴ Every believer has a part to play in the upbuilding of the church because, as a believer, he knows (in faith and hope) the salvation of which the apostolic proclamation speaks (5:9-10; cp. 1:10); he experiences the work of the Spirit, given with the word to faith (1:5; 4:8); and he now has the instruction and exhortation of the apostle's letter addressed to him as one of the ἀδελφοί.

A similar exhortation to mutual ministry is found in 4:18:
 ὥστε παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις..... As the
 counterpart of μὴ λυπήσθε (4:13), παρακαλεῖτε is used
 here in the sense of "comfort".¹⁷⁵ The mutual consolation of which
 Paul speaks has its basis in his declaration of God's saving purpose:
 τοῦτο γὰρ λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου ὥστε παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους ...¹⁷⁶
 So the consolation is not the product of appeals to "cheer up", but
 results from a clearer grasp of the basis and goal of Christian

existence. The meaning of παρακαλεῖν here cannot, therefore, be distinguished too sharply from its sense in 5:11--consoling by means of the apostolic teaching implies an exhortation to grasp the truth of the Gospel more firmly and to live by it more steadfastly.¹⁷⁷

It is important to notice that Paul exhorts the Thessalonians to comfort each other ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις. By speaking of οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι rather than οἱ λόγοι τοιούτοις, Paul ties their words of comfort quite specifically to his own teaching.¹⁷⁸ Paul's words are to possess continuing force in the church's life as the vehicle of encouragement and consolation, both as they are read out in the church meeting (5:27) and as believers repeat them to each other.¹⁷⁹ The words in question (4:13-17) proclaim the eschatological salvation which is effected, revealed, and consummated in Christ, and expound some important implications of the fact that He died ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν and that believers are therefore destined to live σὺν αὐτῷ. These words have their source, not in Paul's theological acumen, but in the λόγος κυρίου (4:15).¹⁸⁰ His teaching in this section thus enshrines and expounds divine revelation, and it is for this reason that Paul expects it to perform such a vital role in the church's life.

Thus, in this verse every member of the church is given a "ministry of the Word". Words of comfort and exhortation exchanged mutually within the fellowship will enshrine the apostle's words, just as his words enshrine the λόγος κυρίου.¹⁸¹ It is therefore not the case for Paul that the ordinary church member serves by deeds of love, while particular members serve in the ministry of the Word. Each member of the church not only receives consolation and admonition from the apostolic word, recalled, read out, and repeated, but also transmits it:

Man ist "Hörer" und "Prediger".¹⁸²

We have seen how Paul acknowledges the existence of mutual ministry within the church and also expects its continuation and extension. The mutual exhortation and upbuilding in which the Thessalonians are already involved, and which they are to continue (5:11), and the mutual encouragement and consolation they are to provide (4:18), are expressions of the mutual love that is already characteristic of the church's life, and that is to become so increasingly (4:9-10). The believers do, and must, practise such mutual care because the church is a family of brothers loved by God, who is at work in them by His Spirit.

We have also seen that there is a close connection between this mutual ministry and the apostolic teaching, delivered at the beginning and now recalled and expanded in the letter. If it is generated by the work of the Spirit, mutual ministry also presupposes and depends upon the word of the apostle.

We have noted, too, that the activity of all in mutual ministry is closely linked with the responsibility of all for each, and of each for all. Mutual ministry and corporate responsibility belong together, both in Paul's concept of the way the church should function, and in the way the church in Thessalonica does function. We will therefore turn to consider the church's corporate responsibility.

2. Corporate Responsibility:

Paul's paraenesis is addressed to each member of the church, and indicates (as we have seen) that mutual, face-to-face ministry is, and is to remain, characteristic of the church's life. It is also addressed to the church as a whole, and clearly presupposes that the whole company of believers is responsible for its own progress and growth. This is particularly evident in 5:14-22, where

Paul lays the responsibility for the whole community on the community itself; each member, and not the leaders alone, must be aware of his or her responsibility for others and seek to help them. . . . Paul knows nothing of an inert mass, the congregation, on which the ministry operates.¹⁸³

The fact that this passage occurs immediately after a reference to the leadership exercised by a particular group within the church (5:12-13) only serves to emphasise how fundamental was this conviction of the corporate responsibility of the whole church.¹⁸⁴

The two sections of relevance to our subject are vv.14-15 and 19-22, and we will examine each in turn.

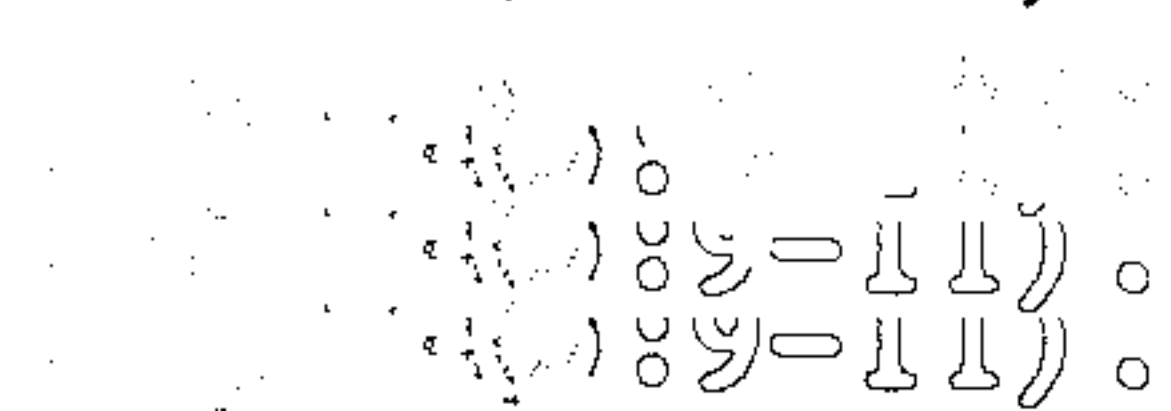
(a) 5:14-15:

Each of the five brief exhortations here deserves to be examined individually, in order to determine what each one reveals about Paul's conception of the church and its functioning, and also about the actual condition of the church in Thessalonica.

(i) νοουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους. The ἀτάκτοι are not so much "lazy" as "disorderly"¹⁸⁵, and we should probably see 4:11-12 as occasioned primarily by their misconduct.¹⁸⁶ This passage shows that their disorderly conduct has two aspects: they refused to work, and were thus dependent on other church members (hence the injunction ἐργάζεσθαι ταῖς χερσὶν ... ἵνα ... μηδενὸς χρεῖαν ἔχητε) and they meddled in other people's affairs (hence φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν καὶ πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια). The fact that Paul had given instructions about this during his stay in Thessalonica (καθὼς ὑμῖν παραγγείλαμεν) suggests that the problem had local social roots; if (as is commonly supposed) it had been caused by unbalanced or false eschatological views Paul would have been able to correct the problem while he was there by giving more detailed teaching in this area.¹⁸⁷ There is thus a third aspect to the misconduct of the ἀτάκτοι : they have persisted with their unacceptable behaviour in defiance of apostolic teaching.

These disorderly members of the church are to be "admonished".
 νουθετεῖν is common in Greek literature, predominantly in the sense
 "to admonish, warn, rebuke".¹⁸⁸ It is often distinguished from
 ὀνειδίζειν¹⁸⁹ and κολάζειν¹⁹⁰ as an initial, less severe response
 to misconduct, and therefore as a more appropriate way of treating
 those with whom one has bonds of kinship, status, or affection. It
 is thus often used of relationships within the family or household,
 as, for example, the responsibility of a father to his children¹⁹¹ or
 a master to his slaves.¹⁹² It is also used of the conduct of the
 teacher or παιδαγωγός who stands in loco parentis.¹⁹³ In this
 passage it applies to the relations between ἀδελφοί (cp. 2 Th 3:15):
 it should therefore be firm rather than severe, concerned rather than
 censorious, and positively directed to the reclaiming of the erring
 brother. It will therefore involve not just the rebuking of mis-
 conduct, but also the recall to obedience and faithfulness; and this
 will mean rehearsing the apostolic παραγγελίαι which indicate the
 proper content and shape of Christian life (4:1-2,11). The apostolic
 teaching thus establishes the norms upon which admonition is based.

(ii) παραμυθεῖσθε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους. The ὀλιγόψυχοι¹⁹⁴
 may be those who have come to doubt the certainty or comprehensiveness
 of salvation as a result of the deaths of some members of the church
 (4:13ff)¹⁹⁵; they may be those who have become timid or anxious as
 a result of the continuing opposition faced by the church; or they
 may simply be those for whom the demands of the Christian life are
 proving to be rather a burden.¹⁹⁶ Whatever the precise cause of
 their irresolution, these "faint hearts" need to be encouraged
 (παραμυθεῖσθε¹⁹⁷)--not just consoled, but urged to new conviction
 and fresh resolve based on a fuller apprehension of the power and
 faithfulness of God (5:23-24) and of the certainty of the salvation
 which is to be fully and finally effected by the Lord at His coming
 (5:9-11).



Again, it is the apostolic teaching which provides the necessary basis and content for this pastoral encouragement. Just as his words are to be the vehicle for comfort and consolation (4:18), so Paul's exposition of the Gospel will serve as the source from which the ὀλιγόψυχοι derive the encouragement they need, through the concern and encouragement of their brothers.

(iii) ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν. The possible backward glance of the previous two exhortations (to 4:11-12 and 4:13ff respectively) has led some scholars to regard the "weak" as those addressed in 4:3-8.¹⁹⁸ However, the stern and uncompromising tone of that passage makes it unlikely that Paul would have referred to those prone to such sexual sin simply as the "weak", or that he would have thought of them as in need of "support", rather than rebuke and exhortation. It is more likely that the ἀσθενεῖς are those who, as in Rom 14 and 1 Cor 8, have not grasped fully all that the Gospel conveys about the believer's security and liberty in Christ, and who are therefore prone to unnecessary doubts or scruples.¹⁹⁹

ἀντέχεσθαι is used to mean "to help" in a quite general sense, but it also has the more specific meaning of "to hold fast, to cling to, to support".²⁰⁰ This latter meaning would suit the context here: there must be a tenacity about the believers' support for their weaker brothers.²⁰¹

These three exhortations should not be taken as implying the existence of three separate groups within the church. With the possible exception of the ἄτακτοι, in each case it is

une mentalité plus qu'un groupe qu'il combat.²⁰²

Paul is here concerned with particular needs within the church, reflected in deficient attitudes that lead to conduct inappropriate for Christians. He does not intend to imply that the church is composed of strong and superior members who, since they are immune

from the diseases and weaknesses of spirit referred to, are the donors of pastoral care, plus permanently weak and needy members who are the recipients of pastoral care. No one should consider himself to be beyond the reach of these faults, since these groups

unterscheiden sich nicht nach Stand, Herkunft oder Geschlecht, sondern durch die verschiedenen Schwächen oder Gefahren ihres Glaubenslebens, die grundsätzlich für alle eine Bedrohung darstellen.²⁰³

As all are responsible in the exercise of pastoral ministry within the church, so all are needy from time to time and in one way or another. This is underlined by the fourth exhortation.

(iv) μακροθυμεῖτε πρὸς πάντας. Paul regards μακροθυμία²⁰⁴

as an important mark of the family-life of the people of God (Col 3:12).

It is a fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22) and a manifestation of ἀγάπη

(1 Cor 13:4). This is the point here: πρὸς πάντας refers

primarily to the church, not to all men in general.²⁰⁵ The problems

and weaknesses to which faith is subject in this "Zwischenzeit" will

not be dispelled overnight; pastoral care must have long-term

horizons. There is a very important sense, therefore, in which

μακροθυμία is necessary for community:

Gemeinschaft entsteht nur da und Gemeinschaft ist nur da von Dauer, wo man den grossen Mut aufbringt, den andern trotz seiner Fehler und Schwächen zu bejahen.²⁰⁶

(v) ὁρᾶτε μὴ τις κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ τινι ἀποδῶ, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε

τὸ ἀγαθὸν διώκετε [καὶ] εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάντας. This twofold

exhortation unfolds some further implications of that mutual love which

is to be increasingly characteristic of the church's life. The first

part of the exhortation does not simply require each believer to

refrain from retaliation (ὁρᾶτε μὴ ἀποδῶτε would have been

the obvious way of making this point); rather, it is urging every

member of the church to restrain any member who intends to seek revenge

for some wrong or injury done to him.²⁰⁷ This clearly envisages

a high degree of mutual awareness and mutual acceptance within the church, where every member recognises his responsibility for, and accepts his accountability to, his brothers.

That this individual responsibility is not a license for meddlesome interference is demonstrated by the positive exhortation which forms the second half of the verse. To restrain a brother from taking revenge is an aspect of the love which earnestly seeks what is best for him. This exhortation indicates something of the extent of the commitment Paul sees in love. Love does not wait passively for opportunities to serve, but actively seeks them (διώκετε); it is not spasmodic or occasional, but an ever-present commitment (πάντοτε); it is not selective or limited in its scope, but overlooks no one (εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ εἰς πάντας).

Before leaving this section, there are three important observations to be made about the ministries that Paul here enjoins upon the church as a whole.

First, the responsibilities given to the members of the church in this section are not secondary or peripheral in character, but concern the heart of the church's response to the Gospel. There is no suggestion that major pastoral needs are the prerogative of the apostle or the church's leaders, while the church members deal only with less demanding or less central problems. Paul's paraenesis gives the church the widest possible scope for mutual ministry and pastoral responsibility. It is worth noting in this connection the verbal links between the ministries of the apostolic band, the group referred to in vv. 12-13 and the church members as a whole. παραμυθεῖσθαι is used of both the apostle's ministry to the church (2:12) and the believers' ministry to the ὀλιγόψυχοι (5:14). παρακαλεῖν too is used of the apostle's ministry to the church (2:12) and of the mutual ministry in which all are to be involved (4:18). νουθετεῖν is

used of the ministry of the κοπιῶντες to the whole church (5:12) and of the church's ministry to the ἄτακτοι (5:14).

Secondly, the various ministries Paul refers to can all be understood as expressions of that mutual brotherly love which characterises the church's life (4:9). So Paul not only encourages them to demonstrate that love more fully, but also, by specifying the kinds of mutual ministries in which they should be engaged, shows them particular forms that love should take--just as he not only urged them to live worthily of God (2:12), but instructed them how to do so (4:1-2).

Thirdly, the exercise of these various kinds of brotherly care involves a constant reference back to the apostle's preaching and teaching, which is the source of the norms on which admonition is based, of the truths from which encouragement is derived, and of the guidelines by which love is channelled and extended.

All three observations highlight the strong link between the apostle's leadership and the church's growth through mutual ministries and corporate responsibility.

(b) 5:19-22:

Two quite opposite approaches to these verses are to be found in the scholarly literature. One view is that the material in these verses is so brief and of such general applicability that it is addressed to the Thessalonian church qua church, and not as a result of any particular conditions or needs in Thessalonica.²⁰⁸ The other view sees this passage as directed at a significant problem within the church.²⁰⁹ However, both of these approaches are unsatisfactory, the first because it deprives the paraenesis of any real connection with the situation in Thessalonica, and the second because it creates a situational mountain out of a textual molehill! As we have argued above, the most satisfactory approach to this material is

to regard it as bearing a real relation to the church-situation, such that the extent to which this matter was a live issue in Thessalonica was sufficient to warrant a reference to it, but not sufficient to warrant more than a brief reference.²¹⁰

The passage is best understood as a unified treatment of a single theme. Although τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε by itself would be capable of bearing a general ethical sense²¹¹, its juxtaposition with προφητείας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε clearly shows that it has to do with the occurrence of pneumatic activity within the church.²¹² Likewise, vv. 21-22, are capable of being interpreted in a general ethical sense²¹³, but it is more natural to interpret them in connection with the preceding verses, especially in view of the adversative δέ in v. 21.²¹⁴ They are therefore to be understood as referring to the testing of pneumatic phenomena.

σβεννύειν²¹⁵ and ἐξουθενεῖν²¹⁶ are very vivid expressions, implying that the error against which Paul is warning is a serious one. The twofold use of μὴ with the present imperative probably implies that there was a tendency evident within the church to reject pneumatic phenomena²¹⁷, and this carries the further implication that there were some signs of division within the church between those with pneumatic gifts and those who lacked them and reacted negatively to their exercise in church. It seems clear from the brevity of Paul's treatment that this was as yet only an incipient problem, but one which Timothy had apparently thought it important to report.

Paul's response is carefully balanced: pneumatic activity is not to be rejected--but neither is it to be given an uncritical welcome! There should be neither any antipathy to it nor any undiscerning enthusiasm for it. All pneumatic utterances and activities are to be tested: πάντα δὲ δοκιμάζετε.²¹⁸ What is good (τὸ καλόν)

should be accepted and retained (κατέχετε²¹⁹)--this is an implicit rebuke to those who were inclined to reject all pneumatic activity (vv. 19-20). Conversely, whatever is wrong should be shunned (v.22)--this is an implicit rebuke to those who were inclined to display an uncritical enthusiasm for all pneumatic activity.

Paul indicates neither the method nor the criteria by which this constant process of evaluation²²⁰ is to be carried out. It is perhaps assumed that the Spirit who gives some utterance will also give some discernment, so that, as there are those in the church with prophetic gifts, there will also be some Thessalonians with the gift of spiritual insight (cp. 1 Cor 12:10). If the method of evaluation is pneumatic, however, the letter as a whole suggests that the criteria will be apostolic. The letter reminds the Thessalonians that Paul conveyed to them both the λόγος θεοῦ (2:13), the Gospel of God (2:2,9), and authoritative teaching about the way of life to which the Gospel summoned them (4:1-2). This proclamation and instruction is a deposit of truth to be remembered and a standard to which they are recalled, by which their attitudes and conduct are to be shaped (3:3-4; 4:2,6,11; 5:2). The letter itself now conveys amplification of, and additions to, this original preaching, and defines more clearly and fully how they may carry out the will of God in their present situation. The apostolic message thus provides a normative understanding of God's purpose and His will for the church by which pneumatic utterances may be tested as to their authenticity and validity. Since this message is known by all and available to all, the testing Paul enjoins lies (potentially at least) within the competence of all. Accordingly, Paul does not direct his exhortations about this matter to a particular group within the church, but (as with the preceding exhortations (vv. 14-18)) to the church as a whole. It may be, of course, that those in the

church with greater gifts of understanding and spiritual discernment will play a more prominent part in this evaluation-process, but it is the responsibility of the church as a whole.²²¹ Paul's obvious confidence that the church will be able to exercise the discernment that is necessary may be seen as a reflection of his confidence that the same Spirit who caused the Word to redirect their lives in such a powerful way at the beginning (1:4-5,9-10) will continue to use that Word to direct their lives in the present.

Die prophetisch begabte Gemeinde muss in der Offenheit für den Geist und im Hinhören auf das Wort des Apostels ihren Weg finden, um wahre und falsche Prophetie voneinander zu unterscheiden.²²²

Precisely because it is endowed with the Spirit and the Word, Paul is confident that the church will find that way.

Despite the capacity of pneumatic phenomena to engender undiscerning credulity or unwarranted hostility, despite the fact that this was an area of church life fraught with pitfalls and dangers of various kinds, Paul does not entrust the responsibility for guiding the church in this area to a leadership-group, but regards the church itself as the bearer of responsibility. The believers were exercising mutual ministries of various kinds, and were to go on doing so; they were also to exercise corporate responsibility for the church's life.

What may we infer from all this about the nature of the church in Thessalonica?

2. Theological and Social Dimensions in Paul's Paraenesis:

Paul's "call to fulfilment", sounding through the combination of acknowledgment and exhortation, and applied to the mutual ministries and corporate responsibility of the believers in Thessalonica, discloses some important elements of Paul's theological conception of the nature of the church.

The Thessalonians belong to the new covenant-people of God; they are a family gathered together by God's effectual power at work in the apostolic mission. The content and shape of the church's corporate life derives from the dynamic activity of the Spirit of God and the authoritative preaching and teaching of the apostle.

The presence and activity of the Spirit in the church is especially evident in the mutual love and pneumatic abilities displayed by believers. The apostle's preaching and teaching expound the truth from which encouragement and consolation are derived, and specifies the norms upon which admonition and the evaluation of pneumatic phenomena are based. As those who participate (in faith and hope) in the eschatological salvation, who have been endowed with the Spirit, and who are addressed by the apostolic Word, all the believers alike are equipped, and thus responsible, for those ministries which build up the church.

The family-life of the church thus finds expression in face-to-face relationships and side-by-side responsibilities in which all are involved and to which all are committed. All are responsible, all are competent, and all are active--the church functions and grows through mutual ministries of exhortation, consolation, admonition, and encouragement which express and extend mutual love, and through corporate evaluation of pneumatic phenomena. In these various ways, all the believers exercise a "ministry of the Word", derived from the foundational ministry of the Word exercised by the apostle.

It is clear that the way Paul describes the church in Thessalonica, and what he expects of it, reflects his theological convictions about the nature and calling of the church. Yet there is also reason to believe that it reflects his knowledge of what the church in Thessalonica actually was, so that his instructions and

exhortation about the shape and content of the church's life will stem from his assessment of what is appropriate and possible for this particular group, as well as his theological understanding of "the church". This expectation results from two considerations in particular.

The first concerns the nature of Pauline paraenesis. We have argued above²²³ that there is a strong case for regarding Paul's paraenesis in general, and 1 Th 4-5 in particular, as addressed to the specific conditions and needs of the church, rather than as a catalogue of general truths that do not necessarily engage with the particular circumstances of the church being addressed. So it is reasonable to expect that, since Paul's teaching and exhortation was based on his own relatively recent memories of the church, plus Timothy's firsthand report about its condition, it will provide us with some indication of the particular characteristics of the church and its situation.

The second consideration has to do with the discussion in the preceding chapter about the two-dimensional nature of the reality we are studying, and thus of the method which must be used in studying it. In that discussion we accepted and built upon Holmberg's thesis that the

interdependence and dialectical development of theology and social structure is the central fact that must be taken as a starting point for historical research.²²⁴

One important consequence of acknowledging this 'continuous dialectic between ideas and social structures',²²⁵ is the recognition that the particular locus of God's activity (a particular social group; a particular set of social structures; etc.) is likely to influence both the range of ideas that are current and the way those ideas are expressed. It is therefore appropriate to explore the possible social implications of Paul's paraenesis as well as its theological

foundations and intentions.

What social implications may we derive from 1 Th 4-5, then? For our purposes, the following are the most significant points to emerge.

(1) Paul's exhortations requiring a mutual interaction of increasing depth and scope (4:9-10,18; 5:11,14-15) can be seen as a reflection of the size of the church.

(a) His acknowledgments and exhortations concerning mutual ministry, in which all are responsible and all are active, imply a church for which "distributed participation"²²⁶ was the norm. This kind of involvement and interaction on the part of the whole membership is not possible in a large group, because the

number of persons in a group affects both the distribution and the quality of interaction.²²⁷

(b) Likewise, the "Zueinander" (face-to-face relationship) and "Nebeneinander" (side-by-side responsibility) emphasised in the letter implies a "Miteinander" that is possible only in a relatively small group.²²⁸ Such mutuality cannot be sustained in a large group, because as

the population of a social organisation increases arithmetically, the number of possible channels of interaction increases geometrically.²²⁹

The implications of the paraenesis concerning the size of the church in Thessalonica were recognised by Suhl, who claims that the kind of interaction envisaged could only have applied

bei einer Gruppe von weniger als zwei Dutzend Mitgliedern. . . .²³⁰

While the actual figure he mentions cannot be regarded as anything more than a reasonable guess, he is obviously correct in postulating a church membership that is quite small.

For this reason, the suggestion that there were two or more house-churches in Thessalonica at this time²³¹ must be regarded as

improbable.

(2) These observations lead to the further conclusion that the church in Thessalonica was a "group" in the sense defined above.²³² It was relatively small in size, and its members were involved in the kind of face-to-face interaction that implies a strong sense of solidarity and common purpose.

In the previous chapter, we tentatively adopted as a working-hypothesis the view that Paul's churches 'were, at least in the initial stages of their existence, "groups" in (this) sense',²³³ and this hypothesis has now received some confirmation from our study of 1 Th. We went on to observe that, if valid, this hypothesis carries the corollary that 'what is true of group life in general will also have been true of Paul's churches and their functioning. In particular, we may expect that the way leadership emerges and the forms it assumes in such groups will correlate, at least to some degree, with what we learn from Paul's letters about the functioning of his churches.'²³⁴ It is now appropriate, therefore, to turn to an examination of 5:12-13, with a view to determining whether such a correlation is evident.

What kind of local leadership could have been exercised in a group whose life and functioning was determined to such an extent by apostolic leadership from without and comprehensive mutual interaction within? Was any kind of regular and recognised leadership-role either necessary or possible in such a group? What kind of ministry and what kind of group does 5:12-13 refer to?

III. LOCAL LEADERSHIP:

The purpose of this section is to provide a detailed exegetical study of 5:12-13, seeking to establish its meaning as precisely and thoroughly as possible, and then to assess the implications of our exegetical conclusions in the light of the understand-

ing of group-leadership delineated in Chapter 1.

It seems clear that Paul is referring to some kind of local leadership in the church, however the reference is to be interpreted in detail. With the possible exception of Gal 6:6, with its reference to the ministry of ὁ κἀτηχῶν, these verses constitute the earliest extant reference to such leadership in the churches. As a result, they figure prominently in scholarly discussion of the origin, basis and character of leadership-ministry in the early church. Three different approaches to these verses may be discerned in this discussion, which may for convenience be labelled historical, institutional, and theological.²³⁵

The historical approach is concerned with the personnel involved: to whom is Paul referring? This has both a general and a specific form. The first attempts to identify the kind of people indicated--the first converts, or those who host the church meetings, and so on.²³⁶ The second seeks to identify particular individuals as those being referred to: Jason, Aristarchus, Secundus, and Demas are often suggested.²³⁷ There are two major difficulties with this approach: first, it often tends to bypass the primary exegetical task of determining the meaning of Paul's statements; and secondly, it makes a virtue out of necessity by assuming that the only Thessalonians whose names we know are those to whom Paul is referring here.²³⁸

The institutional approach is concerned with the position involved: what was the status or office of these leaders? Again, this approach has both a general and a specific form. The former is concerned only to insist that Paul is referring to office-bearers, a view that is usually based on the assumption that προΐστασθαι is used here in the sense "to rule".²³⁹ The latter regards the passage as a reference to elders²⁴⁰, a view that was especially characteristic of older works, in which there was a tendency to assume

that the churches of the first century developed uniform structures and a uniform nomenclature. More recently, this view has been strongly defended by Rigaux, who provides four arguments to show that Paul is referring to elders here.²⁴¹

The first is a sociological argument:

Il n'est pas un groupement d'hommes possible sans une certaine hiérarchie . . .;

and the second a historical argument:

Les synagogues ont leur ἀρχισυνάγωγος et les communautés chrétiennes out dû au moins copier originairement cette organisation existante. . . .

His third argument is a biblical one, in which he claims that Acts 14:23 shows that it was Paul's practice to appoint elders in his churches--and if his hurried departure from Thessalonica meant that he had not been able to do so there, then he would certainly have instructed Timothy to do so during his return visit. Finally, he employs a linguistic argument, claiming that προΐσταμένους must mean 'présidents, être à la tête'.

These arguments are not convincing. Although the first is correct as a generalisation about human social groups²⁴², its use in this context wrongly implies that vertical differentiation assumes an explicit, formal character from the beginning.²⁴³ The second simply begs the question, assuming what Rigaux sets out to prove. The third is unacceptable: whatever view we take of the historical accuracy of Acts 14:23, it does not show that it was Paul's invariable practice to appoint elders in all his churches. Therefore the claim that he would have done so in Thessalonica, either personally or through Timothy, lacks any foundation. The fourth argument does not suffice to show that elders are meant, even if the verb must be interpreted in the way Rigaux claims.²⁴⁴

Rigaux's arguments exemplify the weakness of this approach

as a whole. It tends to be rather a priori in character, assuming that the reference to office-bearers, or elders, is so self-evident as to require little or no demonstration, or producing arguments that are convincing only if that which is supposed to be demonstrated is first assumed.

The theological approach is concerned with the principles involved: what conception of ministry and church order is reflected here? The starting-point for this approach is often the observation that the passage does not give any indication that those being referred to held some recognised position or office--they are not given a title, and there is no reference to any appointment. These negative observations, coupled with the fact that Paul exhorts the Thessalonians to recognise this group on the basis of their service ($\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$), not because they hold some position, lead to the conclusion that only voluntary service of an informal kind is in view.²⁴⁵ This is then often related to the theology of charismatic gifts based on 1 Cor 12 to produce an interpretation like that offered by Dunn:

We should probably conclude . . . that those mentioned in 1 Thess.5.12 were the ones who were most active in the life of the Christian community, who undertook their service at the instigation of the Spirit and whose only authority was that of some particular charisma(ta) manifested in a regular ministry.²⁴⁶

This approach has two major weaknesses. It has a tendency to interpret the passage on the basis of a theological schema derived from elsewhere, and thus fails to allow the passage to speak on its own terms. It betrays an allied tendency to make too much of what Paul does not say, and to assume that what is not said could not have been said, since it was excluded on principle. Again, this diverts attention from a careful examination of what the passage does say by concentrating on what it does not say.

One obvious problem confronting all three approaches, and accounting for their tendency to read certain things into the passage, is the tantalising brevity of Paul's statement. Yet the inherent importance of the passage, as the earliest witness to some kind of local leadership in the churches, plus the difficulties we have noted in each of the approaches that are evident in the discussion of this passage, indicate the need for a detailed examination of what Paul does say.

1. The Context of the Passage:

Meaning is determined by context, and the meaning of this passage cannot be rightly understood except in relation to its context in the letter.

The immediate context concerns mutual ministry and corporate responsibility on the part of all the believers. As we have seen, 5:11 combines acknowledgment and exhortation: mutual exhortation and upbuilding is, and must continue to be, a central feature of the church's life. Details of the responsibility of all for pastoral care are given in 5:14. So Paul's reference to the ministry of a particular group within the church is in a context dominated by the expectation that all the members of the church will continue to be active in mutual ministry.²⁴⁷

The emphasis of the immediate context on mutuality of ministry must in turn be set in the context of the thought of the letter as a whole. The church has been depicted in the course of the letter as a community brought into being through the purpose and power of God and the ministry and message of the apostle. It lives as a family, a brotherhood in which mutual love is the pattern and the norm, and which grows towards maturity through three inter-related factors: the continuing activity of God in their midst, the continuing

ministry of the apostle, and the mutual ministry of its members, guided and gifted by the Spirit of God and instructed by the apostolic teaching. So the upbuilding of the church results from the activity of God channelled through apostolic ministry from without and mutual ministry within.

No assessment of the significance of this passage can afford to ignore this larger context, especially because, as the history of interpretation shows, it is all too easy for exegetes, conditioned by their ecclesiastical experience, to approach the text with the implicit assumption that "church" means minister(s) plus members, the active and important few plus the passive and insignificant many.²⁴⁸

So both the immediate literary context and the thought of the letter as a whole emphasise the activity and responsibility of all the believers in ministry, and this fact must be given its proper weight in our interpretation of this passage.

(2) The Content of the Passage:

Our examination of the passage will focus on both the way Paul describes this leadership-group and the response to their ministry that he requires of the other members of the church, and in both cases we will give detailed consideration to the meaning of the words he uses.

(a) Paul's description of the leaders:

Paul refers to τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ νοουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς (5.12). Although some interpreters have seen a reference to three groups here²⁴⁹, the form of the statement--one definite article governing three participles linked by a twofold use of καί --indicates that Paul is speaking of one group whose activity is described from three different aspects.²⁵⁰ We shall examine each of the three participles in turn.

(i) κοπιῶντες:

The verb *κοπιᾶν* was widely used from the classical period onwards as a passive counterpart of *κοποῦν* ("to weary"). It had the meaning, "to be tired, to grow weary", and also (since by extension it came to denote the activity which caused weariness), "to toil, work hard". By further extension it came to denote not just physical labour but exertion in a general sense.²⁵¹ Taken at face value, then, the term refers here to those members of the church who work hard and weary themselves in serving the church (ἐν ὑμῖν). However, the context shows that this understanding is not adequate: to designate some members of the church as the "toilers" would imply that others are inactive and not engaged in any demanding service; but the stress on the activity of all in mutual ministry that characterises the immediate context makes such a distinction impossible. Yet perhaps the distinction implied is one of degree: while all are active in ministry, some are noticeably more active, committed and involved to a greater degree than others. Although this is a possible interpretation, it is more likely that *κοπιᾶν* here implies some recognisably distinct activity which is characteristic of some but not of all.

The content of this recognisable and distinctive activity may be discerned by an examination of Paul's other uses of the word. By examining early Christian usage of *κοπιᾶν* and its cognate noun *κόπος*²⁵², Harnack²⁵³ showed that it was Paul who introduced them into the Christian vocabulary, and that in his usage both words acquired a semi-technical sense as designations of 'Missions- und Gemeindegemeinschaft'.²⁵⁴ Thus Paul uses them to refer to his own apostolic labours, in preaching the Gospel and founding churches²⁵⁵, to the apostolic labours of others²⁵⁶, and also to Christian service rendered to the churches²⁵⁷, or undertaken by the churches.²⁵⁸ He also uses the terms in the normal way to refer to the exertions and strains that

characterise his ministry.²⁵⁹ This juxtaposition of both uses of the term with reference to his own ministry shows that its

Proprium ist, dass es die Missionsarbeit als schwere, die ganze Existenz beanspruchende Arbeit beschreibt. . . .²⁶⁰

There are only a few instances where Paul uses κοπιᾶν of other ministries than his own. By examining these we may arrive at a clearer understanding of its implications in the passage we are considering. In 1 Cor 15:10 Paul's claim περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἔκοπίασα implies that the activity of the other apostles may also be characterised as a κοπιᾶν and shows that the content of this κοπιᾶν is missionary preaching (v.11: κηρύσσομεν). However, in the remaining five instances κοπιᾶν seems to refer to the "Gemeindearbeit" of others, rather than to "Missionsarbeit".

In 1 Cor 16:15f κοπιᾶν is related to the διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις of Stephanas and his household. Rom 16:6 refers to a certain Mary who πολλὰ ἔκοπίασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς²⁶¹; although it is possible that the εἰς ὑμᾶς indicates involvement in evangelistic work, in the course of which some of the readers were converted, it is more likely that it refers to some kind of διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις. The same is probably true of the references in Rom 16:12 to Tryphaena, Tryphosa and Persis, for it is more likely that Christian women found opportunity for ministry within the churches than that they were directly engaged in missionary preaching. It seems probable, therefore, that Paul's use of κοπιᾶν with reference to the ministries of others designates activity that is concerned with the upward growth of the church rather than the outward spread of the Gospel; it points to edification rather than evangelism. This understanding of κοπιᾶν is appropriate in 1 Th 5:12, for Paul's reference to τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν indicates that the church is the sphere of their activity.²⁶²

What may we conclude about Paul's use of κοπιᾶν to designate

the Christian work of others? There are two aspects of his usage that are of particular relevance to our understanding of the passage with which we are concerned.

In the first place, it is clear that κοπιᾶν functions as a term of acknowledgment. Its use signifies an active involvement in Christian service. Since the semi-technical sense which the word acquires in Pauline usage has come to overlie, rather than to displace, its ordinary sense, both aspects of this statement are to be emphasised. It designates Christian service, ministries performed in and for the churches; and it designates active involvement, arduous and wearying exertions in ministry. By his use of the term Paul acknowledges the commitment and the ministry of those concerned.

Secondly, κοπιᾶν also appears to function as a term of association.²⁶³ Except in 1 Cor 15:10 (where it refers to the apostolic labours of others only by implication), it refers to ministries that are exercised within the sphere of the Pauline mission by individuals who have some association with Paul himself. This was certainly the case with the household of Stephanas, which was ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας (1 Cor 16:15) and was baptised by Paul himself (1 Cor 1:16). The same picture emerges from the references in Rom 16, in which, in accordance with his desire to establish a base in Rome²⁶⁴ for his projected mission to Spain, he highlights the links which already exist between the Christian community in Rome and his mission in the East. He therefore makes a point of acknowledging the contribution made to the mission by those who, though now in Rome, have worked alongside him (vv.3,7,9) or rendered some service to him (vv.2,4,13). In this way, he shows how many Christians now in Rome have been associated in some way or other with his mission, and thus implies how natural it would be for the whole Christian community in Rome to be associated with the mission as it enters an important new

phase. So, although it is possible that vv.6,12 refer to the "toils" of women he has merely heard about²⁶⁵, it is more likely that he greets them as believers he knows, and whose ministries he has witnessed.²⁶⁶

The association implied by this use of κοπιᾶν is clearly not formally defined. Those whom he designates as "toilers"(κοπιῶντες) are not Paul's associates or representatives in any formal way, but are seen as associated with him because their ministries (κοπιᾶν) have contributed to the mission to which Paul in particular has been called by Christ and for which Paul in particular is responsible to Christ.

Our discussion of Paul's use of the verb κοπιᾶν leads to the following conclusion: the κοπιῶντες of 1 Th 5:12 are members of the church whose ministry is directed towards the upbuilding of the church, and involves them in real exertions for the benefit of all the other believers. Paul's use of the term both acknowledges their activity as a ministry which involves hard work, and thus requires real commitment, and also implies that their ministry is to be seen as a participation in his mission, such that those who exercise it are seen to have some association with him in his apostolic labours. However, beyond suggesting that their ministry was directed towards the upbuilding of the church (ἐν ὑμῖν) rather than the spreading of the Gospel, our discussion does not enable us to specify the content of the ministry performed by the κοπιῶντες. In fact, it suggests that while κοπιᾶν indicates something of the direction and significance of this ministry, its content will be ascertained only by an examination of the other two verbs Paul uses to describe it.²⁶⁷

However, before we proceed to discuss the remaining two participles we should ask to what extent the Thessalonians could have been expected to understand κοπιῶντες in the way that is described above. Since they were not in a position to examine Paul's use of

the verb and its cognate noun throughout his correspondence, would they have seen any other meaning in the term than the ordinary sense of "toiling, working hard"? That the additional nuances that we have discerned in the use of the term here would have been apparent to them is suggested by two considerations. The first is a point that has already been made: it is improbable that Paul would have acknowledged and expected the activity of all in ministry, and at the same time suggested that only some are really active. It must therefore have been clear to the Thessalonians that the word was being used in an extended sense. The second consideration suggests that they were in fact already acquainted with the particular nuances the word acquired in Pauline usage. Both κοπιᾶν and κόπος are used in this extended "Missions- und Gemeindearbeit"-sense in Paul's earliest letter²⁶⁸, and were thus already an established part of his mission-terminology.²⁶⁹ Since Paul had already been active in apostolic work for some years prior to the writing of 1 Th, it is likely that he developed many of his characteristic ways of speaking during this period. And since it was not only Paul himself, but also the members of his churches, who needed a new vocabulary with which to speak about the new experiences and the new patterns of conduct that were entailed in the mission, it is likely that the first converts in each place learned this terminology from Paul himself, and that subsequent converts became acquainted with it when they joined the Christian community.²⁷⁰ Thus, Paul is able to use κοπιᾶν here in an extended sense without explanation because this is a usage with which the Thessalonians are already familiar.

It is now time to examine the other two participles with which Paul designates the ministry of this group.

(ii) προϊστάμενοι:

Those who are the κοπιῶντες are also the προϊστάμενοι. There has been considerable debate about the meaning of the latter term, especially in relation to its use here. The debate revolves around two related issues: does the word denote authority or service, "rule" or "care"? and, does the use of the word demonstrate that those concerned had a definite status or position in the church? We will consider each of these questions in turn.

(1) What does προϊστασθαι mean here?

For many exegetes the word clearly indicates a leadership-group in the church with a more-or-less official status.²⁷¹ This conclusion is based primarily on the fact that προϊστασθαι had the long-standing and well-attested sense of "to be set over, be at the head of", or "to govern, direct, manage".²⁷² As the examples cited in MM show, the term was used over many centuries and throughout the Graeco-Roman world to refer to many kinds of leaders and officials.²⁷³ Some find additional support for this understanding of προϊσταμένων here in the addition of the phrase ἐν κυρίῳ which is held to emphasise the authority of those concerned:

His Lordship underlies their leadership.²⁷⁴

However, the use of ἐν κυρίῳ does not indicate the source of their authority so much as the spirit of their ministry²⁷⁵ --it serves to define their προϊστασθαι of the church (ὑμῶν) as a service rendered to the Lord²⁷⁶, and it may also suggest the sense of dependence on the Lord, the fact of serving in His power.²⁷⁷ It therefore does not have any direct relation to the question of their authority or status in the church.

Other scholars argue that the προϊστάμενοι are simply those who care for the other believers, and so are not a leadership-group in any formal sense.²⁷⁸ They, too, are able to point to a well-

attested use of προΐστασθαι to mean "to be concerned about, care for, give aid".²⁷⁹ Confirmation of this interpretation is found in the fact that προΐσταμένους is the second participle, since (it is maintained) it would have been placed first if it was being used in the sense of "ruling".²⁸⁰ This argument is not very persuasive, however, for it may be countered with the equally plausible claim that Paul was attempting to reinforce the distinctively Christian understanding of leadership as service by referring to "toiling" first!

The principal argument for both of the above interpretations is obviously the semantic one. Yet since it is clear that both meanings of the verb were known and established by the NT period, and since there is no a priori reason why either of them could not be accepted in this context, it is difficult to see how either of the two views above could be established to the exclusion of the other on purely semantic grounds. Moreover, the assumption evident in many discussions of this passage that to establish one meaning will entail the exclusion of the other is surely mistaken. In extra-Biblical usage there are many contexts in which both meanings seem to be involved, and where it is difficult to determine which one was intended to be primary. There are also other contexts in which, even when the sense of "caring" appears to be paramount, it is clear that the word designates someone with some kind of recognised status or authority. One example on each case will have to suffice.

The difficulty of deciding which of the two possible senses of the verb is primary is illustrated in P. Tebt.II. 326 (ca.AD.266), where the widow Aurelia Sarapias petitions the prefect Juvenius Genialis to appoint her brother as guardian of her young daughter Paulina. She states that her brother can be relied upon προ[στ]ήσ-εσθαι γνησίως τοῦ παιδίου. This clearly refers both to caring

for the child, promoting her welfare and protecting her inheritance, and to exercising authority over her. As the girl's guardian, Aurelius Serapion would be in charge of her and responsible for caring for her.

The second example shows how προϊστασθαι can mean "to care", but in reference to the authority and responsibility of an official. In SIG 700 (B.C.118-7) a certain Marcus Anneus is referred to in the following terms: ἀνὴρ καλῶς καὶ ἀγαθῶς ἀποσταλεὶς ταμίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ρωμαίων ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν πράγματα καὶ τὸν ἀνώτερον μὲν χρόνον πάντα διατετέλεκεν τὴν ἀρχὴν προϊστάμενος τῶν τε κατὰ κοινὸν πᾶσιν Μακεδόσιν συμφερόντων Clearly, he cares for the Macedonians and promotes their welfare; but equally clearly, as ταμίας he does so as a man in a position of authority and responsibility. His position in the Roman provincial administration, in which he is προϊστάμενος τῶν κατὰ κοινὸν πᾶσιν Μακεδόσιν συμφερόντων , means that he has power to act and that he is responsible for caring for the people.

The difficulty of deciding between the two meanings in such instances stems from the fact that they are obviously related--those who preside or rule have responsibility as well as authority, since they are to care for those they lead, and those who care or help are exercising responsibility, and thus come to have a de facto authority. The common ground between the meanings "to preside over, direct" and "to care for, support" lies in the notion of responsibility.

This connection between the two senses of προϊστασθαι is also evident in the NT.²⁸¹ Particularly striking is 1 Tim 3, where τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου καλῶς προϊστασθαι is a necessary attribute of both ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι (vv.4-5,12). Such προϊστασθαι

involves both the authority of the paterfamilias over his household (he has his children ἐν ὑποταγῇ, v.4) and his care and solicitude for the welfare of those for whom he is responsible (so τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου προστῆναι is parallel to ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, v.5).

All of this suggests that in contexts where one of the two basic meanings of προΐστασθαι is not obviously excluded, both are probably implied. Brockhaus is therefore right to claim that

die Alternative: entweder »Fürsorger«, oder »Vorsteher« falsch gestellt ist . . . das Wort προΐσταμαι eine fürsorgende Autorität oder eine autoritative Fürsorge . . . beschreibt. . . .²⁸²

In the passage with which we are concerned, therefore, the word προΐσταμένους is to be understood as denoting a responsibility for the church that involves both giving it direction and giving it support, both leadership and caring.²⁸³

It is obvious that this conclusion about the meaning of προΐστασθαι in this context does not take us very far. In fact, it raises two pressing questions about the role of the προΐστάμενοι.

(i) Is the responsibility they exercise one that they have been given (in that they hold a recognised position in the church, and thus care for it because they are its leaders), or one that they have taken upon themselves (by taking initiatives that benefit the church and show concern for its members, as a result of which they are seen as giving a lead)?²⁸⁴ Each of these alternatives has had its advocates, but, apart from the attempt to show that the question can be decided on the basis of Paul's concept of charismatic ministry, little of substance has been added to this debate since Harnack disputed the view of von Dobschütz and Dibelius (who argued that only 'freiwillige Sonderleistungen einzelner Gemeindeglieder' is meant²⁸⁵), and argued that the reference is to 'Amtspersonen'.²⁸⁶ (ii) What kinds of leadership and support do they provide for the church?--i.e.,

what do the προϊστάμενοι actually do?

We will take up this second question now, but the first one will be best dealt with when we come to consider the significance of this passage as a whole.

(2) What did the προϊστάμενοι do?

The purpose of this section is to propose an understanding of the role of the προϊστάμενοι. We begin by suggesting that οἱ προϊστάμενοι ὑμῶν is equivalent to "those who provide you with προστασία", a rendering that finds its justification in the fact that προστασία is a paronym of προϊστασθαι and displays a similar semantic range. The basic sense "standing before or at the head of" develops in two directions, so that (like προϊστασθαι) προστασία means both "leadership, presidency, authority" and "superintendence, care".²⁸⁷ It also has the meaning "patronage, protection"²⁸⁸, which involves elements of both the other meanings, and suggests an extension of our proposal to relate προϊστάμενοι and προστασία. The προϊστάμενοι may be seen as those who provide leadership and care in the church by providing the support and protection of a patron: the προϊστάμενοι are the church's "προστάται".

While the possibility of such a relationship between the three words is suggested by their cognation, it is demonstrated in a significant passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' Roman Antiquities. In Book II, chapters ix-xi, Dionysius portrays Romulus as introducing in Rome a (superior!) version of the patronage system found in Greek society. Patricians and plebeians are to be linked in a relationship which is termed πατρωνεία, "patronage". This is to involve the patricians, as προστατάι in providing ἡ τῶν πενήτων καὶ ταπεινῶν προστασία (ix.2-3). The respective duties of patrons and clients are then enumerated (x.1-3)²⁸⁹, and Dionysius then indicates

that Roman colonies and cities or states that had formed alliances with Rome or had been conquered by Rome also chose patrons from amongst the patricians. Thus both the plebeians and the client cities and states were ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πατρικίων (xi.1). The patricians concerned are then referred to in consecutive sentences as φύλακας καὶ προστάτας and τοὺς προΐσταμένους αὐτῶν. So the clients' προστάται, those who provided them with προστασία, are their προΐστάμενοι. Likewise (we suggest) τοὺς προΐσταμένους ὑμῶν in 1 Th 5:12 is to be understood as referring to the church's "patrons". The likelihood that such a usage would have been familiar to Paul and the Thessalonians is suggested by the fact that Dionysius came from the eastern Mediterranean and wrote this work only a half-century or so before Paul wrote 1 Th.²⁹⁰ There is sufficient geographical and chronological proximity between the two to suggest that Dionysius' use of these three terms would have been readily intelligible to Paul and the Thessalonians.

Although the possibility that this passage in Dionysius' Roman Antiquities could illuminate Paul's meaning in 1 Th 5:12 seems not to have been noticed before, the suggestion that the προΐστάμενοι were the church's patrons is not a new one. It was referred to--and rejected--by G. Heinrici over a century ago.²⁹¹ Heinrici argued that the προΐστάμενοι in Thessalonica could not have been the patrons of the church because (a) the Graeco-Roman religious associations had a patron, while 5:12 is in the plural, and (b) the other two participles (κοπιῶντες and νοουθετοῦντες) indicate an involvement in the life of the church quite different from that of a patron in a collegium. Heinrici's first argument is incorrect, as it is now known that some collegia had several patrons.²⁹² However, the second argument is largely correct, and can be strengthened by another consideration. In the relationship between a religious association and its patron, as

well as in the patrocinium-clientela relationship (like that described by Dionysius), there was an entirely different focus and ethos from that envisaged in our passage. The collegium or clientes received beneficia of various kinds from the patron, while the patron received gratia in the form of honour and personal loyalty from those who benefited by his support.²⁹³ The relationship between the προϊστάμενοι and the church, by contrast, is governed by the relationship of both to Christ. Accordingly, the προϊστάμενοι are so ἐν κυρίῳ, which means that what they do cannot be directed at securing prestige or power for themselves, but must seek to honour the κύριος by serving his people. Moreover, the members of the church are not the clients of the προϊστάμενοι but their ἀδελφοί in Christ. It is therefore clear that τοὺς προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν cannot be a reference to a formal patronal status.

To grant this, however, does not mean that our proposal about the meaning of προϊστάμενοι in 5:12 has to be abandoned, for this terminology was used more widely than in a purely technical sense.²⁹⁴ In fact, Paul himself uses this terminology in a non-technical sense elsewhere in his letters.

In Rom 16:2 he refers to Phoebe as προστάτις πολλῶν ... καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ. This cannot mean that she was a patrona in any legal or technical sense²⁹⁵, but must rather be a way of acknowledging her support of many people, including Paul himself.²⁹⁶ This support probably involved such things as

finanzielle Hilfeleistung, Zunutzemachen ihrer Beziehungen
oder Aufnahme in ihr Haus.²⁹⁷

This implies that Phoebe was a woman of some social standing and influence, and that she was relatively independent and wealthy.²⁹⁸

It is presumably because she used her financial means and her influence to provide the same kind of hospitality and support for

the church in Cenchreae as she provided for Paul and other visiting Christians that she is known as διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας (v.1).²⁹⁹ Thus this reference to Phoebe not only provides a clear instance of a non-technical use of "patron"-terminology, but also suggests some ways in which a προστάτης/προϊστάμενος could provide προστασία for a church.

Significantly, Paul's only other use of ὁ προϊστάμενος as a designation (Rom 12:8) appears to refer to the same kind of ministry as Phoebe's. The view of some commentators that the term refers to the congregational president³⁰⁰ does not take sufficient account of its position between ὁ μεταδιδούς and ὁ ἐλεῶν and the implicit connection between the three activities concerned. On the other hand, Leenhardt's suggestion that ὁ προϊστάμενος is the organiser-administrator responsible for the funds which ὁ μεταδιδούς provides and ὁ ἐλεῶν distributes³⁰¹ links the three terms in too formal and precise a manner, implying a greater degree of formal structure and organisation in the Christian community than we have evidence for.³⁰² A more satisfactory interpretation is proposed by Michel, who takes ὁ προϊστάμενος as a reference to ein Patronat für Schutzlose . . . (Witwen, Waisen, Sklaven, Fremde). . . .³⁰³

A similar view is found in Bengel, who paraphrased ὁ προϊστάμενος as

qui alios curat et in clientela habet.³⁰⁴

This interpretation involves the same kind of non-technical use of the language of patronage as is evident in Rom 16:2.

The προϊστάμενοι³⁰⁵ in Rome may be regarded as relatively well-to-do believers who used their financial (and other) resources in the service of the church, and perhaps especially of its more needy members. The activities for which they are designated προϊστάμενοι are thus very similar to those which led to Phoebe being

referred to as προστάτις πολλῶν.

Our discussion of Rom 12:8 and 16:2 is relevant to our examination of the role of the προῖστάμενοι in Thessalonica in two ways: (i) it demonstrates that Paul used patronage-terminology in a non-technical sense, and (ii) it provides some indication of the services a Christian "patron" would offer his fellow-believers.

Before we proceed any further with our consideration of the role of the προῖστάμενοι in the church in Thessalonica, it will be helpful to review the ground we have covered already.

(i) We have proposed that τοὺς προῖσταμένους ὑμῶν should be understood as "those who provide you with προστασία", and that this is equivalent to "those who act as your patrons".

(ii) We have shown that the relationship we are proposing between the terms προῖστάμενος, προστασία and προστάτης is found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' Roman Antiquities, and given some reason to think that this usage would have been familiar to Paul and his readers.

(iii) We have accepted the argument that a formal patron-client relationship could not be in view here.

(iv) We have demonstrated that Paul uses this terminology in a non-technical manner, and in ways that give some indication of the role the προῖστάμενοι may have played in the church in Thessalonica.

We may now proceed to elaborate and support our proposed interpretation of τοὺς προῖσταμένους ὑμῶν in two further ways. The first involves a consideration of the sketch provided in Acts 17 of the foundation-period of the Thessalonian church's life, and the second will be an exploration of the implications for our understanding of 1 Th 5:12 of the fact that Paul's churches were house-churches.

In Acts 17 Jason appears as the host of Paul and his colleagues: ὑποδέδεκται (17:7) implies that Jason provided them with

hospitality³⁰⁶, and perhaps also with employment (cp. 1 Th 2:9).³⁰⁷ The narrative further implies that Jason's house was the church's meeting-place³⁰⁸, by describing how the crowd converged on Jason's house looking for Paul and Silas, and only found Jason and some ἀδελφοί there.³⁰⁹ Jason and the others were then brought before the politarchs, who released them after the payment of a bond (v.9).³¹⁰

Brief and sketchy though it is, the narrative portrays Jason as the church's host, representative, and protector--he offers hospitality to the missionary-team and then to the church, and he provides the necessary financial support and legal protection for the church in the hearing before the politarchs. In view of this προστασία he offers the church, Jason could be called the church's προστάτης in the same non-technical sense as Phoebe is designated προστάτις πολλῶν. It would not be inappropriate, therefore, to summarise Acts' portrayal of him by referring to Jason as the προΐστάμενος τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Yet if this is so, how are we to explain the plural in 1 Th 5:12? Two points should be noted in this connection. (1) The plural could be taken as an indication that the adult members of Jason's household were all actively engaged in this kind of service for the church--a situation similar to that depicted in Phm 1-2³¹¹ and 1 Cor 16:15-18.³¹² (2) The Acts narrative indicates that, as well as Jason, some other Christians were seized by the crowd, brought before the politarchs, and placed under a bond (17:6,9). Although there is no evidence one way or the other in the narrative, it may be that these ἀδελφοί were not just Christians seized at random, but were known to be leading figures in the church. While neither of these suggestions can be proved, they do suffice to show that the plural in 1 Th 5:12 does not constitute an insurmountable obstacle to linking Acts' portrayal of the role played by Jason with

the understanding of *προϊστάμενοι* that we have proposed for this verse.

The second line of argument which further elaborates and supports our proposal involves a consideration of the fact that Paul's churches were house-churches.³¹³

The ministry of the *προϊστάμενοι* was exercised in a house-church, and it is presumably on this basis that von Dobschütz says that they undertook

Hergeben des Lokals für die Gemeindeversammlung, vielleicht auch Herstellung der nötigen Ordnung dabei, Vorbeten, Vorlesen, Vorsingen, Gewährung von Unterkunft und Unterhalt für zureisende Brüder, von Unterstützung für Arme, Stellung von Kaution (vgl. Jason Apg 17 9), Vertretung vor Gericht (Patronisieren!), gelegentlich vielleicht eine Reise im Interesse der Gemeinde, kurz alle Pflichten, die später dem Vorsteher, dem Bischof zufielen. . . .³¹⁴

A similar profile of the ministry of house-church leaders is offered by F.V. Filson, who observed that

homes large enough to house a considerable number of Christians in one assembly must have been owned by persons of some means. They need not have been rich. They may have been traders or even workers. But they certainly were not of the dispossessed proletariat. They were established and successful. . . . It is only reasonable to assume that when Paul began missionary work in a city, one of his first objectives was the winning of a household which could serve as the nucleus and center of his further work. He knew that his connection with the synagogue was always fragile. . . . One thing he had to have was a meeting place. The practical way to obtain one was to win a household with a home large enough to serve as a center of Christian activity.³¹⁵

He went on to relate these observations to the emergence of church order in the following way:

The development of church polity can never be understood without reference to the house churches. The host of such a group was almost inevitably a man of some education, with a fairly broad background and at least some administrative ability. Moreover, many of these hosts in the earliest years of the Gentile church came from the "God-fearers", who had shown independence enough to leave their ancestral or native faith and establish contact with synagogues. They had thus shown themselves to be men of initiative and decision. In a mission movement which required resourcefulness and courage, they were likely candi-

dates for leadership. . . . It was not merely an inherited theory of polity but in part at least the actual leadership provided by the hosts of the house churches which determined the form of church life. . . . The house church was the training ground for the Christian leaders who were to build the church after the loss of "apostolic" guidance, and everything in such a situation favored the emergence of the host as the most prominent and influential member of the group.³¹⁶

There is much that is speculative in the preceding quotations, as Filson makes little attempt to ground his conclusions in exegesis, but relies instead on the general plausibility of the inferences he draws from some very general historical observations. While this procedure is less than satisfactory, it must be observed in Filson's defence that, in the nature of the case, the kind of evidence we need most in this connection is precisely what Paul had no occasion to provide. The members of his churches had no need to be told who they were, or to have Paul provide biographies of their leaders!

The conclusions Filson reached by this somewhat speculative procedure find some support in two ways in more recent scholarly discussion, and both of these also lend some support to the hypothesis we have advanced concerning the role of the προΐστάμενοι.

The first of these is the fact that, from a variety of different perspectives, recent scholarship is increasingly endorsing the view that Paul's churches owed much for their survival and growth to "patrons" of the kind referred to above. E.A. Judge played something of a pioneering role in this regard³¹⁷, and although both the approach and conclusions of his studies have been criticised in several respects, his depiction of the role of the "patrons" in the Pauline churches is being echoed in an increasing number of studies.³¹⁸

Support for this view is found, secondly, in some significant religionsgeschichtliche parallels which are of obvious importance for our understanding of the house-churches of early Christianity. The first comes from a Jewish context. As the house-synagogues of

the Diaspora³¹⁹ provide an important parallel to the early churches³²⁰, so the benefactors of those synagogues provide at least a partial parallel to the "patrons" of the churches. Clear evidence for this role is found in connection with the house-synagogue at Stobi.³²¹ Here a certain Claudius Tiberius Polycharmus paid for the renovation of his own house in order to allow the Jewish community of the town to use the lower floor while he and his family used the upper floor as their dwelling. In recognition of his benefaction he was given the title, ὁ πατήρ τῆς ἐν Στόβοις συναγωγῆς.³²² This title, along with its feminine equivalent, was used in the Roman synagogues³²³, and both in Stobi and Rome it was

an reiche Glieder der jeweiligen Gemeinde verliehen, die sich durch ihr Geld und ihren Einfluss tatkräftig für deren Belange eingesetzt hatten.³²⁴

There are some important differences between the relationship between Polycharmus and the Stobi synagogue and the προΐστάμενοι and the church at Thessalonica. There is no evidence for an involvement by Polycharmus in the life of the Jewish community analogous to that of the προΐστάμενοι in Thessalonica indicated by the use of κοπιᾶν and νοουθετεῖν. Moreover, the title ὁ πατήρ τῆς συναγωγῆς found no analogue in Paul's churches because πατήρ applied to God, because Paul himself was the churches' "father" (1 Th 2:11; 1 Cor 4:14-21), and because it implies a "paternalism" that is irreconcilable with the equality of all as ἀδελφοί and the mutuality of ministry and responsibility that is a primary manifestation of the presence of the Spirit in the church. Yet Polycharmus' contribution as host, benefactor (and protector?) of the Jewish community at Stobi does provide some parallel to the role we have suggested for the "patrons" in Thessalonica.

More striking and significant is the parallel provided by the private cult-association in Philadelphia in the early second or

late first century B.C. made known by an inscription first published in 1914.³²⁵ The inscription tells how a certain Dionysius, on the basis of a command received from Zeus in a dream, reconstituted a private shrine and established a cult-association. The detailed study of this inscription by S.C. Barton and G.H.R. Horsley³²⁶ shows that Dionysius' own home was the association's meeting place³²⁷ and that the members of his household seem to have formed the nucleus of its membership.³²⁸ The association was fundamentally egalitarian in its ethos, and all the members were responsible for each other's adherence to the group's norms.³²⁹ Dionysius himself had no formal status in the group³³⁰, but only a natural eminence as "host-benefactor".³³¹ Barton and Horsley find a number of significant parallels between this association and the early churches³³², of which the following is of particular importance for our purposes:

At the local level, the functioning of [the] ἐκκλησίαι depended on the initiative and co-operation of their members in providing places of meeting . . . , in teaching, in administration, in social welfare and in the variety of other ministries seen as important to the vitality of each group. . . . Hence, the initiative taken by Dionysius . . . to widen access to the cult located in his οἶκος is analogous to the initiative of those men and women of means amongst the early Christians who . . . opened their houses to the gatherings of believers. . . .³³³

Thus both the role of Dionysius as host-benefactor and the functioning of the association in an egalitarian and participatory manner provide significant parallels to what we have seen of the church in Thessalonica.

In the preceding discussion we have provided further elaboration of, and support for, our hypothesis concerning the role of the προϋστάμενοι by giving some consideration to Acts' description of the founding of the church in Thessalonica and also to the implications of the fact that Paul's churches were house-churches. To seek to substantiate our hypothesis more fully at this stage would be to

anticipate too much of the remainder of this study, so we will conclude this section by stating some of the principal implications of this hypothesis. Further corroboration of the hypothesis will be sought in subsequent sections of our discussion.

We have argued that those whom Paul describes as τοὺς προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν are the church's "patrons", its hosts, sponsors, protectors. This has several important implications.

(i) The προϊστάμενοι were relatively well-to-do financially and influential socially, and devoted their resources of money, property (a house large enough to accommodate the church meeting), ability, experience, influence, and time to the service of Christ.

(ii) They were the leading figures in the Christian household(s) which provided a base and centre for the church's life. The pater-familias of the household and host of the church, and those who were most closely attached to him and involved in his activities, would possess a natural authority, and would thus be likely to exercise a significant degree of leadership, in the church:

. . . man darf annehmen, dass den Hausbesitzern auf Grund ihrer natürlichen Stellung in der ἐκκλησία die sich in ihre Hause zusammenfand, eine gewisse »leitende« Funktion zukam.³³⁴

It is therefore primarily to the structure and functioning of the household, rather than of the synagogue or religious association, that we should look for illumination about the emergence of leadership-structures in the churches. Their nature as house-churches involves an important and distinctive feature in this regard:

Gesellschaftliche und kirchliche Strukturen fliessen ineinander.³³⁵

(iii) The debate about whether the verse we are considering refers to voluntary service of an informal kind or a formal leadership-position may well rest upon a false and inappropriate antithesis, therefore. The προϊστάμενοι are engaged in voluntary service of an

informal kind (as in (i) above), but because of who they are and what they do, and because normal social conventions and role-structures are not eliminated within the church³³⁶, they also constitute a natural leadership-group (as in point (ii) above).

These issues will be taken up again below. It is now time to give some consideration to the third participle Paul uses to refer to this group in the church.

(iii) νουθετοῦντες:

The description of the κοπιῶντες as νουθετοῦντες ὑμᾶς indicates that they exercise a "ministry of the Word". This in itself provides no basis for distinguishing their ministry from that exercised by all the members of the church, since, firstly, Paul's paraenesis clearly presupposes that all do, and should, exercise a "ministry of the Word" (4:18; 5:11)³³⁷, and secondly, νουθετεῖν is the responsibility of all in 5:14. How, then, is the ministry of these νουθετοῦντες distinguished from the mutual exhortation and admonition given and received by all?

In the first place, we should note that while the νουθετεῖν referred to in 5:14 is specific, the rebuking and exhorting of those committing a particular error, that referred to here is quite general in character. As in Rom 15:14; Col 1:28; 3:16, νουθετεῖν here is a general term for pastoral exhortation and instruction³³⁸, which will involve reminding believers of their responsibilities as Christians and exhorting them to remain true to their Christian calling, as well as warning against and rebuking false teaching or improper conduct. It is therefore closely related to διδάσκειν.³³⁹

Secondly, the ministry Paul refers to is different in scope and scale from that mutual exhortation in which all are involved. Their admonition is directed to the church as a whole (νουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς), not just to each member in one-to-one encounter³⁴⁰, and it

is a continuing feature of the church's life.³⁴¹ This perhaps implies that they gave regular teaching and exhortation in the church meetings. While the focus of each believer's "ministry of the Word" is his brother (ἀλλήλους), the focus of the ministry referred to here is the church as a whole (ὑμᾶς). So the ministry of the νοουθετοῦντες is not different in kind, but in degree and scope, from that exercised by each believer.

Church members who regularly exercise such a ministry in the church meeting to the church as a whole are clearly providing an important kind of leadership for the church, and would naturally come to possess a certain authority as a result.³⁴² But what is the basis for this ministry? How did the κοπιῶντες come to exercise such a ministry to the church? The text itself provides no direct answer to these questions, but a number of factors may be seen to be implied.

(i) The first is implied by the nature of the ministry itself. Effective and continuing pastoral exhortation and admonition or instruction of the church would demand a certain level of ability. Those who exercise such a ministry will be distinguished from others by their greater capacity to understand^{and} to communicate the truths and norms upon which their common life is based. This may (but need not) imply that they have attained a higher educational standard than most church members.

(ii) Since those who exercise this ministry are acknowledged as associated with Paul in his mission (κοπιῶν), and since their pastoral admonition and exhortation will have the apostolic teaching as its foundation³⁴³ in the same way that the mutual exhortation within the church does³⁴⁴, one likely basis for their ministry is precisely the special association they enjoyed with Paul from the time of the church's foundation, in the course of which (especially

if they had provided him with accommodation) they had greater exposure to the apostle and his teaching, and thus greater opportunity to achieve a more thorough grasp of its meaning. This greater exposure to Paul's teaching, plus their known association with him from the church's beginning, would undoubtedly create both an expectation on the part of other church members that these people will have an important contribution to make, and a readiness to accept their exhortations as legitimate.

(iii) As we saw in the previous chapter,

expectations and perceptual readinesses about "natural" patterns or combinations of functions are imported into any new group. . . . If group members differ in their general social status, there may be tendencies to organize and assign roles that are "fitting" . . . for each status. . . .³⁴⁵

Another factor which would be likely to create a readiness to be led in this way (*νουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς*), the expectation of receiving this kind of direction, the perception that it was fitting for certain members of the church to exercise such a role, is the social conventions regarding the status and prerogatives of the paterfamilias and host. The natural readiness on the part of those who assembled in their home to defer to such people would be likely to have involved a readiness to accept their right, and even their responsibility, to admonish the church as a whole. It is thus both because they are *κοπιῶντες*, associated with Paul through their continuing service, and because they are *προϊστάμενοι*, the church's patrons as its hosts, sponsors, and protectors, that they are also its *νουθετοῦντες*.

(iv) None of the above is intended to imply that their ministry was not thought to have any basis in the gifts and empowering of the Spirit. It was undoubtedly accepted by all that their ministry required, both for its performance, and also for its recognition

and reception by the church, the enabling work of the Spirit. Yet however much it was recognised that their ministry derived its authenticity and efficacy from the Spirit's directing and empowering presence, it was also true that it was rooted in the kind of social and historical factors considered in the preceding three points.

The *νοουθετοῦντες* are those who exercise a ministry of the Word which is different in degree and in scope, but not different in kind, from that exercised by all the believers. By constant pastoral admonition, warning against error, recalling to conformity with the apostolic teaching, exhorting to a fuller and deeper obedience to the Gospel and the apostolic instruction, they exercise responsible oversight of the church's progress and growth. Their ministry is thus not different in kind from that exercised by the apostle, both when he was present in Thessalonica (2:11-12) and now through the letter (4:1-2, 10-11). Their pastoral role is related to their patronal function and to their association with Paul, as well as to the enabling gifts and direction of the Spirit.

Paul refers to a particular group within the church as *κοπιῶντες*, *προϊστάμενοι* and *νοουθετοῦντες*. We have argued that these three terms indicate, respectively, that the persons concerned work hard in order to build up the church, and are thus to be regarded as participating in Paul's mission; they are the church's "patrons", who offer their resources of wealth, property, influence and ability to provide the church with accommodation, support, and protection; and they exercise some kind of pastoral oversight by their continuing admonition of the church as a whole. We will now consider the response to this group's ministry that Paul expects from the church.

(b) Paul's exhortation to the church:

In 5:12-13 Paul makes two appeals to the church, and we will consider each of them in turn.

(1) The first (vv. 12-13a) exhorts the believers concerning the group referred to, εἰδέναι καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ διὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν.

The use of εἰδέναι here is 'unusual, though understandable.'³⁴⁶ What makes it unusual is that the normal sense is inappropriate--why should the Thessalonians be urged to "know" people who are already well-known to them?--and yet there is no other attested meaning that would fit. Nevertheless, the usage is understandable, because the intended meaning will obviously be congruent with the second part of the exhortation. It can thus be surmised to be something like "to recognise and respect".³⁴⁷

Three features of the second part of the exhortation deserve comment. (a) Paul appeals for the highest possible esteem³⁴⁸ to be accorded the κοινῶντες. ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ³⁴⁹ has superlative force; it represents the 'highest form of comparison imaginable', and points to an esteem which is to be 'quite beyond all measure'.³⁵⁰ (b) While the degree of recognition is to be so high, its spirit is to be determined by the ἐν ἀγάπῃ that Paul adds. It is not to be a merely dutiful response, or a grudging acknowledgment, but an expression of love. The mutual love which should, and does, characterise the church's life (4:9) will involve a loving esteem of those who serve it in the manner indicated. (c) The basis on which this recognition and esteem is to be accorded the κοινῶντες is what they do, their ἔργον. This has two levels of meaning. First, the church's high and loving esteem is to be a response to the active service of the church undertaken by the κοινῶντες. As we have seen, there would have been a certain degree of respect and deference shown to them in virtue of their status as προΐστάμενοι, but the basis on which Paul calls for their recognition here is not their social position as such, but their Christian service.

The second level of meaning is to be seen in the fact that, like κόπος, ἔργον³⁵¹ is part of Paul's mission-vocabulary.³⁵² His mission is the ἔργον κυρίου (1 Cor 16:10) or the ἔργον Χριστοῦ (Phil 2:30).³⁵³ Like κόπος, ἔργον is used to refer to Paul's own involvement in the mission³⁵⁴, to the work of his missionary colleagues³⁵⁵ or of other Christian workers³⁵⁶, and to the Christian service of the churches.³⁵⁷

The particular meaning of ἔργον as a mission-word in this passage is suggested by a comparison with its threefold use in 1 Cor 3:13-15, where Paul is referring to those who follow up his foundational ministry in Corinth (in which his κόπος was preaching and church-planting: 3:8,10-11) by building on the foundation he laid. Their ἔργον is thus their church-building ministry: i.e., their preaching, teaching, and pastoral exhortation and oversight.³⁵⁸ The κοπιῶντες exercise a similar ministry in Thessalonica, as they admonish the church and provide for its growth and upbuilding in other ways as well. We may thus interpret τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν as not just a general reference to the fact that they are active in Christian ministry, but more specifically as an acknowledgment of their church-building ministry--they are to be recognised and held in the highest esteem because they work in and for the church, and because the work they do aims at the church's progress and growth.³⁵⁹

(2) To this twofold appeal (vv. 12-13a) Paul adds the brief exhortation, εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (v. 13b).³⁶⁰ This means that the exhortation concerning the church's response to the ministry of the κοπιῶντες is immediately preceded and followed by exhortations concerning the mutual interaction between all the believers.

What is the significance of the exhortation in this context? Some exegetes regard it as quite general in character, without any particular relation to either the literary context or the church

situation.³⁶¹ However, since we have already shown that Paul's paraenesis normally has a concrete occasion and intention³⁶², it is right to seek some connection between this exhortation and the situation Paul is addressing.

Some interpreters have posited only the most general of connections, viewing the exhortation as intended to strengthen the position of the church's leaders by indicating that they are to be seen as the focus of the church's unity.³⁶³ This interpretation founders on the fact that the exhortation concerns mutual relations between believers: the peace of which Paul speaks characterises the reciprocal relationships and responsibility between all the members of the church. Unity in the church is the product of mutual love and mutual ministry.

A second way in which this exhortation has been related to the church situation is to regard it as occasioned by a particular problem within the church. For Schmithals, it is part of an attempt by Paul to strengthen the position of the church's leaders in an effort to combat the influence of the Gnostic teachers who were troubling the church:

. . . Paul is anxious to stress the authority of the leaders of the community because of the threat to the community by the false teachers. . . . If the debate with Gnosticism already begins with Paul, it is only natural that he already³⁶⁴ uses the weapons which later brought victory to the church.

This interpretation only holds good if the larger hypothesis on which it is based--the view that the church was being infiltrated by Jewish-Christian Gnostics--is sound, and we have already argued that the letter itself provides no justification for such a view.³⁶⁵

Others have seen the problem as lying in the tension between the church's leaders and other members of the church.³⁶⁶ Moffatt, for example, saw the exhortation as a response to the tendency towards insubordination displayed by the artisans who constituted the great

majority of the church's membership:

. . . artisans and tradesmen are notorious for a tendency to suspect or depreciate any control exercised over them in politics or religion, especially when it is exercised by some who have risen from their own ranks. The community at Thessalonica was largely recruited from this class. . . .³⁶⁷

This sweeping generalisation, with its overtones of class prejudice and its extrapolation from the commentator's own social context and experience, has little to commend it as an explanation of Paul's intention in addressing this exhortation to the church in Thessalonica.

An alternative explanation within the same general approach is given by Frame, who regards the exhortation as yet another indication of the rift between the κοπιῶντες and the ἄτακτοι that he believes was plaguing the church:

. . . the workers, in functioning both as managers of the funds and as spiritual advisers, had been opposed by some of the converts, presumably the idlers . . . with the result that friction between them arose and the peace of the group was ruffled. The fact that Paul says not μετ' αὐτῶν but ἐν ἑαυτοῖς further suggests that the workers are in part to blame for the situation, in that their admonitions to the idlers who had asked for aid had not been altogether tactful. . . .³⁶⁸

Clearly, this interpretation is only as sound as the evidence for a rift between the "workers" and the "idlers". The evidence Frame produces is more convincingly interpreted in other ways: there is no real reason to see 5:19-20 as related to a division of this kind³⁶⁹; the letter gives no indication that the ἄτακτοι were a coherent, organised group; and there is no reason to think that Paul used the designation οἱ κοπιῶντες as a calculated rebuff to the ἄτακτοι since the term is part of his mission-vocabulary.

There are two general considerations which tell against such attempts to find the occasion for this exhortation in some problem within the church. The first concerns the tone and content of the letter as a whole, which (as we have seen³⁷⁰) seeks to urge the church

to make further progress in the right direction, the direction in which it is already heading, not to call it away from false trails onto which it has strayed. The absence of any indication of trouble on the surface of the letter should make us wary of any hypothesis which finds such trouble under the surface, particularly in the case of such a brief exhortation. If Paul had been seeking to deal with a problem in the church, he would surely have dealt with it more explicitly and at greater length. The second point concerns the actual form of the exhortation. The use of the present imperative suggests that Paul is referring to the maintenance of peace within the church, not to the need to create it.³⁷¹ His message is pas: faites la paix, mais: maintenez la paix.³⁷²

The exhortation should therefore be seen as directed to the need to maintain peace in the church, in the face of potential threats to its unity, rather than to the need to recapture peace in the church, in the face of actual strife and division. Where, then, did these potential threats to peace and unity lie? What features of the church's life provided the potential for division and disunity? Our discussion so far suggests three possible sources of strife within the church.

The first is suggested directly by the content and context of 5:12-13. Here Paul has two aims: he is seeking to encourage the deepening of the mutual ministry exercised by all the members of the church, and he is also seeking to consolidate the position of those who serve the church in several important ways. Both kinds of ministry are important; both are necessary; and yet there is a sense in which each represents a threat to the other. A church that is rich in reciprocal love, and the ministries of encouragement and exhortation in which it finds expression, could so easily come to underestimate the importance of the ministry exercised by the κοινῶντες.

Conversely, a well-developed sense of esteem for those who serve the church in the ways indicated in v.12 could so easily come to diminish the sense of mutual responsibility between all the members of the church. Paul seeks to avert both potential errors by encouraging both kinds of ministry simultaneously. By his appeal for the maintenance of mutual peace, he also seeks to exclude the divisive attitudes that would result from either of these potential errors: in the first case, the resentment of those who were made to feel that their service of the church was not valued; and in the second case, the resentment of those who felt that everything was becoming too heavily centred on the leaders or the passivity of those who felt that everything should be left to the leaders.

A second potential source of conflict is related to the first. If our hypothesis about the meaning of τοὺς προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν is correct, there were distinctions of wealth and social status between church members, and these distinctions figured quite directly in the way the church functioned. Certain social conventions attached to these status-differences, and would have tended to structure the relationships between the προϊστάμενοι and the other church members along particular lines. Yet, at the same time, the conception of the church as a divinely-founded family, with its members as ἀδελφοί loved by God, and thus loving and accepting each other, implied a patterning of relationships that was likely to be somewhat different from that which derived from social convention. For example, when a church member was both the slave and the brother in Christ of another, who was thus both a brother to be exhorted and admonished and a master to be respected and obeyed, there was considerable potential for confusion or even conflict in their relationship.³⁷³

Although Paul does not address this issue specifically, what he says to the church in these two verses can be seen as having a

direct bearing on it. On the one hand, his statements indicate that the spiritual equality between believers and their mutual obligations in ministry must not become the occasion for any disregard of the special role played by the *προϊστάμενοι*. Since their social, financial, and other advantages are used in the service of the church, they are to be given appropriate recognition and esteem. On the other hand, what he says indicates that the natural social precedence accorded the "patrons" must not lead to any minimising of the validity or the vitality of mutual ministry given and received by all. The well-groomed head must not say to the dirty hand, "I have no need of you!" Neither spiritual equality nor social distinctions must become the occasion for any division: *εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*.

A third potential source of division is suggested by 5:19-22. This passage has been related to 5:12-13 in two opposite ways. On the one hand, it has been claimed that there was a division within the church between the leaders and the pneumatics, whose conflict with each other Paul seeks to resolve by urging the pneumatics to have a proper respect for the leaders and their ministry (5:12-13) and by appealing to the leaders not to reject the activities of the pneumatics (5:19-22).³⁷⁴ On the other hand, the leaders of 5:12-13 have been identified with the pneumatics of 5:19-20, and both passages are understood as exhorting the other members of the church to adopt a right attitude to the ministry of the leaders.³⁷⁵

The fact that these two approaches postulate two quite opposite connections between these passages, which Paul does not link in any explicit way, demonstrates the need for caution in proposing any particular connection between them. Yet our hypothesis about the meaning of *τοὺς προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν* provides an alternative and plausible way of relating the two passages, and of relating them both to the exhortation we are considering. Perhaps on the basis of

Timothy's report, Paul sees a potential source of conflict in the juxtaposition of "spiritual" and "natural" leadership in the church. Some members of the church give it a lead through their exercise of pneumatic gifts, especially the uttering of prophecies which provide guidance by relating the will and word of God to the life of the church in quite specific ways. The extraordinary character of these gifts will undoubtedly have evoked a certain respect and admiration for those who exercise them in at least some members of the church. Other members of the church exercise leadership through their use of their natural abilities, social status and influence, and financial advantages to provide various kinds of direction, support and protection for the church. There is obviously a potential for conflict inherent in the juxtaposition of both kinds of ministry, especially where pneumatic gifts were experienced as compensating for social disadvantages or relative financial or educational deprivation.³⁷⁶

In such a situation, the pneumatics may have tended to become rather aggressive in the public exercise of their gifts, with a resulting tension and even polarisation within the church, leading to unwarranted antipathy to pneumatic phenomena and also to excessive enthusiasm for them. What Paul says in 5:12-13 and 19-22 indicates that both kinds of ministry are valid and important, but that, whereas the pneumatic may be more spectacular, the patronal may be more useful. Both are to be accorded appropriate recognition, but whereas the contribution of the pneumatics is neither to be rejected nor to be accepted without further ado, but is to be tested and accepted where valid, that of the *προϊστάμενοι* is to be responded to with the highest possible degree of loving esteem. The readiness of each group to accept the ministry of the other group, and of all the other church members to accept both kinds of ministry, will be an important factor in the maintenance of harmony within the church.

In the face of the potential for conflict and disharmony posed by these aspects of the church's composition and functioning, Paul calls for the maintenance of the harmony that has characterised the life of the church throughout. Any signs of strife or division are barely visible (cp. 5:19-20), but the believers must be alert to the possibility that a unity and harmony that is not consciously preserved may be eroded by the centrifugal forces that are present. So Paul's exhortations remind the church that ministry must be properly acknowledged (vv. 12-13a) and unity must be consciously preserved (v.13b).

We have now completed a detailed examination of the content of this passage, in which we have sought to establish as precisely as possible the meaning of what Paul says. We must now attempt to evaluate the significance of our findings and proposals.

3. The Significance of the Passage:

Our evaluation of the significance of this passage will focus on two issues which have emerged in the course of our discussion as central to the purpose of this study.

(1) We tentatively adopted the hypothesis that Paul's churches, at least in the initial stages of their existence, were "groups" in the sense defined in the previous chapter³⁷⁷, and then established that this hypothesis holds true for the church in Thessalonica at the time Paul wrote 1 Th.³⁷⁸ We indicated that a principal corollary of this hypothesis was that

we may expect that the way leadership emerges and the forms it assumes in such groups will correlate, at least to some degree, with what we learn from Paul's letters about the functioning of his churches.³⁷⁹

Accordingly, after defining the nature of group-leadership, we asked,

What evidence is there of an emergent leadership in the churches? Do certain members display a functional dominance in areas central to the church's functioning such that they come to exercise a clear leadership-role in the church?

Is there any evidence of the legitimisation of particular kinds of influence (power) in the church's life, so that certain members come to have authority in the church? Is there any evidence of a tendency for leadership functions to become clearly defined positions? In other words, is there any discernible movement from "function" to "office"?³⁸⁰

The first three of these questions are our concern at present; the remaining two will be taken up in the following section. In the same section of the discussion in which we posed these questions, we also indicated that the understanding of group-leadership that had been proposed was provisional in the sense that it had to be tested against the data provided by Paul's letters, to see to what extent it matched the situations portrayed there. We have now reached the point where we can assess whether, and to what extent, the κοπιῶντες can be described as "leaders" in the sense defined. For the sake of convenience, we have often referred to them in the preceding sections as "the church's leaders"--how valid is that description of their role?

Our interpretation of the three participles with which Paul refers to their function in the church indicates that their contribution to the church's life differed from that made by all its members both in degree and in kind. The use of κοπιῶν acknowledges the depth of their commitment, the zeal that finds expression in hard work for the sake of the church³⁸¹, and the use of νοουθετεῖν indicates that they do on a regular basis and on a wider scale what all are responsible to do.³⁸² In both cases it is the degree of their involvement that distinguishes their ministry from the contributions made by all the other members. The use of προΐστασθαι, however, indicates that their ministry also differs in kind from those of all the other believers, for they place their resources of property, finance, influence and ability at the disposal of the church as its hosts, sponsors and protectors. In a church where

(as we have seen) all are active and all are responsible, there is thus nevertheless a recognisable distinction between the contributions of the κοπιῶντες and of the other church members. Our interpretation of the passage thus substantiates the view of Holmberg, who (following A. Jaubert³⁸³) argues that the

leaders and the congregation are related to each other in a context of love and co-operation, and stand in a relation of mutual, but not symmetric, dependence on each other.³⁸⁴

The distinction between the κοπιῶντες and the church that is evident in this mutual but asymmetrical dependence between the believers can be analysed in terms of the vertical differentiation that characterises social ordering in groups, and out of which leadership emerges.³⁸⁵

Vertical differentiation refers to the unequal distribution of power, prestige and popularity in a social group, the first two of which are especially related to the emergence of leadership.³⁸⁶ We will consider each of them in turn in relation to this passage.

(a) Since 'power flows from the possession of resources', the leader is one 'on whose resources others are dependent' and 'whose resources enable him to exercise "functional dominance" in the group'.³⁸⁷ This is clearly applicable to the role of the κοπιῶντες who, as προΐστάμενοι, make available to the church resources on which it is dependent, and as βουθετοῦντες, exercise functional dominance in the church.

The other members of the church are dependent on the resources of the προΐστάμενοι for their provision of a meeting place, and of support and protection of various kinds (financial, legal, and so on), which permit the church to survive and to grow. As βουθετοῦντες the same people exercise a functional dominance in the church, in that their continuing pastoral admonition of the

church implies that they had, and were recognised to have, a competence in this area which made them able to continue exercising this role, and which made the other church members willing to receive their continuing admonition. Their function as *νοουθετοῦντες* thus implies that they possessed a greater degree of knowledge and insight than the other church members.

These resources of property, finance, and influence on the one hand, and of understanding on the other hand, mean that they exercise a significant degree of power in the church.³⁸⁸ As *προϊστάμενοι* they possess reward power³⁸⁹, in that their resources enable the believers to perform certain necessary tasks and attain certain important goals³⁹⁰; as *νοουθετοῦντες* they possess expert power, in that they are seen to have a special competence in the "ministry of the Word". Their power would have been perceived as legitimate in the light both of their perceived competence as *νοουθετοῦντες*³⁹¹ and of their social position as *προϊστάμενοι* on the basis of which they would have been regarded as having a certain right to influence the church. They would thus have held authority in the life of the church.

We conclude that, because the group to which Paul refers possessed the kind of resources which led the other church members to be dependent on them in a way that extended beyond the mutual dependence that characterised the whole church, they exercised a significant degree of power in the church.

(b) Vertical differentiation also occurs in relation to prestige. As we saw in the previous chapter³⁹², prestige may be related to leadership in two ways in particular. (i) Functional dominance, where it is exercised in areas that are crucial for the survival and success of the group, will generally generate prestige.

The group member whose resources enable him to make a preeminent contribution to the life of the group will normally be highly esteemed by the others. This may be presumed to have been true of the *κοπιῶντες* in Thessalonica--and if it had not been true before, Paul's exhortations in vv. 12-13 indicate very clearly that it must become true at once! (ii) Since prestige tends to be transferable, so that those who have a high status outside the group will tend to be accorded a high status within it, the *προϊστάμενοι* were likely to have had a high prestige-status in the church. Their status would have been enhanced, rather than diminished, by the fact that Paul urges the believers to give them high and loving esteem on the basis of their service, rather than of their social position, because the service they render arises out of their social position and consists of them using all the advantages and resources attaching to that position for the sake of their brethren. To the prestige that they would have received by virtue of their social position as host, paterfamilias, and so on, is to be added the prestige that arises out of the fact that they put their social advantages to work in Christian service.

We conclude that 5:12-13 shows that a significant degree of vertical differentiation was evident in the church in Thessalonica, and that the *κοπιῶντες* were distinguished from the other church members in terms of both power and prestige, as a result both of their functional dominance in the "ministry of the Word" and of the resources of property, finance and influence they were able to make available to the church. On the basis of the power they exercised and the prestige they held, the *κοπιῶντες* may rightly be described as the leaders of the church.³⁹³

(2) The second matter which has emerged in the course of our discussion, and which will serve as a focal point for our evaluation

of the significance of this passage, is the nature of the position the κοπιῶντες held in the church. In the passage quoted above³⁹⁴, the final two questions asked,

Is there any evidence of a tendency for leadership functions to become clearly-defined positions? In other words, is there any discernible movement from "function" to "office"?

It is this issue more than any other that has generated extensive debate in the study of ministry in the early Church, and it is at this point that the divergence between the consensus about the charismatic order of the Pauline churches and the recent challenges to it become clearest.

Was the position of the κοπιῶντες in the Thessalonian church an official one? Was it merely informal, and incompatible with office in principle? Or was it informal, and thus non-official, but compatible with office and tending towards it?

Many exegetes have argued that the passage itself points away from any official interpretation of the position of the κοπιῶντες. There are four particular features of the passage which are referred to in this connection.

(i) The fact that Paul uses participles is held to demonstrate that he is referring to certain functions, rather than to an established position, since the participles are "Funktionsbeschreibungen", not "Amtsbezeichnungen".³⁹⁵

(ii) The church's response to these activities is to be one of love, not obedience to authority--it therefore concerns gratitude for service, not obligation to officials.³⁹⁶

(iii) The church's recognition is to be given on the basis of service rendered (διὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν), not of position held.³⁹⁷

(iv) The form of Paul's reference to those who are to be recognised by the church is open-ended and inclusive:

Paul has in mind anyone who comes forward in one way or another within the congregation to take on its problems and to provide material or spiritual help.³⁹⁸

The reference is therefore to function and not to position.

Even without taking into consideration the interpretations we have offered of the three participles Paul uses, these arguments do not prove as much as their proponents claim.

(i) It is true that Paul's use of participles serves to emphasise the functions of the persons concerned, but it is also true that the text speaks 'von tätigen Personen, nicht von Tätigkeiten.'³⁹⁹ The question is thereby raised of the status and position of these persons.

(ii) The grateful response of love toward those who serve is not incompatible with the exercise and acknowledgment of authority, since the Thessalonians both recognised Paul's authority to direct the church's life (e.g. 4:1-2) and responded to him with real affection (3:6). It is authoritarianism, not authority, that is excluded by the way Paul speaks in this passage.

(iii) To define the basis on which recognition is to be given in terms of service rather than position is not necessarily to exclude office. The same point could equally well be made where office did exist, in order to emphasise that in the church office should be understood in terms of duties and responsibilities, not rights and privileges.⁴⁰⁰ Amongst the people whose Lord is a Servant, position must arise out of service and issue in service.

(iv) Although the form of Paul's statement may appear to us to be an implicit "whosoever will", its reference may well have been quite definite and specific, in the minds of both Paul and the Thessalonians. (Our interpretation of the three terms used shows that this would in fact have been the case.)

In short, all that these arguments demonstrate is not that office could not have existed here, but that, if it did exist, it could not be understood in certain ways.

What, then, does the passage indicate about the position of the κοπιῶντες? The discussion in the preceding chapter of the processes of social ordering⁴⁰¹ provides us with the necessary conceptual framework within which to deal with this question in a more precise and constructive manner than has been evident in most discussions, which have generally been limited to finding some basis in the passage for either maintaining or denying that the group concerned had an official position, and which have attempted to do this without any attention to the implications of the social context in which their ministry was exercised. The implications of the passage, as seen in the light of this conceptual framework, may be summarised as follows.

Paul's acknowledgment of the ministry of the κοπιῶντες and his exhortation for the church to give them high and loving esteem mean that he is both endorsing their position in the church and calling for its endorsement by the church. By referring to the existing situation in such positive terms, he both signifies his own acceptance and approval of it and urges a similar acceptance and approval of it on the church. However, the effect of the passage is more than merely to endorse the status quo, for both his acknowledgment of the role of the κοπιῶντες and his appeal for the church's recognition of them will serve to give additional impetus to the social ordering processes that are already in operation.

In the first place, by reinforcing such acceptance of, and expectations about their ministry as already exists in the church, and by calling for them to be extended, Paul is effectively extending their power and enhancing their prestige. The influence the κοπιῶντες

have by virtue of their various contributions to the church and the prestige that arises both from their social position and from their Christian service will be extended because Paul acknowledges their ministry with obvious approval and requires the other believers to respond to them with the kind of loving esteem which is ready to accept their influence and to accord them prestige in increasing measure.

Secondly, what Paul says also endorses the legitimacy of the ministry performed by the κοπιῶντες by indicating that it is right for them to exercise that ministry and right for the church to recognise and receive it. The effect of the passage will therefore be to enhance their authority in the church. They will already have possessed a degree of functional authority, arising out of their functional dominance in ministry⁴⁰², and this would normally have tended to become diffuse, in such a way that they would come to have a clear position of authority in the church.⁴⁰³ This passage will serve to reinforce and enhance that authority, and thus to consolidate their position in the church.

Thirdly, since the passage represents Paul's endorsement of their power, prestige and authority in the church, and also calls for the church to give the same endorsement (and to do so fully and heartily), it will serve to consolidate the position of the κοπιῶντες as leaders. This can be considered from two points of view. On the one hand, what Paul says will give significant impetus to the processes of role-definition and role-differentiation.⁴⁰⁴ His reference to the leaders does this by distinguishing particular functions as significant for the whole church, characterising them in a certain way, and expecting those who exercise them to be given high and loving recognition and esteem. His exhortations about the leaders also contribute to the development of these processes by endorsing and

extending the expectations that would have been created by these functions. The passage thus serves to define and establish the leadership-role of the κοπιῶντες more clearly.

On the other hand, what Paul says will also give impetus to the process of institutionalisation, which (as we have seen⁴⁰⁵) is the process of strengthening, stabilizing, and perpetuating a pattern of social ordering.⁴⁰⁶

What Paul says in this passage is clearly intended to reinforce the "pattern of social ordering" that centres on the role of the κοπιῶντες, encouraging the strengthening and perpetuation of that role and of the reception it receives in the church. Moreover, the kind of recognition he calls for--the highest possible esteem--would clearly serve to consolidate that pattern quickly and firmly, and would thus accelerate the rate at which institutionalisation developed.

By giving significant impetus to both of these social processes, therefore, the passage will serve to establish the κοπιῶντες in a clear and recognised leadership position. Does this mean that Paul was seeking to make their position official, to make their function an office? Hemphill implies that it does, by arguing that what Paul says about them is the functional equivalent of appointment to a position.⁴⁰⁷ While this has some validity, in that it recognises that Paul's statements will have a significant impact on the degree to which, and the rate at which, their position is consolidated in the emergence of defined roles and stable structures, it does not give sufficient recognition to the distinction between institutionalisation and formalisation.

In the previous chapter we argued that formalisation means standardising group structure and activities through the specification of guidelines and procedures⁴⁰⁸, in which

implicit understandings and informal working arrangements are made explicit and definite⁴⁰⁹,

at least to some degree, and that

the existence of office is a function of the degree of complexity and formality that characterises a social group or organisation: it marks a particular stage in the development of the institutionalisation-process. . . .⁴¹⁰

There is no hint of such formalisation in this passage, which does not pass beyond the level of informal working arrangements. Since formalisation is normally a response to the problems created by increasing size⁴¹¹, the absence of formalisation here can be seen as a consequence of the relatively small size of the church⁴¹²; whether it can also be seen as a consequence of a theology for which such formalisation is impossible (as maintained in the consensus-view) cannot be demonstrated from this passage. It should be noted, however, that what Paul says about the κοινῶντες means that some of the principal constitutive elements of office (as defined by Brockhaus⁴¹³) do, or will, characterise their position in the church, a position which Paul seeks to consolidate. These elements are the first three of the five Brockhaus stipulates: viz., the element of continuity; recognition by the church; and the special position of some (in terms of their authority) over against the whole group. Their position, as defined and reinforced by Paul, thus approximates to office, and can be seen as tending towards it.

In answer to the questions we posed above⁴¹⁴, therefore, we conclude that the position of the κοινῶντες is neither official nor incompatible with office, but informal and tending towards office. There is evidence both of a tendency for leadership functions to become clearly-defined positions, and of a movement from "function" towards "office".

There is one final question to be dealt with before we conclude our consideration of the significance of this passage. We

noted in the Introduction⁴¹⁵ that some (like Greeven) have argued that the leaders of the Pauline churches were prophets and teachers, while Holmberg has maintained that there were two types of leadership side-by-side: that of the pneumatics (prophets and teachers) and that of the προΐστάμενοι. Our investigation of the passage suggests that (at least in relation to Thessalonica) neither view is correct. Rather, those who lead the church do so neither as pneumatically-endowed "ministers of the Word" as such, nor simply as προΐστάμενοι, but only as both together. Since Paul's statement refers to one group whose activity has three important dimensions, and not to three groups⁴¹⁶, the leaders are those in whom patronal (προΐστασθαι) and pastoral (νοουθετεῖν) ministries are combined, and who display an evident commitment (κοπιᾶν) in both. The leadership-role is filled by those patrons who also exercise a ministry of the Word, those with a regular ministry of the Word who are also patrons. There may be those who have a ministry of the Word who are not patrons⁴¹⁷, or those who act as patrons but do not have the necessary gifts for a regular, effective ministry of the Word, and perhaps some who can serve the church in both ways but who lack the necessary commitment (κοπιᾶν), but as Paul writes 1 Th it is only those of whom all three things are true who are, and are to be recognised as, the church's leaders.

IV. CONCLUSIONS:

Paul's purpose in writing to the Thessalonians is to reassure them of his love for them, to express his joy at their progress, and to summon them to "more" (ἵνα περισσεύητε μᾶλλον : 4:1,10). This "call to fulfilment" sounds through the combination of acknowledgment and exhortation in which Paul both recognises the soundness of their commitment and urges them to make greater progress.

The letter discloses that the church's life and growth results from the interplay of the apostle's ministry to the church, the mutual ministries of all believers within the church, and the ministry of the church's leaders.

The ministry of the apostle is bounded by two horizons: his commissioning by the Risen Lord, when he was entrusted with the Gospel (2:4,7) and the coming of the Lord, when he will present the churches to him (2:19-20 ; 3:12-13). His apostolic task has two dimensions which relate to these horizons: he must preach the Gospel to the Gentiles so that they may be saved (2:16), and he must care for the churches that are founded through his preaching, which he does by means of teaching (4:1-2) and fatherly exhortation (2:11-12). As he writes to the Thessalonians, he longs to visit them so that he may discharge his continuing responsibility for them in a direct and personal way. While his enforced separation from them lasts, he continues to exercise his responsibility for the church through the agencies of constant prayer, the continuing force of his example, the ministry of his envoy, and the letter itself. Each of these is a manifestation of his concern for the church and of his responsibility to nurture it, to guard it, to bring it to maturity and completion in Christ. In all of this we see the interplay of love and authority that characterises the apostle's relationship to the church (2:7-8), and the combination of dependence and independence that characterises his conception of the church's relation to him. Because God is at work in the church, it lives and grows under divine instruction and supervision; but because God is at work in the church through the apostle, it lives and grows on the basis of his teaching and example, and stands in constant need of his instruction and supervision.

The church is the work of the electing, calling, and

faithful God (1:4; 2:12; 5:24) who called it into being, and who now sustains and rules it, by the Spirit working with and through the apostolic word (1:4-5; 2:13; 4:1-2,8,18). It lives as a family, a brotherhood, whose members are loved by God and taught by God to love each other (1:4; 4:9). The presence and power of the Spirit is displayed within the corporate life of this divinely-gathered and divinely-governed family-fellowship in the exercise of both mutual love and pneumatic gifts (4:9; 5:19-20). In view of all this, the whole church is active in ministry. This ministry of all the believers has two dimensions: mutual ministries of encouragement and exhortation, growing out of and expressing mutual love, in which all are responsible, able, and active (4:9-10,18; 5:11, 14-15); and corporate responsibility in pastoral care and discipline and in spiritual discernment (5:14-15, 19-22), where the church as a whole is responsible for the conduct of its meetings and the care of its members. As a consequence of the continuing work of God through the Spirit and the apostolic word, the church does--and should--function as a competent and responsible body, whose members are oriented to each other in mutual awareness and acceptance.

The third form of ministry that determines the shape and content of the church's life is that of the leaders referred to in 5:12-13. The letter sets their ministry in the context of the mutual ministries of all the believers, both by the location of the passage (note vv. 11, 13bff) and by the depiction of the church that precedes and follows it. Without diminishing the importance of this mutual ministry, Paul here highlights the importance of the ministry of those he describes as τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ νοουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς. Each of the three terms used indicates something significant about the group's

ministry. The use of κοπιᾶν indicates that they work hard for the church, but also acknowledges that their activities constitute a Christian ministry which is directed at the growth of the church and is to be understood as a participation in the Pauline mission. The use of ποίσταςθαι indicates that they take responsibility for the church as its "patrons", using their financial means, social influence, and other resources to support and protect the church. The use of νοουθετεῖν indicates that they provide pastoral admonition and instruction for the church as a whole. In this respect, their ministry differs in scale and in scope, but not in kind, from that exercised by every believer. It is as a result of all three things--their commitment, their patronal support, and their pastoral instruction--that they fill the leadership-role in the church.

Paul indicates that their service is to be acknowledged with the highest possible esteem: εἰδέναι καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοῦς ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ἐν ἀγάπῃ. Despite the potential for conflict within the church, between this special ministry exercised by some and the mutual ministries exercised by all, between spiritual equality and social distinctions, between pneumatic and patronal leadership, there must be a continuing mutual acceptance and regard which preserves the peace and unity of the church: εἰρηνεύετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

The informal and relatively undeveloped character of their position in the church can be seen as a reflection of both the active and authoritative leadership the apostle continues to provide even in his absence, and the fact that the church is still fairly young and relatively small, a "group" in which distributed participation is the norm and where all participate to some extent in leadership-functions. Yet the nature of the service they provide, the position in the church which this service implies and entails, and the constant, abundant recognition for which Paul calls, enhancing

their power and prestige and endorsing their authority, mean that the position of these leaders, increasingly defined and consolidated through the processes of role-differentiation and institutionalisation, is tending towards office. The letter itself provides us with no means of telling whether their position will acquire that formalisation that marks the existence of office.

Two features of the way Paul describes these three patterns of ministry deserve particular notice. First, there are significant connections between them. The terminological links are worthy of note: παρακαλεῖν and παραμυθεῖσθαι are used of the ministries of both Paul and the whole church (2:12; 4:18; 5:11,14); νοουθετεῖν and ἔργον are used to refer to the ministries of both the leaders and the whole church (1:3; 5:12-14). More important are the conceptual links between them: the church's corporate responsibility for pastoral care and discipline (5:14-15) and for spiritual discernment (5:19-22) presupposes the apostolic proclamation and instruction as its basis and norm; mutual exhortation and encouragement exchanged between the believers is to be based on and to enshrine the apostolic message (4:18); the same love that issues in mutual care and encouragement is to lead to exalted recognition and esteem of the leaders (4:9-10; 5:12-13); the leaders' ministry to the church is at the same time a participation in the Pauline mission (κοπιᾶν; ἔργον : 5:12-13); as the apostle prays for the church and its growth, so the church is to pray for the apostle and his mission (3:11-13; 5:23,25).

Secondly, these terminological and conceptual links show that the three patterns of ministry are interlocking and interdependent. None of them invalidates or nullifies the others. The mutual ministry that is so conspicuous an indicator of the fact that God is at work in the church does not mean that the church can be

considered self-sufficient or autonomous: it still has and continues to need the guidance and instruction of the apostle. Nor does this mutual ministry diminish the necessity or importance of the ministry of the church's leaders, as Paul calls for them to be recognised and highly esteemed. Conversely, the special role played by these leaders does not exclude the mutual ministries to be exercised by all, as Paul calls for the maintenance of the church's peace and unity through mutual acceptance and regard. The apostle's direction of the church and his personal responsibility for it and authority over it do not diminish the validity or the necessity of the leaders' ministry or the ministries of all the believers. The church lives and grows through the interplay of all three patterns of ministry.

In view of the paucity of evidence available to us, some of our discussion has been tentative and some of our findings only provisional. It now remains to examine the other two passages we have chosen in their literary and historical contexts, in order to see to what extent a similar pattern of findings emerges.

CHAPTER II: NOTES:

¹The attempts of F.C. Baur and other radical critics of the 19th century to deny the Pauline authorship of 1 Th are now recognised to have been ill-founded: see especially J. Moffatt: An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament (3rd revised edition) (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1918), pp.69-73; W.G. Kümmel: Introduction to the New Testament (Revised edition), ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1975), p.260; B. Rigaux: Saint Paul: Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniens (EB) (J. Gabalda & Cie., Paris, 1956), pp. 120-4.

A fresh challenge to the letter's authenticity has come from A.Q. Morton and J. McLeman, who argue, on the basis of statistical analysis of Paul's vocabulary and literary style, that only Rom, 1 Cor, 2 Cor, Gal, and Phm are authentic (Paul, The Man and The Myth: A Study in the Authorship of Greek Prose (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1966)). Their conclusions have not been widely accepted, chiefly because of doubts about the validity of their statistical methods. See the review of their book by J.J. O'Rourke (JBL 86 (1967), pp.110-2), the articles by H.K. McArthur ("Computer Criticism", ExpT 76 1964-5), pp.367-70; and "KAI Frequency in Greek Letters", NTS 15 (1968-9), pp.339-49), and the penetrating observations by F.F. Bruce in his article, "St. Paul in Rome", BJRL 46 (1963-4) (esp. pp.326-31).

²See the valuable survey article by R.F. Collins: "A Propos the Integrity of 1 Thes", EThL 55 (1979), pp.67-106.

³"Der zweite echte Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Thessaloniker", ZThK 58 (1961), pp.30-44. Eckart argues that 1 Th is composed of two Pauline letters (1:1-2:12 + 2:17-3:4 + 3:11-13 and 3:6-10 + 3:13-5:11 + 4:9-10a + 5:23-26,28), plus several post-Pauline fragments (2:13-16; 4:1-9; 4:10b-12; and 5:12-22) and the redactor's editorial links (3:5 and 5:27). He suggests that the first of these letters was sent to Thessalonica with Timothy and reflects Paul's incomplete knowledge of the church-situation, while the second is Paul's response to the detailed report Timothy gave on his return from Thessalonica.

⁴"Die Thessalonicherbriefe als Briefkompositionen", in E. Dinkler (ed.): Zeit und Geschichte. Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag (J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1964), pp.295-315; and Paul and the Gnostics, ET (Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1972), pp.126-35. Schmithals argues that 1 Th and 2 Th were compiled from four separate letters: 2 Th 1:1-12 + 3:6-10; 1 Th 1:1-2:12 + 4:2-5:28; 2 Th 2:13-14 + 2:1-12 + 2:15-3:3(5),17-18; and 1 Th 2:13-4:1.

⁵Criticisms of Eckart's hypothesis are presented in the following works in particular: E.Best: A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians (BNTC) (A. & C. Black Ltd., London, 1972), pp.29-30; R.F. Collins: art.cit., pp.85-9; W.G. Kümmel: "Das literarische und geschichtliche Problem des ersten Thessalonicherbriefes", in Neotestamentica et Patristica. Eine Freundesgabe, Herrn Professor Dr. Oscar Cullmann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag überreicht (NovT Suppl VI) (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1962), pp.213-27; K. Thieme: "Die Struktur des ersten Thessalonicherbriefes", in O. Betz, M. Hengel, P. Schmidt (eds.): Abraham Unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel. Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag (AGSU V) (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1963), pp.450-8.

Important criticisms of Schmithals' arguments are to be found in the following studies: Best, pp.17-19, 21f, 31-5; C.J. Bjerkelund: Parakalô: Form, Funktion und Sinn der parakalô-Sätze in den paulinischen Briefen (Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1967), pp.125-40; R. Jewett: "Enthusiastic Radicalism and the Thessalonian Correspondence", in L.C. McGaughey (ed.): SBL Book of Seminar Papers 1972, pp.192-94; Kümmel: Introduction, pp.260-62; A. Suhl: Paulus und seine Briefe: Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Chronologie (StNT 11) (Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh, 1975), pp.96-102.

⁶Form-critical study of the Pauline introductory thanksgivings has demonstrated the structural and thematic unity of 1 Th 1:2-3:13 as an extended introductory thanksgiving whose unusual length reflects the particular circumstances of the letter's composition: see P. Schubert: Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings (BZNW 20) (Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, Berlin, 1939), pp.17-27; now supplemented and to some extent modified by P.T. O'Brien: Introductory Thanksgivings in the Letters of Paul (NovT Suppl XLIX), (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1977) (esp. pp.141-46).

Likewise, recent studies have shown that 3:11-13 is not a letter-ending, but the customary eschatological climax at the conclusion of the thanksgiving-period: see R. Jewett: "The Form and Function of the Homiletic Benediction", ATHR 51 (1969), pp.18-34 (esp. p.24); J.T. Sanders: "The Transition from Opening Epistolary Thanksgiving to Body in the Letters of the Pauline Corpus", JBL 81 (1962), pp.348-62 (esp. pp.355ff); G.P. Wiles: The Significance of the Intercessory Prayer Passages in the Letters of Paul (SNTSMS 24) (The University Press, Cambridge, 1974), pp.52-63.

⁷See especially H. Boers: "The Form-Critical Study of Paul's Letters: 1 Thessalonians as a Case Study", NTS 22 (1975-6), pp.140-58.

⁸. . . it is important to realise that ultimately for Paul material considerations were more important than formal ones.' (P.T. O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p. 147 (his italics)). Cp. Best, p.35.

⁹Cp. Best's observations about Schmithals' arguments: 'The pattern which Schmithals outlines for the concluding sections of a Pauline letter . . . is, by his own analysis, not followed completely in any genuine Pauline letter; the only letter of which it is true is Hebrews!' (p.32).

¹⁰G.Bornkamm: "Der Philipperbrief als paulinische Briefsammlung", in Neotestamentica et Patristica (as in note 5), pp.192-202 (at p.195).

¹¹On the influence of the amanuensis on the style and content of the Pauline correspondence, see G.J. Bahr: "Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century", CBQ 28 (1966), pp.465-77; idem: "The Subscription in the Pauline Letters", JBL 87 (1968), pp.27-41; R.N. Longenecker: "Ancient Amanuenses and the Pauline Epistles", in R.N. Longenecker and M.C. Tenney (eds.): New Dimensions in New Testament Study (Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, 1974), pp.281-97.

¹²The classical authors were conscious literary stylists who polished and repolished their work before publication, as Paul obviously did not. . . . [They] were deeply concerned about the literary form in which their works were published; Paul was not.

(F.F. Bruce: art. cit., p.329) Cp. also R.F. Collins: art. cit., p.106; W.J. Dalton: "The Integrity of Philippians", Biblica 60 (1979) pp.97-102 (at p.98f).

¹³Best, p.35.

¹⁴W. Michaelis: "Teilungshypothesen bei Paulusbriefen: Briefkompositionen und ihr Sitz im Leben", ThZ 14 (1958), pp.321-26.

¹⁵"On the Composition and Earliest Collection of the Major Epistles of Paul", in Paul and the Gnostics, pp.239-74.

¹⁶"The Redaction of the Pauline Letters and the Formation of the Pauline Corpus", JBL 94 (1975), pp.403-18. See also Michaelis: art. cit., and Kümmel: Introduction, pp. 479-81.

¹⁷"The Purpose and Occasion of Romans Again", ExpT 90 (1978-79), pp.137-41 (at p.139).

¹⁸Apart from the material rejected as non-Pauline by Eckart (see n.3), two passages in particular have been held to be post-Pauline interpolations.

The authenticity of some or all of 2:13-16 has often been denied (see Collins: "Integrity", pp.68-80), but it has also been defended from several points of view (see esp. E. Bammel: "Judenverfolgung und Naherwartung: Zur Eschatologie des ersten Thessalonicherbriefs", ZThK 56 (1959), pp.294-315; R. Schippers: "The Pre-Synoptic Tradition in 1 Thessalonians II 13-16", NovT 8 (1966), pp.223-34; W.D. Davies: "Paul and the People of Israel", NTS 24 (1977-78), pp.4-39 (esp. p.6f); I.H. Marshall: 1 and 2 Thessalonians (NCB) (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, 1983), p.11f), and its inauthenticity cannot be considered to have been established.

G. Friedrich has argued that 5:1-11 is the work of a redactor from the Lukan circle ("1 Thessalonicher 5:1-11, der apologetische Einschub eines Späteren", ZThK 70 (1973), pp. 288-315 (now also in idem: Auf das Wort Kommt es an: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 70 Geburtstag (ed. J.H. Friedrich) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1978), pp.251-78)), but his arguments have been effectively countered by B. Rigaux ("Tradition et Rédaction dans 1 Th. V.1-10", NTS 21 (1974-5), pp.318-40) and J. Plevnik ("1 Thess 5,1-11: Its Authenticity, Intention and Message", Biblica 60 (1979), pp. 71-90). See also Marshall, p.12f.

Marshall also refers (pp.13-14) to an article by C. Demke, in which 1:2-2:16, 3:12-4:8, and 5:23-27 are rejected as non-Pauline. This article has not been available to me.

¹⁹The joint greeting at the beginning does not imply joint authorship, for the emphatic use of the first person singular in 2:18, 3:5 and 5:27 shows that Paul was the 'effective author' (a characterisation borrowed from F.F. Bruce: "St. Paul in Macedonia: 2. The Thessalonian Correspondence", BJRL 62 (1979-80), pp.328-45 (at p.328f)). However, it would be wrong to under-estimate the contribution of Silvanus and Timothy, who would not only have served as Paul's amanuenses (Bruce: ibid.) but would probably have discussed the contents of the letter with him before and during its production. H. Conzelmann rightly observes, 'Auch wenn diese nicht als Mitverfasser ansehen kann, ist anzunehmen, dass ihre Nennung keine pure Fiktion ist, sondern dass sie bei der Abfassung als Berater und Gesprächspartner beteiligt sind.' ("Paulus und die Weisheit", NTS 12 (1965-6), pp.231-44 (at p.234 n.5)). So that even if the joint greeting does not indicate "Mitverfasserschaft", it does point to a significant degree of "Mitverant-

wortung" (on which see W.-H Ollrog: Paulus und seine Mitarbeiter: Untersuchungen zu Theorie und Praxis der paulinischer Mission (WMANT 50) (Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1979), pp.183-87). Indeed, F.F. Bruce has now suggested that Silvanus was the letter's co-author (1 & 2 Thessalonians (WBC 45) (Word Books, Waco, 1982), pp.xxiiff). (On the significance of the first person plural in 1 Th see n.100 below.)

²⁰J.R. Harris: "A Study in Letter-Writing", The Expositor (5th series) 8 (1898), pp.161-80; K. Lake: The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul: Their Motive and Origin (Rivingtons, London, 1914), pp.86-87; C.E. Faw: "On the Writing of First Thessalonians", JBL 71 (1952), pp.217-25; C. Masson: Les Deux Epîtres de Saint Paul aux Thessaloniens (CNT XIa) (Delachaux & Niestlé, Neuchâtel/Paris, 1957), pp.7f, 45, 79f.

²¹Best, pp.14-15; Rigaux, pp.55-56.

²²This conclusion has been challenged in two different ways. It has been argued, firstly, that the letter was written elsewhere than in Corinth. Schmithals, for example, maintains that both letters comprising 1 Th were written from Ephesus or its vicinity in the same period as the letters to Corinth, Galatia, and Philippi (Paul, pp. 181-91). For a refutation of these (and other) arguments for an Ephesian provenance, and thus for a later date, see Best, pp.7-11; Rigaux, pp.47-51; Jewett: "Enthusiastic Radicalism", pp.195-200; Suhl: Paulus, pp.108-10.

Secondly, the date suggested has been disputed on the basis of fresh attempts to determine the chronology of the Pauline mission. This is a complex and difficult issue, and one on which there is currently no firm consensus. The catalyst for much of the modern discussion was the attempt by J. Knox to establish the course and chronology of the Pauline mission solely by means of the letters and without recourse to Acts (see his "The Pauline Chronology", JBL 58 (1939), pp.15-29; Chapters in a Life of Paul (A. & C. Black Ltd., London, 1954), pp.47-88). Knox's approach has attracted significant support: see J.C. Hurd: The Origin of 1 Corinthians (SPCK, London, 1965), pp.3-42; idem: "Pauline Chronology and Pauline Theology", in W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule, and R.R. Niebuhr (eds.): Christian History and Interpretation: Studies presented to John Knox (The University Press, Cambridge, 1967), pp. 225-48; idem: "The Sequence of Paul's Letters", CJT 14 (1968), pp.189-200; C. Buck and G. Taylor: Saint Paul: A Study of the Development of his Thought (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1969). However, this approach has also been subjected to some weighty criticisms: see G. Ogg: "A New Chronology of Saint Paul's Life", ExpT 64 (1952-53), pp.120-4; idem The Chronology of the Life of Paul (The Epworth Press, London, 1968); T.H. Campbell: "Paul's 'Missionary Journeys' as reflected in his Letters", JBL 74 (1955), pp.80-87.

The whole question has received fresh attention in a number of recent studies. See S. Dockx: "Chronologie de la Vie de Saint Paul, depuis sa Conversion jusqu'à son Séjour à Rome", NovT 13 (1971), pp.261-304; J.J. Gunther: Paul, Messenger and Exile: A Study in the Chronology of his Life and Letters (Judson Press, Valley Forge, 1972); Suhl: Paulus; D. Moody: "A New Chronology for the Life and Letters of Paul", PerRelSt 3 (1976), pp.248-71; R. Jewett: A Chronology of Paul's Life (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1979); G. Lüdemann: Paulus der Heidenapostel. Band I: Studien zur Chronologie (FRLANT 123) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1980); A.J.M. Wedderburn: "Keeping Up with Recent Studies. VIII: Some Recent Pauline Chronologies", ExpT 92 (1980-81), pp. 103-08.

Some of these studies propose dates for 1 Th significantly earlier than that commonly accepted (e.g., Lüdemann dates it in 41 (Paulus, pp.263-64), while Buck and Taylor date it in 46 (Saint Paul, pp.46-52, 140-45), but still the most secure basis for assigning a date to the letter is the strength of the case for a Corinthian provenance, coupled with the possibility of establishing fairly precisely the date of Paul's Corinthian ministry, in view of its coincidence with at least some of Gallio's proconsulship. On this basis, 1 Th must have been written in 50 or 51; see Bruce, pp.xxxiv-v; M. Dibelius: An die Thessalonicher I II An die Philipper (HNT) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1925), pp.27-28; J.E.Frame: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians (ICC) (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1912), pp.8ff; Jewett: "Enthusiastic Radicalism", pp.195-200; Kümmel: Introduction, p.257; W. Marxsen: Der erste Brief an die Thessalonicher (ZBk) (Theologischer Verlag, Zürich, 1979), p.14; G. Milligan: Saint Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians (Macmillan & Co., London, 1908) pp.xxxvff; A.L. Moore: I and II Thessalonians (NCB) (Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., London, 1969), pp.6ff; Rigaux, pp.42-51.

²³ A good case can be made for the priority of Gal, however. See, for example, F.F. Bruce: "Galatian Problems: 4. The Date of the Epistle", BJRL 54 (1971-2), pp.250-67; idem: The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text (NIGTC) (Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, 1982), pp.43-56; J.W. Drane: Paul, Libertine or Legalist? A Study in the Theology of the Major Pauline Epistles (SPCK, London, 1975), pp.140-43; B.N. Kaye: "'To The Romans and Others' Revisited", NovT 18 (1976), pp.37-77.

²⁴ The authenticity of 2 Th, though often denied, has been ably defended. See esp. Marshall, pp.28-45; Best, pp.50-58; Jewett: "Enthusiastic Radicalism", pp.181-88; Kümmel: Introduction, pp.263-69; Rigaux, pp.124-52.

²⁵ Several scholars have sought to resolve the difficulties posed by the relationship between 1 Th and 2 Th by arguing for the priority of the latter. See esp. T.W. Manson: "The Letters to the Thessalonians", in Studies in the Gospels and Epistles (ed. M. Black) (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1962), pp.259-78; R. Gregson: "A Solution to the Problems of the Thessalonian Epistles", EQ 38 (1966), pp.76-80; R.W. Thurston: "The Relationship between the Thessalonian Epistles", ExpT 85 (1973-74), pp. 52-56. In view of the weighty criticisms that have been directed against the case for the priority of 2 Th (see esp. Best, pp.42-45; Bruce: pp.xxxix-xliv; Jewett: "Enthusiastic Radicalism", pp.190-92), the traditional view of the chronological order should be retained.

²⁶ Die Vollkommenen im Philipperbrief und die Enthusiasten im Thessalonich (BFChTh 13) (C. Bertelsman, Gütersloh, 1909), pp.607-54.

²⁷ Paul, pp.123-218.

²⁸ "Enthusiastic Radicalism".

²⁹ For a thorough critique of the arguments of Schmithals and Jewett, see Best, pp.16-22; Marshall, pp.17-20.

³⁰ p.21f.

³¹ Marxsen argues that 1 Th is to be seen as a "Freudenbrief" (p.16).

³²Best, p.22.

³³Schmithals (Paul, pp.177-79) argues that the θλίψεις referred to in 3:3 are 'those distresses into which Paul has come because of the attacks of his opponents who are disputing his apostolic authority' (p.179). The "we" concerned (κεῖμεθα) is a reference to Paul himself (p.177). However, although it is true that Paul goes on to speak of his own ἀνάγκη and θλίψις in v.7, v.3b reads more naturally as a reference to the lot of all believers in this age. This was a matter about which he had taught them while he was in Thessalonica (v.4a), and they have seen his words come to fulfilment (v.4b; cp.1:6). It is clear that Paul did regard suffering as the lot of believers in this age, and not as a peculium of the apostolic ministry (Rom 5:3, 8:17-18, 35-39, 12:12, 14; Phil 1:28-29; 2 Th 1:4-5; cp. Acts 14:22); it is also clear that not only Paul himself (2:2, 15-16), but also the Thessalonians have experienced various kinds of suffering (1:6; 2:14). This suggests that 3:3b-4 refers to the Thessalonians as well as to Paul: 'the first person plural . . . in vv. 3b, 4 is inclusive, not exclusive.' (Bruce, p.67). Cp. also Best, p.135; Dibelius, p.15; Frame, p.126; Marshall, p.91f; Marxsen, pp.54-55; Milligan, p.38; Rigaux, pp.471-72.

³⁴F. Laub: Eschatologische Verkündigung und Lebensgestaltung nach Paulus: Eine Untersuchung zum Wirken des Apostels beim Aufbau der Gemeinde in Thessalonike (BU 10) (Verlag Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg, 1973), p.135.

³⁵Cp. the comment of A. Jülicher: 'The new converts were threatened, not by a false Gospel, but by rabid hatred of any Gospel.' (Quoted in Milligan, p.xxxi n.2).

³⁶Best (pp.139-40) suggests that εὐαγγελίζεσθαι is used here because Timothy's report about the church amounted to a preaching of the Gospel, as it resulted in 'encouragement, life, joy (vv.7,8,9); all these are normal products of the gospel's preaching' (p.140). Cp. Marshall, p.94; Moore, p.55; H. Schlier: Der Apostel und seine Gemeinde: Auslegung des ersten Briefes an die Thessalonicher (Verlag Herder, Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1972), p.52f.

³⁷Cp. 2 Th 1:3, 2:1; Phm 4,9. On this structure and its significance, see Bjerkelund: Parakalô, p. 139.

³⁸This term is derived from Demetrius' On Style (see W.C. Doty: Letters in Primitive Christianity (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1973), p.8f), and it is used increasingly in modern study of the letter-form to denote a letter (or section of a letter) whose function is to establish or cement friendly relations between the sender and the recipient. For its application to the first three chapters of 1 Th, see Boers: art. cit., p.153.

³⁹Bjerkelund: Parakalô, p.134. Cp. Marshall, p.10; Marxsen, pp.27-29.

⁴⁰This phrase comes from Boers: "Form-Critical" p.156.

⁴¹G.A. Galitis: "Der Weg zur Vollendung: eine exegetische Studie zu 1 Thess. 5:14-28", Theologia 35 (1964), pp.65-86.

⁴²For this division of chapters 1-3, see Boers: art. cit., p.153. On the "apostolic parousia", see R.W. Funk: "The Apostolic Parousia: Form and Significance", in W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule, and R.R. Niebuhr (eds.): Christian History and Interpretation: Studies presented to John Knox (The University Press, Cambridge, 1967), pp.249-68.

⁴³O'Brien: Thanksgivings, pp.141-46, 262ff.

⁴⁴Laub: Verkündigung, p.26. Cp. W. Marxsen: Introduction to the New Testament: An Approach to its Problems, ET (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1968), p.34.

⁴⁵For a discussion of this point, see pp. 179-83 below.

⁴⁶The words καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε are omitted by some important witnesses (D² K L Ψ syr^P, etc.), but should be read: see B.M. Metzger: A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament (United Bible Societies, 1971), p.632.

⁴⁷, . . . it is not so much that the Thessalonian Christians do not know the right direction, but that they lack the will to pursue it.' (C.Roetzel: "1 Thess.5:12-28: A Case Study", in L.C. McGaughey (ed.): SBL Book of Seminar Papers II (1972), pp.367-83 (at p.374).) Cp. Marxsen, p.27f.

⁴⁸Cp. Plevnik: "1 Thess 5,1-11" pp.89-90.

⁴⁹Rigaux, p.35.

⁵⁰From Tradition to Gospel, ET (Ivor Nicholson & Watson Ltd., London, 1934), p.238. Cp. also his A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature, ET (Ivor Nicholson & Watson Ltd., London, 1936), pp.143ff.

⁵¹ibid.; An die Thessalonicher, p.17f.

⁵²"The Topos as a Form in the Pauline Paraenesis", JBL 72 (1953), pp.238-46. For a more general discussion of the topos in early Christian paraenesis, see J.I.H. McDonald: Kerygma and Didache: The Articulation and Structure of the Earliest Christian Message (SNTSMS 37) (The University Press, Cambridge, 1980), pp.70ff, 90-94.

⁵³"Form-Critical" p.158. Note also the criticisms made by T.Y. Mullins ("Topos as a New Testament Form", JBL 99 (1980), pp. 541-47), who argues that topoi are not stereotyped answers.

⁵⁴See Best, p.154; Moore, p.60; Jewett: "Enthusiastic Radicalism", p.200.

⁵⁵Theology and Ethics in Paul (Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1968), p.90.

⁵⁶Best, pp.223, 241f; Laub: Verkündigung, pp.13, 200.

⁵⁷Laub: Verkündigung, pp. 95, 200.

⁵⁸Cp. F. Laub: "Paulus als Gemeindegründer (1 Thess)", in J. Hainz (ed.): Kirche im Werden: Studien zum Thema Amt und Gemeinde im Neuen Testament (Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, Munich/Paderborn/Vienna, 1976), pp.17-38 (esp. pp.17, 32); Holmberg: Paul, p.102 n.33.

59 pp. 119, 121.

⁶⁰ A Jaubert: "Les Epîtres de Paul: Le Fait Communautaire", in Le Ministère et les Ministères selon le Nouveau Testament, pp.16-33 (at p.33).

⁶¹ See, for example, C.K. Barrett: The Signs of an Apostle (The Epworth Press, London, 1970), pp.35-47; W.P. Bowers: Studies in Paul's Understanding of His Mission (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge, 1976); A. Fridrichsen: The Apostle and His Message (B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, Uppsala, 1947); A.T. Hanson: The Pioneer Ministry;* Holmberg: Paul, pp.8-95; P.R. Jones: The Apostle Paul: A Second Moses according to II Corinthians 2:14-4:7 (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton, 1973); K. Kertelge: "Das Apostelamt des Paulus, sein Ursprung und seine Bedeutung", BZ (N.F.) 14 (1970), pp.161-81; N.D. Pott: Paul's Apostolate and Mission, with particular reference to the "Eschatological" Interpretation of Oscar Cullmann, Anton Fridrichsen, and Johannes Munck (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1960); J. Roloff: Apostolat-Verkündigung-Kirche: Ursprung, Inhalt und Funktion des kirchlichen Apostelamtes nach Paulus, Lukas und den Pastoralbriefen (Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh, 1965), pp.38-137; W. Schmithals: The Office of Apostle in the Early Church, ET (SPCK, London, 1971), pp.21-57; J.H. Schütz: Paul and the Anatomy of Apostolic Authority (SNTSMS 26) (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975).

62 The understanding of leadership we arrived at in the preceding chapter is not directly applicable to Paul's relation to the churches. He was not a group member who emerged as leader in the course of the churches' life and functioning, but was in a position of authority from the beginning, as the proclaimer of the message by which the churches came into being. The legitimacy of his power did not rest upon the churches' endorsement of his function and role (although his influence would obviously remain largely ineffective unless the churches continued to accept it as valid); rather, he saw it as stemming directly from his authorisation by the Lord.

In view of these (and other) differences between emergent group-leadership and the leadership exercised by Paul as apostle and church-founder, we will not be attempting to trace connections between the evidence of 1 Th concerning his apostolic role and the picture of group-leadership delineated in Chapter 1. Instead, we will consider the ways in which he exercised oversight of, and gave direction to, the church, understanding leadership in the general sense of controlling, directing, supervising.

63, . . . Paul regards the Church not only as a missionary enterprise, to be called, but also as a pastoral enterprise, to be sustained and disciplined. The gospel's authority covers both the apostle's original responsibility and a continuing responsibility for the community.' (J.H. Schütz: Paul, p. 182.)

⁶⁴ εἰς ὑμᾶς, 1:5; 2:9; πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 2:2.

* (SCM Press, London, 1961).

Figure	Model	Model	Model	Model
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)
(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)

⁶⁵ παραγγελία means "order", "direction" (O. Schmitz: TDNT V, p.762; cp. BGD (s.v.), MM (s.v.)), and was used of a military command and a court summons (Schmitz: loc. cit.; MM). Paul's use of it here clearly denotes an authoritative instruction.

Whatever the precise significance of the διὰ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ in v.2 (many commentators regard it as equivalent to the ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ of v.1: see E. von Dobschütz: Die Thessalonicherbriefe (KEK) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1909), p. 158; Frame, p.144; Dibelius, p.18; Moore, p.61; Rigaux, p.499), it points to the Lord as the ultimate source of the authority of the apostolic teaching. See Bruce, p.79; Marshall, pp.105-06.

⁶⁶The καθὼς ὑμῖν παρηγγείλαμεν of 4:11 clearly refers back to the παραγγελίας ἐδώκαμεν ὑμῖν of 4:2.

⁶⁷See von Campenhausen: Authority, p.45.

⁶⁸See O. Cullmann: "La Prière selon les Epîtres pauliniennes", ThZ 35 (1979), pp.90-101; P.T. O'Brien, Thanksgivings; J.D. Quinn: "Apostolic Ministry and Apostolic Prayer", CBQ 33 (1971), pp.479-91; G.P. Wiles: Prayers.

⁶⁹Quinn's study has demonstrated that this is true of all the Pauline letters (art. cit., p. 489).

⁷⁰On this, see O'Brien: Thanksgivings, pp.141-66.

⁷¹See Wiles: Prayers, pp. 52-63, 68-71.

⁷²See Wiles: Prayers, pp.63-68.

⁷³See O'Brien: Thanksgivings, pp.261-63, 266-69; Wiles: Prayers, pp.293-94.

⁷⁴The καί should be retained, as in p³⁰ B D* 6 33 81 etc. (see Metzger: Textual Commentary, p.633; Wiles: Prayers, p.262; Best, p.245; Rigaux, p.602). Its use emphasises the reciprocity of the prayers of Paul and the church (Best, loc. cit.; Bruce, p.134; Milligan, p.79; W. Neil: The Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians (MNTC) (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1950), p.130), and since the possible reference back to v.17 (Frame, p.215) is not as likely as the reference to the more immediate context, it refers back especially to the preceding wish-prayer in v.23 (Wiles: Prayers, pp.261-62; Best, loc. cit.).

⁷⁵Wiles: Prayers, p.263. Cp. also C. Roetzel: "Case Study", p.375f.

⁷⁶O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p. 14; Wiles: Prayers, pp.69-70. See also p.182 below.

⁷⁷On the imitation of Paul and Paul as example, see esp. H.D. Betz: Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament (BHT 37) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1967), pp. 137-89; W.P. De Boer: The Imitation of Paul: An Exegetical Study (J.H. Kok, Kampen, 1962); A.Schulz: Nachfolgen und Nachahmen: Studien über das Verhältnis der neutestamentlichen Jüngerschaft zur urchristlichen Vorbildethik (StANT VI) (Kösel Verlag, München, 1962), pp.238-40, 270-89, 308-16; W. Michaelis: art. μιμησθαι κτλ TDNT IV, pp.659-74; E.J. Tinsley:

The Imitation of God in Christ: An Essay on the Biblical Basis of Christian Spirituality (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1960), pp.139ff; D.M. Stanley: "'Become Imitators of Me': The Pauline Concept of Apostolic Tradition", Biblica 40 (1959), pp. 859-77.

⁷⁸Twice we find the expression μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε: the first occurrence asserts that the Thessalonians imitated the apostolic band and the Lord when they experienced suffering after they received the Gospel (1:6); the second compares the sufferings of the Thessalonians to those of the churches in Judaea (2:14). The third reference is 1:7, where Paul states that the Thessalonians have become a τύπος (the singular τύπον should be read: see Metzger: Textual Commentary, p.629) to believers throughout Macedonia and Achaëa.

⁷⁹F. Laub: "Paulus" p. 30. Betz speaks of the συμπάσχειν and κοινωνία τῶν παθημάτων linking Jesus, Paul, and the churches (op. cit., p. 145).

⁸⁰See Betz: Nachfolge, pp.143-45; Schulz: Nachfolgen, p.287.

⁸¹2 Th 3:7-9 asserts that the Thessalonians ought to imitate Paul, who deliberately provided an example for them. This is regarded by some scholars as confirmation of the deutero-Pauline status of 2 Th: see, for example, Laub: Verkündigung, pp.97, 143-45, 151; H. Köster: "Apostel und Gemeinde in den Briefen an die Thessalonicher", in D. Lührmann and G. Strecker (ed.): Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1980), pp.287-98 (at pp.289 n.7, 295).

⁸²De Boer (Imitation, p. 103) argues that 2:14 also refers to a steadfastness which emulates a known example, as well as to the fact of undergoing suffering.

⁸³von Dobschütz, p.72; Frame, p.82; Moore, p.27; Neil, p.18: Rigaux, p.380.

⁸⁴The ἐν should be retained: its omission (by λ^a A C P 33 81 etc.) is probably due to haplography after ἐγενήθημεν (so Best, p.76: Dibelius, p.4; von Dobschütz, p.71 n.6; Milligan, p.6; Rigaux, p.378).

Dibelius (loc. cit.: followed by Rigaux, p.379) sees ἐν ὑμῖν δι' ὑμᾶς as an instance of the rhetorical device, the σχῆμα λέξεως. However, the two prepositions should be given their full value, as Paul is making an important point by means of this device (see von Dobschütz, p.72).

⁸⁵Cp. Bruce, p.15; De Boer: Imitation, p.214.

⁸⁶pp. 167-68 above.

⁸⁷οἶδατε, 2:1,5,11; μνημονεύετε, 2:9; ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, 2:10.

⁸⁸See R.F. Hock: The Social Context of Paul's Ministry: Tentmaking and Apostleship (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1980), p.48.

⁸⁹The addition of τοῦτο γὰρ θέλημα θεοῦ κτλ may perhaps suggest that he had, as it recalls the τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστιν θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ of 4:3, which is connected to the reminder in 4:1-2 of the teaching he had given the converts during his stay in Thessalonica.

⁹⁰Wenn Paulus sich . . . als Ziel der Nachahmung nennt, so ist das in seinem Sendungsbewusstsein als bevollmächtigter »Apostel Christi« . . . begründet, dessen Leben ganz vom Evangelium, d.h. von Christus bestimmt ist. Wie er unter Thessalonikern um ihrer selbst willen war und worin sie dann auch seine Nachahmer wurden, das war er als Repräsentant des Evangeliums.' (Laub: Verkündigung, p.83.)

⁹¹Michaelis' attempt to interpret Paul's imitation-terminology as referring to obedience to teaching, rather than to following an example (art. cit.), is rightly criticised by De Boer (Imitation, esp. pp.209-11).

⁹²On Timothy's place in the Pauline mission see esp. Ollrog: Paulus, pp. 20-23, 93-94.

⁹³Rigaux, p.467. Cp. also von Dobschütz, p.131; Moore, p.52; B. Henneken: Verkündigung und Prophetie im ersten Thessalonicherbrief: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Wortes Gottes (SBS 29) (Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, Stuttgart, 1969), p.22f; C.H.Dodd: "New Testament Translation Problems I", BT 27 (1976), pp.301-11 (at p.310f); E.E. Ellis: Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity (WUNT 18) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1978), pp. 13-17.

⁹⁴There can be little doubt that this is the best reading, as it is the one which best explains the other variants. συνεργὸν τοῦ θεοῦ was obviously felt to be too bold by many scribes, with the result that τοῦ θεοῦ was omitted (B etc.) or attached to εὐαγγελίου (the Armenian version), or that συνεργὸν was replaced by δι᾿ ἑκόνον (X A P Ψ 81 etc.). Later versions have conflated the two (D² F G etc.). See Metzger: Textual Commentary, p. 631; Best, pp.132-33; von Dobschütz, p.131 n.2; Frame, p.126f; G. Friedrich: Der erste Brief an die Thessalonicher (NTD 8) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 141976), p. 232; J.B. Lightfoot: Notes on Epistles of St. Paul from unpublished Commentaries (Macmillan & Co., London, 1895), p.41; Marshall, p.90; Marxsen, p.40 n.1; Rigaux, p.466.

⁹⁵εὐαγγέλιον can be seen both as a nomen actionis, denoting the preaching of the Gospel (G. Friedrich: TDNT II, p.729; von Dobschütz, p.131; Henneken: Verkündigung, pp.24-27), and thus also as a designation of the Pauline mission (cp. 2 Cor 2:12; 8:18; 10:14; Phil 1:5,12; 4:3,15; etc.).

⁹⁶Cp. Rom 16:3,9,21; Phil 2:25; 4:3; Phm 1,24.

⁹⁷See Bruce, p.61. There can, of course, be no suggestion that Timothy (or anyone else) is to be thought of as God's equal partner--apart from the effectual working of God, all that Timothy or any Christian worker can do will remain barren; and in this sense God's servants are nothing (1 Cor 3:5-7). Yet God does work through His servants, and those who recognise and carry out His will in the prosecution of His saving purpose can properly be thought of as working with God.

Ollrog (Paulus, pp.68-71) is so wary of any suggestion of synergism that, although he recognises that 3:2 does not mean that Timothy is Paul's co-worker, he refuses to allow the possibility that it could refer to him as God's co-worker. He maintains that the addition of τοῦ θεοῦ conveys the meaning, "im Auftrage Gottes", so that the

phrase is to be translated, "der Beauftragte Gottes" (p.68f). This interpretation seems rather forced, however, and appears to owe more to Lutheran dogmatics than to exegesis of Paul (see esp. p.69 n.33).

⁹⁸So Best, p.100f; Frame, p.99f; Milligan, p.20f; Rigaux, pp. 156, 418.

⁹⁹Bruce, p. 31; Milligan, p.21.

¹⁰⁰Two objections in particular have been urged against the interpretation adopted here. First, it is maintained that the Paul of Gal 1-2 and 2 Cor 10-13, for example, would hardly have referred to Timothy as Christ's apostle. However, Paul does in fact use the title "apostle" of a fairly wide range of people, some of whom are unknown to us (see Rom 16:7; 1 Cor 15:7; 2 Cor 8:23; Phil 2:25), so that it cannot be assumed that Paul would claim the title as emphatically for himself as he does in some contexts when, as was the case in Thessalonica, there was no controversy about his apostolic status. Secondly, the first person plural in 2:7 is regarded as a feature of Paul's epistolary style, and is therefore interpreted as referring only to Paul himself (so Dibelius, p.12f; von Dobschütz, pp.67-68). But in view of (a) the naming of Silvanus and Timothy along with Paul in the superscription, (b) the first person plurals which most naturally read as references to the activities of all three (e.g., 1:5,9; 2:1-2; etc.); and (c) Paul's emphatic use of the first person singular when he wishes to make quite clear that he is speaking of himself (2:18; 3:5; 5:27), we are obliged to regard the plural as genuine unless the context clearly indicates that only Paul himself is in view. On the use of first person singular and plural in 1 Th, see W.F. Lofthouse: "Singular and Plural in St. Paul's Letters", ExpT 58 (1946-47), pp.241-45; Lightfoot: Notes, p.22f; Milligan, pp.131-32; Rigaux, pp.77-80; E. Stauffer: TDNT II, pp.356-58; BDF #280; C.F.D. Moule: An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1959), pp.118-19.

¹⁰¹ἐπέμψαμεν is probably to be interpreted as an epistolary plural, as the emphasis throughout this section is on Paul's concern for the Thessalonians (note ἐγὼ μὲν Παῦλος (2:18) and ἐπέμψα (3:5)). However, Bruce argues that it refers to Paul and Silvanus (p.61).

¹⁰²T.W. Manson argues that πίστις in 3:2,5 means "faithfulness" (Studies, p.272 n.1), but, while it includes this idea, it has a wider sense (see Best, pp.137, 145).

¹⁰³While Silvanus and Timothy undoubtedly shared Paul's affection and concern for the Thessalonians, the ἡμεῖς here (3:6ff) refers especially to Paul.

¹⁰⁴Funk reached this conclusion in the course of isolating and describing that element of the Pauline letter-form which he originally labelled the "travelogue" (Language, Hermeneutic and the Word of God (Harper & Row, New York, 1966), pp.263-70), but which he later, in a refinement and expansion of his original insight, renamed the "apostolic parousia" (art. cit.). He demonstrated that this "apostolic parousia" regularly, though not invariably, referred in turn to the letter, the despatch of an emissary, and his own forthcoming visit, as means by which Paul retained contact with his churches,

and argued that these three features represent the implementation of the apostolic parousia . . . in ascending order of significance. (art. cit., p.258).

¹⁰⁵'The word of God spoken by Paul . . . is bound, so far as Paul is concerned, to his personal presence.' (art. cit., p. 165). Cp. Language, p.269.

¹⁰⁶"Paul's Evaluation of Letter-Writing", in J.M. Myers, O. Reimherr, and H.N. Bream (eds.): Search the Scriptures: New Testament Studies in Honor of Raymond T. Stamm (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1969), pp.179-96.

¹⁰⁷pp.179, 186.

¹⁰⁸pp.186ff.

¹⁰⁹p.196. Stirewalt substantiates this claim as follows: (a) Paul regarded the written word as having an authority equal to that of the spoken word (2 Th 2:15). (b) He has a tendency to equate the two: in his letters he sees himself as speaking to the church. (c) He regards the written word as possessing authority even where it is not based on any previous oral instruction (1 Cor 14:37; 2 Th 3:14; Rom 15:15f). (d) Even Paul's opponents had to acknowledge the power of his letters (2 Cor 10:8-11). (pp.192ff).

¹¹⁰p.196.

¹¹¹Rigaux, p.605.

¹¹²Bjerkelund: Parakalô, pp.13-23.

¹¹³p.233.

¹¹⁴See MM, s.v.: J. Schneider: TDNT V, p.464 n.3.

¹¹⁵The use of the first person singular perhaps suggests that Paul added this final section in his own handwriting (Best, p.246; Bruce, p.135; Marshall, p.165; Moore, p.87; Rigaux, p.605). If so, this is another indication of the weight of this injunction. Cp. Gal 6:11-18.

¹¹⁶The emphasis implicit in the use of $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ has been interpreted in several ways. (1) Some have regarded it as occasioned by disunity and division within the church (Friedrich, p.251), either the division between Jewish and Gentile believers (Lake: The Earlier Epistles, p.89 (following Harnack)), or that between the leaders and the $\xi\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\iota$ (Frame, p.217; Masson, p.79). However, the letter contains no explicit indication of any division within the church; on the contrary, it acknowledges the strong mutual love that is displayed by the believers (4:9-10: 5:11). (2) Others have suggested that Paul was concerned for those believers who may not have been free to attend every church meeting and so, being illiterate, would not have access to the contents of the letter if they missed it being read in church (Best, p.246f; Marxsen, p.73). Although it is true that $\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\iota\nu\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ commonly meant "to read aloud" in the Hellenistic period (this was its primary sense in the classical period

(LS: s.v.), and in the LXX it often translates $\lambda\gamma\pi$ (R. Bultmann: TDNT I, p.343f)), it is doubtful that the solemnity and force of this injunction are to be accounted for solely in this way. (3) It has been suggested that the verse implies the existence of two or more house-churches in Thessalonica (Malherbe: Social Aspects, p.70; J.Gnilka: Der Philemonbrief (HThKNT) (Verlag Herder, Freiburg/Basel/Vienna, 1982), p.27). However, there are indications in the letter that this is unlikely (see pp. 205ff below).

It is perhaps best understood as indicating to all the members of the church that Paul has affection for them all alike and authority over them all equally, and also as giving expression to the conviction that all alike need the teaching and encouragement which the letter conveys because all of them are responsible for the church's upbuilding and faithfulness. All must hear what the apostle writes because he is concerned and responsible for them all, and because they are all responsible for one another. See pp.191-93, 195-96, 199, 201 below.

¹¹⁷Marxsen, p.33. Cp. Marshall, p.165.

¹¹⁸"Apostelbrief und apostolische Rede: Zum Formular frühchristlicher Briefe", ZNW 65 (1974), pp.190-231.

¹¹⁹Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament illustrated by recently discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World, ET (New and completely revised edition) (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1927).

¹²⁰p.231. He cites especially the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, 2 (Syriac) Baruch, and Enoch, and points to 'die alte Relation zwischen prophetischer Rede und prophetischem Brief' (p.219), for which he instances particularly the Jeremiah-Baruch tradition (pp.215-26).

¹²¹p.231. Cp. p.219: '... der Apostelbrief verbindliche, auf Gott zurückgeführte, schriftliche Apostelrede ist.'

¹²²'The letters are not only personal, occasional documents aimed at particular situations in particular times and places, but they are also authoritative documents. . . . Their official structure, liturgical clues, and personal address to house churches indicate that Paul meant them to be read in the churches as messages that conveyed the living word of the gospel to those present.' (J.C. Beker: Paul, pp.23-24). Cp. C. Roetzel: "Case Study", p.376f.

¹²³L.-M. Dewailly: La Jeune Église de Thessalonique: Les Deux Premières Épîtres de Saint Paul (Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 1963), p.42.

¹²⁴Dienst, p.30.

¹²⁵p. 32f.

¹²⁶Paul, p.117f.

¹²⁷Gemeinde, pp.117-46.

¹²⁸p.121.

¹²⁹ 'Als weitere Folge des Abreise des Apostels entsteht ein Leerraum innerhalb der Gemeinde im bezug auf die Tätigkeiten, für die Paulus ,zuständig' gewesen war. . . .' (ibid.)

¹³⁰ ' . . . die Selbständigkeit der Gemeinde bei einem abwesenden Apostel wesentlich grösser ist als bei einem anwesenden.' (p.148).

¹³¹ ibid.

¹³² See pp. 161-63 above.

¹³³ ibid.

¹³⁴ J. Delorme: "Diversité et Unité des Ministères d'après le Nouveau Testament", in Le Ministère et les Ministères selon le Nouveau Testament, pp.283-346 (at p.286f). Cp. also p.300:

La responsabilité de quelques-uns et la participation active de tous s'affirment également dans les tâches qui relèvent de la vie interne des communautés.'

¹³⁵ H. Koester claims that the statement signifies that the recipients are not dependent on the writer's instructions. ("1 Thessalonians--Experiment in Christian Writing", in E.F. Church and T. George (eds.): Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History: Essays presented to George Huntston Williams on the occasion of his 65th Birthday (Studies in the History of Christian Thought XIX) (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1979), pp.33-44 (at p.39)). This interpretation is unsatisfactory for two reasons. (1) In the context it reads more naturally as an acknowledgment that there is no need to introduce *φιλαδελφία* as a subject about which he must instruct and exhort them, with a view to ensuring that it becomes a feature of their common life. Thanks to the work of the Spirit of God, this is already the case. (2) It is clear from the letter as a whole that Paul does regard the church as dependent on his instructions to a significant extent. He places considerable emphasis on the teaching he had given them previously (2:11-12; 3:4; 4:1-2,6,11; 5:1-2), and goes to some lengths to expand it and apply it where he thinks it necessary to do so. Moreover, as we shall see through the remainder of this section of the chapter, the necessity of Paul's teaching for the right functioning of the church is presupposed throughout the paraenesis.

What is true, however, is that Paul's teaching can only declare God's will for men's lives (4:3; 5:18); it cannot effect that will in their lives. His teaching is necessary, but not sufficient--only God can effect in men what He requires of them. So the 'recipients' are dependent on more than 'the writer's instructions', but are not thereby able to do without them.

¹³⁶ *θεοδίδακτος* is a hapax legomenon in the Greek Bible, and is found only seldom in early Christian writings outside the NT. See E. Stauffer: TDNT III, p.121; Frame, p.158; Milligan, p.52.

¹³⁷ It has been suggested that it refers to the divine commands in Scripture (such as Lev 19:18) (C.H. Dodd: Gospel and Law: The Relation of Faith and Ethics in Early Christianity (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1951), p.13), or to the teaching of Jesus (e.g., Mk 12:28-34; Jn 13:34) (T.I. Tambyah: "Θεοδίδακτοι. A Suggestion of an Implication of the Deity of Christ", ExpT 44 (1932-33), pp.527-28;

Bruce, p.90 ('. . . the reference may be both to the teaching of Jesus and to the inward action of the Spirit.')). Both suggestions are unlikely, both because Paul would normally have referred to either of these things in a less allusive manner, and also because the form of the word implies some direct divine activity.

¹³⁸ So von Dobschütz, p.177; Marshall, p.115; Marxsen, p.61; Milligan, p.52; Moore, p.65; Neil, p.84; Henneken: Verkündigung, p.58; Laub: Verkündigung, p.57.

This interpretation is based on two main considerations. (1) The form of the word implies direct divine activity. Such divine activity was part of the prophetic depiction of the future age (e.g., Isa 30:19-21; Jer 31:31-34; etc.), and thus figures in rabbinic expectations about the Messianic era, in which it was believed that Israel would learn the Torah without human intermediaries (Strack-Billerbeck III, pp.634, 704). Early Christianity characteristically saw these prophecies and expectations as being realised in the present age through the presence and activity of the Spirit. It is probably not fortuitous, therefore, that the immediately preceding verse (4:8) refers to the gift of the Holy Spirit, alluding to Ezek 36:26-27; 37:14. (So Best, p.159f; Frame, p.156; Marshall, p.114; Milligan, p.52; Rigaux, p.515. J.D.G. Dunn argues that 4:8 refers to the whole of Ezek 37 (Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in relation to Pentecostalism Today (SBT (2nd series) 15) (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1970), pp.105-06).) (2) The expression recalls the λαλοῦμεν ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος of 1 Cor 2:13, where the Spirit is the divine agent who instructs believers. Both expressions are probably to be seen as reflecting a Christian interpretation of Isa 54:13: καὶ πάντα τοὺς υἱοὺς σου διδακτοὺς θεοῦ. (Note the quotation of this verse in Jn 6:45.)

¹³⁹ Laub: Verkündigung, p.57.

¹⁴⁰ The word is not found before the Hellenistic period (Bruce, p.89), and there are no examples of this more general use of φιλαδελφία . . . outside Christian writings. (H. von Soden: TDNT I, p.146). This leads Best to conclude that its metaphorical application to non-literal brothers may well be . . . Christian in origin. . . . (p.172).

¹⁴¹ See H. Schürmann: "Gemeinde als Bruderschaft", in idem: Ursprung und Gestalt: Erörterungen und Besinnungen zum Neuen Testament (Patmos Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1970), pp.61-73; Banks: Paul's Idea, pp.52-61; Meeks: Urban Christians, pp.86-88.

¹⁴² The word is used 17 times in 1 Th. This is seen by Friedrich (p.213) as another indication that there is no serious error or trouble in the church.

¹⁴³ See von Soden: loc. cit. For a similar phenomenon in the Semitic languages see H. Ringgren: TDOT I, pp.188-89.

¹⁴⁴ See von Soden: loc. cit.; K.H. Schelkle: art. "Bruder", RAC II, coll.632-35.

¹⁴⁵ ἀδελφός occurs 343 times in the NT, of which 133 are in the Pauline corpus. Of these 68 are in the vocative.

¹⁴⁶In the OT all Israelites are "brothers" because the tribes have a common ancestor; so "brothers" often occurs in apposition with "children of Israel" (H. Ringgren: loc. cit.). In later Judaism, when the religious and national communities were no longer co-extensive, the rabbis distinguished between "brother" (a co-religionist, whether Jew or proselyte) and "neighbour" (a non-Israelite inhabitant of the land) (von Soden: TDNT I, p.145). In the Qumran community, "brother" was used as a designation for a member of the community, which considered itself as the true remnant of Israel (1 QS 6:10,22; 1 QM 13:1; 15:4,7; CD 6:20-7:6). (On family-terminology in the Qumran writings see O. Betz: "Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer", NTS 3 (1956-57), pp.314-26.)

¹⁴⁷So for Paul the Jews are now his ἀδελφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα (Rom 9:3), just as they are Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα (1 Cor 10:18).

¹⁴⁸Although prominent in Paul, it is by no means confined to him: see Schürmann: "Gemeinde", pp.66-67; A von Harnack: The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the first three Centuries, II, ET (Williams & Norgate, London, 1905), pp.9ff, 31ff.

¹⁴⁹See, for example, Mk 3:31-35; 10:28-31; Matt 25:40; 28:10. Cp. Best, p.71; Neil, p.13; Rigaux, p.370.

¹⁵⁰G. Stahlin: TDNT IX, pp.119-24, 126.

¹⁵¹G. Stählin: TDNT IX, p.122.

¹⁵²Stählin: TDNT IX, p.139 n.235. Cp. Best, p.246; Friedrich, p.251; Marshall, p.164.

¹⁵³But note also the φίλημα ἀγάπης of 1 Pet 5:12.

¹⁵⁴Stählin: TDNT IX, p.140.

¹⁵⁵In addition to the widespread use of ἀδελφός there is the use of ἀδελφότης as a designation of the Christian movement (1 Pet 2:17; 5:9), and the expectation that φιλαδελφία will characterise relations between Christians (Rom 12:10; Heb 13:1; 1 Pet 1:22; 2 Pet 1:7). On this see von Harnack: loc. cit.

¹⁵⁶Dewailly: Eglise, p.97. Note how in 1:4 ἀδελφοί is linked with ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ [τοῦ] θεοῦ.

¹⁵⁷See W.A. Meeks: "'Since Then You Would Need to Go Out of the World': Group Boundaries in Pauline Christianity", in T. Ryan(ed.): Critical History and Biblical Faith (College Theology Society, Villanova, 1979), pp.4-29; idem: Urban Christians. pp.94-96; Dewailly: Eglise, p.58.

¹⁵⁸On this see J. Behm: TDNT II, pp.575-76. On the rabbinic background to the expression, see Strack-Billerbeck III, p.362.

¹⁵⁹Friedrich, p.251.

¹⁶⁰von Dobschütz, p.214; Friedrich, p.246; Henneken: Verkündigung, p.68f.

¹⁶¹ Although the church meeting would be the primary focus for this mutual ministry, it is unnecessary to see it as restricted to these meetings (as K. Wengst: "Das Zusammenkommen der Gemeinde und ihr „Gottesdienst“ nach Paulus", EvTh 33 (1973), pp.547-59 is inclined to do), as it would be natural for believers to minister to each other informally in the course of everyday life (Best, p.202).

¹⁶² εἰς τὸν ἕνα is Aramaic in origin, and is synonymous with ἀλλήλους; it used only for stylistic variation here. See BDF #247 (4): Moulton-Turner III, p.187; Moule: Idiom-Book, p.120.

¹⁶³ Rom 15:20; 2 Cor 10:8; 12:19; 13:10.

¹⁶⁴ Rom 14:19; 1 Cor 8:1,10; 10:23; 14:3-5,12,17,26. Cp. Eph 4: 12,16,29.

¹⁶⁵ O. Michel: TDNT V, p.140.

¹⁶⁶ M.-A. Chevallier (Esprit de Dieu, Paroles d'Hommes: Le Rôle de l'Esprit dans les Ministères de la Parole selon l'Apôtre Paul (Editions Delachaux & Niestlé, Neuchâtel/Paris, 1966), pp.49-54) claims that the use of οἰκοδομεῖν in 5:11 is the first in any writing with a "sens communautaire".

¹⁶⁷ The cognate nouns are linked in 1 Cor 14:3, referring to the ministry of the prophet.

¹⁶⁸, . . . the pastoral exhortation of the individual is the form in which he participates in the upbuilding of the community and the development or spiritual growth of the brother.' (Michel: TDNT V, p.141).

¹⁶⁹ 'Jeder soll dazu beitragen, dass der andere in der Gemeinde in seinem geistigen Wachstum gefördert, der Glaube gestärkt und die eschatologische Bereitschaft wachgehalten wird.' (Friedrich, p.246f).

¹⁷⁰ 'So sehr der Apostel von der beherrschenden Wirklichkeit des Pneumas überzeugt ist, so betont er in gleicher Weise auch die Notwendigkeit menschlicher Aktivität.' (Laub: Verkündigung, p.62).

¹⁷¹, . . . er verbindet das im Glaubenden wohnende Pneuma mit dem Gebot, das in der apostolischen Mahnung von aussen kommt und in dem sich der Wille Gottes ausdrückt.' (Laub: Verkündigung, p.63).

¹⁷² A. Plummer: A Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Thessalonians (Robert Scott, London, 1918), p.89.

¹⁷³ 'Das ἀλλήλους und das εἰς τὸν ἕνα unterstreichen nachdrücklich die Verantwortung jedes einzelnen für das Stehen und Aushalten der Gemeinde in der σωτηρία bis zu ihrer Vollendung bei der Parusie.' (Laub: Verkündigung, p.90).

¹⁷⁴ See 5:27 and n.116 above.

¹⁷⁵ Bruce, p.103; von Dobschütz, p.199; Milligan, p.62; Moore p.72; Rigaux, p.551; Henneken: Verkündigung, p.67; Laub: Verkündigung, p.128.

Both Deissmann (Light, pp.176-78) and Dibelius (p.24) treat this verse as a "Trostbriefformel", a conventional statement found in letters

of condolence. However, as Rigaux (p.551) notes, the parallels cited are neither close enough to be convincing, nor numerous enough to show that such a "formula" existed. We may therefore regard the verse as providing an insight into Paul's conception of the way the church should function.

¹⁷⁶ ὥστε here is synonymous with διό (5:11), τοιγαροῦν (4:8), and διὰ τοῦτο (3:7) (Frame, p.177; Rigaux, p.551). It functions as a consecutive particle, meaning "and so", "accordingly" (Moule: Idiom-Book, p.144). The verse therefore indicates that mutual consolation is a consequence of, and a response to, the apostolic proclamation (Schlier: Apostel, p.84).

¹⁷⁷ 'Apostolic exhortation is a concerned and urgent address to the brethren which combines supplication, comfort and admonition.' (H. Schlier, quoted in TDNT V. p.796 n.174). Our examination of this verse suggests that what Schlier sees as characteristic of apostolic exhortation is also true of the mutual παρακαλεῖν exercised between believers.

¹⁷⁸ Frame, p.177.

¹⁷⁹ G.G. Findlay: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians (CGT) (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1925), p.103; Plummer, p.79.

¹⁸⁰ Various interpretations of the meaning of λόγος κυρίου here have been offered. It has been held to refer to a saying of Jesus (Dibelius, p.22; Frame, pp.171-72 (he regards it as an agraphon)), or of the risen Lord (Best, pp.189-93), or to an oracle of a Jewish Christian prophet (Friedrich, p.243). It has also been interpreted as a summary reference to the tenor of Jesus' eschatological teaching (Rigaux, pp.538-59), or to a prophetic revelation to Paul himself (von Dobschütz, pp. 193-94; Masson, p. 63; Milligan, p.58; Henneken: Verkündigung, pp. 73-98; W. Michaelis: TDNT V, p.352). For useful surveys of the discussion, see Marshall, p.125; J.I.H. McDonald: Kerygma, pp.116-17.

Whichever interpretation may be correct, the main point that Paul is making here is that his teaching carries authority because it is grounded in divine revelation.

¹⁸¹ 'Damit werden . . . die Christen von Thessalonich wie Paulus Verkündigern des „Wortes“.' (Henneken: Verkündigung, p.67).

¹⁸² Henneken: Verkündigung, p. 68.

¹⁸³ Best, p.233.

¹⁸⁴ Some interpreters regard vv.14ff as addressed to the leaders referred to in vv.12-13; see, for example, Findlay, pp.120-21; Friedrich, p.248; Masson, p.73; Faw: "Writing", p.225; Roetzel: "Case Study", p.368; Schlier: Apostel, pp.97ff (with some hesitation); A. Lemaire: Les Ministères aux Origines de l'Eglise: Naissance de la triple Hiérarchie: Évêques, Presbytres, Diares (Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1971), p.77. However, the only contrast between vv.12-13 and 14ff is between the different exhortations directed to the church, not between the two groups addressed (Marshall, p.150)--the ἀδελφοί of v.14 are the same ἀδελφοί addressed in v.12 (and, indeed, throughout the letter); viz., the church as a whole. Cp. von Campen-

hausen: Authority, p.63 n.50: '. . . the idea that there is a change in the persons addressed between 5:13 and 5:14 (ἀδελφοί !) is a purely arbitrary assumption.'

¹⁸⁵BGD: s.v.; G. Delling: TDNT VIII, p.48; Rigaux, p.84; C.Spicq: "Les Thessaloniens »inquiets« étaient-ils des paresseux?", StTh 10 (1957), pp.1-13.

¹⁸⁶Frame, p.173; Rigaux, p.583; Henneken: Verkündigung, p.72; Laub: Verkündigung, p.74.

¹⁸⁷Eschatological excitement may well have exacerbated the problem (2 Th shows that there was both a heightening of eschatologically-motivated unrest (2:1-10) and a worsening of the problem caused by the ἀτακτοί (3:6-15) in the church), but there is no evidence in either of the letters that it caused the problem. See Moore, pp.66-67; R.M. Evans: Eschatology and Ethics: A Study of Thessalonica and Paul's Letters to the Thessalonians (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Basel, 1967), pp.173-80; J.K. Fraser: A Theological Study of Second Thessalonians: A Comprehensive Study of the Thought of the Epistle and its Sources (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Durham, 1979), pp.302-49; R.F. Hock: The Working Apostle: An Examination of Paul's Means of Livelihood (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Yale, 1974), pp.96-108; idem: Social Context, p.41f; B.N. Kaye: "Eschatology and Ethics in 1 and 2 Thessalonians", NovT 17 (1975), pp.47-57; Schmithals: Paul, pp.158-59,.

¹⁸⁸LS; s.v.; J. Behm: TDNT IV, pp.1019-21.

¹⁸⁹Cp. the 'widespread gnomic statement' quoted by A.J.Malherbe ("Gentle as a Nurse: The Cynic Background to 1 Thess ii", NovT 12 (1970), pp.203-27 (at p.210): πλεῖστον διαφέρει τὸ νοουθετεῖν τοὸ ὀνειδίζειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡπιδόν τε καὶ φίλον, τὸ δὲ σκληρόν τε καὶ ὕβριστικόν· καὶ τὸ μὲν διορθοῖ τοῦς ἀμαρτάνοντας τὸ δὲ μόνον ἐλέγχει.

¹⁹⁰Cp. Behm: TDNT IV, p.1020 n.4.

¹⁹¹See, for example, Plato: Resp. VIII, 560a. In the LXX, Eli is judged because he did not "admonish" his sons (1 Regn 3:13), and God is said to "admonish" Israel as a father admonishes his children (Wisd 11:10; 12:2,26).

On the father as admonisher, see P.Gutierrez: La Paternité Spirituelle selon Saint Paul (EB) (J. Gabalda & Cie., Paris, 1968), pp.51-54, 188-97.

¹⁹²Cp. Aristotle: Pol. I, 13, 1260b.

¹⁹³G. Bertram: TDNT V, pp.597-600.

¹⁹⁴ὀλιγόψυχος is a rare word (E. Schweizer: TDNT, p.665) whose basic meaning is best seen in the use of the cognate verb ὀλιγοψυχεῖν as the antonym of ἀνδρίζεσθαι (which means "to conduct oneself in a manly or courageous way": BGD: s.v.) in P. Petr. II, 40a: μὴ οὖν ὀλιγοψυχήσητε ἀλλ' ἀνδρίζεσθε (cited in MM: s.v. ἀνδρίζομαι). It occurs six times in the LXX, where it indicates an inability to cope with a given situation because of a lack of the requisite spiritual resources (Schweizer: TDNT IX, p.666). Of particular importance for our understanding of its use in this verse are the four occurrences of the word in Isa (25:5; 35:4; 54:6; 57:15), where it denotes a state of fear or despair.

¹⁹⁵Frame, p.198; Friedrich, p.248; Henneken: Verkündigung, p.72.

¹⁹⁶Best, p.230; Masson, p.74; Milligan, p.73; Moore, pp.81ff; Neil, p.124; Laub: Verkündigung, p.74.

¹⁹⁷In classical usage παραμυθεῖσθαι has the basic sense of "to speak to someone in a friendly way", and this meaning is extended in two directions, so that (like παρακαλεῖν) it can refer to both encouragement and exhortation or comfort and consolation (LS: s.v.; BGD: s.v.; G. Stählin: TDNT V, pp.816-19). It is used twice in Jn, referring to the comforting of mourners (11:19,31), while its only other occurrence in Paul (2:12) has the former meaning, as the association with παρακαλεῖν and μαρτυρεῖσθαι shows. All three terms denote aspects of Paul's ministry of pastoral exhortation, and this suggests that its use in 5:14 denotes encouragement or exhortation rather than consolation. (So Best, pp.106, 230; Frame, p.104; Rigaux, pp.430-31.)

¹⁹⁸E.J. Bicknell: The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians (WC) (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1932), p.59; von Dobschütz, p.221, Frame, pp.140, 196, 198; Neil, p.125; S.M. Gilmour: "Pastoral Care in the New Testament Church", NTS 10 (1963-64), pp.393-98 (at p.394f).

¹⁹⁹So Bruce, p.123; Milligan, p.73; Morris, p.101; Rigaux, p.584; Lightfoot, p.80.

²⁰⁰LS: s.v.; BGD: s.v.; H. Hanse: TDNT II, p.827.

²⁰¹'Mit ἀντέχεσθε bittet Paulus die Gemeinde, die »Schwachen« nicht aufzugeben, sondern - wörtlich - an ihnen »festzuhalten« als Gliedern der Gemeinde und sie als solche ernstzunehmen.' (Laub: Verkündigung, p.75).

²⁰²Rigaux, p.583.

²⁰³Henneken: Verkündigung, p.71f.

²⁰⁴μακροθυμεῖν and its cognates are both late and rare in Greek usage outside the Bible, and denote there an attitude of resignation or endurance (J. Horst: TDNT IV, p.375). The NT usage receives its distinctive colouring from the influence of the LXX, where μακροθυμία is used of the divine forbearance towards sinners (Horst: TDNT IV, pp.376-79, 383).

²⁰⁵Best, p.232; von Dobschütz, p.221; Marshall, p.152.

²⁰⁶Friedrich, p.248.

²⁰⁷'The group as a whole are held responsible for any single member (τις) whose patience is exhausted and who is ready to retaliate an injury done to him by brother or outsider. . . .' (Frame, p.200; cp. von Dobschütz, p.222; Galitis: art. cit., p.69). The verse perhaps reflects something of the problems posed by the opposition being faced by the church.

²⁰⁸ von Dobschütz, pp.174, 223; Laub: Verkündigung, pp.13, 75-76, 200-1.

²⁰⁹ Frame, pp.12, 204; Jewett: "Enthusiastic Radicalism", p.203; Lütgert: Vollkommenen, pp.627-29; Schmithals: Paul, pp.122-25.

²¹⁰ See pp.169-72 above.

²¹¹ Lightfoot is inclined to take it this way (p.83).

²¹² πνεῦμα here is best understood as a generic term, indicating pneumatic activity in general, and προφητεία as a particular instance of such activity: see Best, p.238; von Dobschütz, p.225; Frame, p.205; Marshall, p.157; Milligan, p.75; Neil, p.130; F. Lang: TDNT VII, p.168.

On these verses see W.C. van Unnik: "'Das Geist löscht nicht aus' (1 Thessalonicher V.19)", NovT 10 (1968), pp.255-69.

²¹³ They are so understood by L.L. Morris: The Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians: An Introduction and Commentary (TNTC) (The Tyndale Press, London, 1956), p.105f.

²¹⁴ δέ should be read; its omission (Λ* A 33 81 syr^P etc.) was probably due to confusion with the following syllable. See Metzger: Textual Commentary, p.633; Best, p.240.

²¹⁵ The word refers primarily to the extinguishing of fire, and then by extension to the suppression of passions or emotions (F. Lang: TDNT VII, pp.165-67). Its use in this context is probably due to the early Christian tendency to think of the presence and activity of the Spirit in terms of fire (Mt 3:11/Lk 3:16; Acts 2:3-4; 18:25; Rom 12:11; 2 Tim 1:6): see Best, p.238; Bruce, p.125; von Dobschütz, p.225; Frame, p.206; Milligan, p.76; Rigaux, p.591.

²¹⁶ The word indicates disdain and repudiation (BGD: s.v.). This may have related more to the ecstatic manner in which the prophecies may have been delivered than to their actual content (Best, p.239).

²¹⁷ Best, p.237; Marshall, p.157; Milligan, p.76; Moore, p.83; Rigaux, p.591.

²¹⁸ On this see especially J.D.G. Dunn: "Prophetic 'I'-Sayings and the Jesus Tradition: The Importance of Testing Prophetic Utterances within Early Christianity", NTS 24 (1977-78), pp.175-98 (esp. p.185).

The agraphon often quoted in connection with this passage (γίνεσθε δοκιμοὶ τραπεζίται), and regarded by some (especially the early Christian commentators: see Lightfoot, p.85; but note also Milligan, p.77) as underlying Paul's statements here, has only the slenderest of verbal links with the passage, and cannot be regarded as having exerted any influence on it (Best, p.241; von Dobschütz, p.226; Frame, p.209; Rigaux, p.592).

²¹⁹ κατέχειν is used here in the sense, "to grasp and hold on" (H. Hanse: TDNT II, p.829).

²²⁰ Note the present imperatives, which suggest that a continuing task is envisaged.

221, . . . nach Paulus der versammelten Gemeinde als ganzer gegenüber allen in ihr vorgebrachten Einzeläusserungen eine prüfende Funktion zukommt - der Gemeinde als ganzer, d.h. nicht irgendeiner Art von Kirchenleitung, die die Gemeinde repräsentiert und deren Beurteilungsfunktion stellvertretend wahrnimmt, sondern wirklich der jeweils versammelten Gemeinschaft der Christen.' (K. Wengst: "Zusammenkommen", p.554).

Pace Rigaux (p.593), there is nothing to suggest that these exhortations are addressed primarily to the church's leaders.

222 Henneken: Verkündigung, p.111.

223 pp.163 - 66.

224 Paul, p.207.

225 Holmberg: Paul, p.205.

226 See pp.89 -90 above.

227 Mills: Sociology, p.64,

228 These terms are derived from Schreiber: Gemeinde, pp.81-82.

229 Mott: Organization, p.49.

230 Paulus, p.115.

231 See n.116 above.

232 See p.85 f above.

233 p.86 .

234 ibid.

235 These approaches are not mutually exclusive, and more than one of them may be found in the same discussion.

236 See, for example, T.M. Lindsay: The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1902), pp.121ff.

237 See, for example, Neil, p.122; Hemphill: Charisma, p.27; J. Moffatt: The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians (EGT, Vol.IV) (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1910), p.41.

238 It should be noted that no Thessalonians are mentioned by name in either letter.

239 So Bicknell, p.58; Moore, p.79f; Ellis: Prophecy, pp.7 n.24, 12 n.40; Lemaire: Ministères, p.76; B.H. Streeter: The Primitive Church, studied with special reference to the Origins of the Christian Ministry (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1929), p.76f; etc.

240 So Lightfoot, p.78f; Milligan, p.71; Morris, p.98; Neil, p.122; Dewailly: Eglise, pp.69-70; F.J.A. Hort: The Christian Ecclesia (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1900), p.126; etc.

241 pp.576-77.

²⁴²See p.92 above.

²⁴³See pp. 89f, 92-94 above.

²⁴⁴For a discussion of the meaning of the verb in this context see pp.217ff below.

²⁴⁵See, for example, Dibelius, p.26; von Dobschütz, pp.215-59; von Campenhausen: Authority, p.64f; Laub: Verkündigung, p.85.

²⁴⁶Jesus, p.287. Cp. Friedrich, p.247.

²⁴⁷Cp. Marxsen, p.71; Hainz: Ekklesia, pp.42-47; Hemphill: Charisma, pp.20ff.

²⁴⁸Something of this assumption is present in many of those studies which, without any support in the text, regard 5:14f as addressed to the church leaders (see n.184 above).

²⁴⁹Some early commentators saw the verse as a reference to catechists, presbyters, and evangelists respectively (see Plummer, p.92). Lietzmann interprets it as referring to διάκονοι, ἐπίσκοποι and προφῆται and διδάσκαλοι respectively ("Zur altchristlichen Verfassungsgeschichte", (ZWTh 55 (1914), pp.97-153 (at p.110) (now in K. Kertelge (ed.): Das kirchliche Amt im Neuen Testament (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1977), pp.93-143).

²⁵⁰The question whether the first participle is the generic term and the others specify two aspects of this general activity (so Best, p.224; Frame, p.192; Lightfoot, p.79; Masson, p.71 n.4; Moore, p.80; Rigaux, p.579), or whether the participles refer to three coordinate functions (so Bruce, p.118; von Dobschütz, p.215f; Milligan, p.71; Neil, p.121; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.37f; Greeven: "Propheten", p.33) can only be decided after the meaning of κοπιῶντες has been established.

²⁵¹See LS: s.v.; BGD: s.v.; F. Hauck: TDNT III, p.828.

²⁵²Like κοπιῶν, κόπος has two basic meanings. Originally it denoted "beating" or "striking", and then came to mean "weariness, fatigue" (as of one who had suffered a beating). By obvious extension it came to denote the causes of fatigue, and so means "work, toil, exertion" or "trouble, difficulty". See LS: s.v.; BGD: s.v.; Hauck: TDNT III, p.827f.

²⁵³"Κόπος (κοπιῶν, οἱ κοπιῶντες) im frühchristlichen Sprachgebrauch", ZNW 27 (1928), pp.1-10.

²⁵⁴p.5.

²⁵⁵1 Th 3:5; Gal 4:11; 1 Cor 3:8; 15:10; Phil 2:16; Col 1:29.

²⁵⁶1 Cor 3:8; 15:10; 2 Cor 10:15.

²⁵⁷1 Th 5:12; 1 Cor 16:16; Rom 16:6,12.

²⁵⁸1 Th 1:3; 1 Cor 15:58.

²⁵⁹1 Th 2:9; 2 Th 3:8; 1 Cor 4:12; 2 Cor 6:5; 11:23,27.

²⁶⁰Ollrog: Paulus, p.75.

²⁶¹Although εἰς ὑμᾶς is much the best reading, the ἐν ὑμῖν of D F G makes the local orientation of her ministry even clearer.

²⁶²In the light of this discussion, E. Lohse's claim about the meaning of the verse (which is apparently based on the use of κοπιᾶν to describe the ministry concerned) must be considered unlikely. He says of the verse,

Damit sind Leute gemeint, die den Auftrag missionarischer Verkündigung erfüllen.

("Die Gemeinde und ihre Ordnung bei den Synoptikern und bei Paulus", in E.E. Ellis and E. Grässer (eds.): Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 70. Geburtstag (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1975), pp.189-200 (at p.191)).

²⁶³Cp. Marshall, who says that Paul uses κοπιᾶν of work within the church by its members. . . . He regarded such people as sharers in his own work. . . . (p.147).

²⁶⁴On the Roman destination of Rom 16, see especially W.-H. Ollrog: "Die Abfassungsverhältnisse von Röm 16", in D. Lührmann and G. Strecker (eds.): Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1980), pp.221-44. See also Kümmel: Introduction, pp.318-20; C.K. Barrett: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (BNTC) (A. & C. Black Ltd., London, 1962), pp.281-82; C.E.B. Cranfield: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Vol.I (ICC) (T. & T. Clark Ltd., Edinburgh, 1975), pp.9-11; H. Gamble: The Textual History of the Letter to the Romans: A Study in Textual and Literary Criticism (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, 1977), passim.

²⁶⁵This is perhaps more likely in the case of Mary (v.6), especially if her ministry has in fact been exercised in Rome.

²⁶⁶For a discussion of these issues which arrives at a slightly different view from that adopted here, see Ollrog: "Abfassungsverhältnisse", pp.239-42.

²⁶⁷All of this suggests that the former of the two views referred to in n.250 above is more correct.

²⁶⁸This holds true whether 1 Th or Gal was the earliest: see 1 Th 3:5; 5:12 and Gal 4:11.

²⁶⁹Various suggestions have been made about the source of this Pauline usage. Deissmann argued that Paul derived it from his practice of supporting himself by his manual work (Light, pp.312-14); Harnack regarded it as referring especially to agricultural labour, so that Paul's distinctive usage belongs together with the other agricultural metaphors he uses in his mission-terminology ("κόπος", p.5); and Lightfoot claimed that it was an athletic term (Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon (Macmillan & Co.Ltd., London, 1879), p.171; Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (Macmillan & Co., London, 1868), p.118). However, the most satisfactory suggestion is that made by V.C. Pfitzner, that (along with a great deal of his other specialised terminology) Paul came to use

these terms in this way under the influence of the LXX, especially Isa. 49:4;65:23 (Paul and the Agon Motif: Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature (NovT Suppl XVI) E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1967), p.103).

²⁷⁰Cp. Meeks: Urban Christians, p.94:

Very quickly . . . the Pauline Christians developed their own slogans and patterns of speech that distinguished them from other Jewish groups as well as from the general environment.

This can be looked at from a sociological point of view: . . . not just the shared content of beliefs but also shared forms by which the beliefs are expressed are important in promoting cohesiveness. Every close-knit group develops its own argot, and the use of that argot in speech among members knits them more closely still. . . . In-group jargon employs a variety of linguistic strategies. Ordinary words may be used with special nuances. . . . (p.93).

This fits very well with the conclusions we have reached about Paul's use of κοινὸν and κόπος.

²⁷¹So, for example, Bicknell, p.58; Findlay, p.121f; Frame, p.194; Lightfoot, p.79; Neil, p.121f; Plummer, p.91; Rigaux, p.578; Harnack: "Κόπος", pp.7-10; Schlier: Apostel, p.95f.

²⁷²LS: s.v.; BGD: s.v.; B. Reicke: TDNT VI, p.700.

²⁷³MM: s.v. The period from which these examples are drawn extends from the 3rd cent. B.C. to 556 A.D.

²⁷⁴Findlay, p.122. He also says that the addition of ἐν κυρίῳ attaches to the position of the προϊστάμενοι a more weighty and solemn character; it appears to connote authority on their part. . . . (ibid.)
Cp. Morris, p.29; Plummer, p.92.

²⁷⁵As Bultmann noted, ἐν κυρίῳ like ἐν Χριστῷ often functions adjectivally or adverbially, representing the as yet unknown expressions, "Christian", "as a Christian", "in a Christian manner". (The Theology of the New Testament, I, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1952), p.328f).

²⁷⁶The phrase sets the particular activity within the sphere of service which the Christian owes to his Lord though it is directed towards other Christians. . . . (Best, p.225).

²⁷⁷Cp. W. Foerster: TDNT III, p.1091.

²⁷⁸So, with varying emphases, Best, p.224f; Dibelius, p.26; von Dobschütz, pp.216-17; Dunn: Jesus, pp.251, 296; Hainz: Ekklesia, pp.33ff; Laub: Verkündigung, pp.71f, 85-89; etc.

²⁷⁹LS: s.v.; BGD: s.v.; Reicke: TDNT VI, p.700f.

²⁸⁰Best, p.224; Dibelius, p.26; von Dobschütz, p.215; Marxsen, p.71; Laub: Verkündigung, p.71.

²⁸¹Reicke argues that both meanings are present in all 8 uses of the verb in the NT (TDNT VI, pp.701-03).

282 Charisma, p.106f.

283, 'It seems likely that the two meanings can be combined. Paul is here thinking of those whose task it is to care for and supervise the church and who consequently have a certain measure of jurisdiction over its members and its activities.' (Marshall, p.148). Although the use of the word "jurisdiction" implies a more formalised control than there is evidence for, Marshall's comment points in the right direction.

284 Laub opts for the latter alternative:
Die προϊστάμενοι sind. . . Personen, die auf nichtamtlicher, d.h. freiwilliger Basis sich im Rahmen der anfallenden Aufgaben und notwendigen Dienste in der Gemeinde einsetzen und die entsprechenden Mühen auf sich nehmen. Insofern kann man sagen, dass sie eine leitende Funktion ausüben. (Verkündigung, p.85).

285 See pp.209 and 220 respectively.

286 "Κόπος", pp.7-10.

287 LS: s.v.

288 ibid.

289 In particular, patrons were to provide financial security and legal protection for their clients: . . . τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τρόπον ἅπαντα πράττοντας, ὅσα περὶ παίδων πράττουσι πατέρες, εἰς χρημάτων τε καὶ τῶν περὶ χρημάτων συμβολαίων λόγον· δίκας τε ὑπὲρ τῶν πελατῶν ἀδικουμένων λαγχάνειν, εἴ τις βλάπτοιτο περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὑπέχειν

290 See OCD: art. "Dionysius (7)"

291 "Die Christengemeinde Korinths und die religiösen Genossenschaften der Griechen", ZWTh 19 (1876), pp.465-526 (esp. pp.516-20). T.M. Lindsay, on the other hand, adopts this interpretation (Church, pp.123-24.)

292 E. Kornemann: art. "Collegium", PRE IV, col.424.

293 For a useful brief discussion of the character and importance of patronage in Roman society, see E. Wistrand: Caesar and Contemporary Roman Society (Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum et Litterarum Gothoburgensis, Humaniora 15) (Göteborg, 1979), pp.8-26. Much of what he says applies to the relationship between a collegium and its patron, which has been described as follows:

Most clubs were either founded by or dependent on the favors of a patron, who endowed the club with funds for specific, defined purposes, such as the celebration of certain festivals (often including the patron's birthday). . . . The club, in return, compensated the patron with honorary titles, decrees, crowns, inscriptions and even statues. . . . While the patron was not usually a member of the club, on a footing with the regular membership, or even an officer of it, he was clearly a figure of great influence. In fact, the club functioned almost as a client--particularly if it were a club composed of poor people.

(L.W. Countryman: "Patrons and Officers in Club and Church", in P.J. Achtemeier (ed.): SBL Book of Seminar Papers 1977 (SBL, Chico 1977), pp.135-43 (at p.136)). See also Kornemann: art. cit., coll.424-25.

²⁹⁴As we noted above, *προστασία* was used both of the protection afforded by a patron and also of care and protection in a more general sense. Likewise, *προστάτης* designated not only the patron in the formal sense, but also one who provides something of the same support and protection as a patron does--thus, "one who stands before and protects, a guardian, champion" (LS: *art. προστατης* III). The Latin *patronus* also had both a technical sense (designating legal advocates, patrons of communities, and the former masters of freedmen) and a general sense ("influential protector"): see R.P. Saller: Personal Patronage under the Early Empire (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982), p.9.

²⁹⁵Both because, as a woman, she would have been debarred from undertaking the legal activities associated with the role of a patron (Cranfield, II, p.783; E. Käsemann: An die Römer (HNT) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 31974), p.395f; F.J. Leenhardt: The Epistle to the Romans: A Commentary, ET (The Lutterworth Press, London, 1961), p.379), and because, as a freeborn citizen, Paul could not have had a patron in the technical, legal sense (Barrett, p.282f; H. Lietzmann: An die Römer (HNT) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 41933), p.124).

²⁹⁶Barrett, loc. cit.; Cranfield, II, pp.780-03; O. Michel; Der Brief an die Römer (KEK) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 141978), p.413 n.11; H. Schlier: Der Römerbrief (HThKNT) (Verlag Herder, Freiburg, 1977), p.442.

²⁹⁷Ollrog: Paulus, p.31 n.136.

²⁹⁸M. Black: Romans (NCB) (Oliphants, London, 1973); p.178f; Cranfield, II, p.783; C.H. Dodd: The Epistle of Paul to the Romans (MNTC) (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1932), p.234; W. Sanday and A.C. Headlam: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (ICC) (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 41900), p.417f.

²⁹⁹While v.1b clearly concerns her relationship to the church in Cenchreae, v.2b seems to refer to her relationship to Christians from elsewhere as well, perhaps those who have travelled to or through Cenchreae--it is because she has been so hospitable and supportive to other travelling Christians that the Roman Christians are to give her a fitting reception when she travels to Rome (v.2a).

In view of the debate about the status of the *προϊστάμενοι* in Thessalonica, it is worth observing that the quasi-official designation in v.1b (on which see Cranfield, II, p.781; Käsemann, p.395; Leenhardt, p.379; Michel, p.473f; Schlier, p.441f; Ollrog: Paulus, p.31) implies that Phoebe held a recognised position in the church. So Dodd observes,

We may assume that, whatever the 'deacons' were at Philippi, that Phoebe was at Cenchreae. (p.234f). It is a reasonable assumption that the importance and consistency of the service she rendered the church in providing *προστασία* of various kinds led to her being designated *διάκονος*.

³⁰⁰Barrett, p.239; Sanday and Headlam, p.358.

³⁰¹ p.312.

³⁰² p.379.

³⁰³ Reference should also be made to W.C. van Unnik's argument that ὁ μεταδιδούς is the person who shares the Gospel and its riches with others ("The Interpretation of Romans 12:8: ὁ μεταδιδούς ἐν ἀπλότητι", in M. Black and W.A. Smalley (eds.): On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida (Mouton, The Hague/Paris, 1974), pp.169-83). He maintains that Greek usage does not justify restricting the meaning of μεταδιδόναι here to the sharing of material goods, but rather points instead to the sharing of "precious goods" like status, information, education, or special knowledge (see esp. pp.182-83). However, the verb can refer to the sharing of material wealth (as van Unnik admits), and the construction of the sentence does link ὁ μεταδιδούς with what follows it rather than with what precedes it, and thus suggests that it refers to some kind of practical service rather than to a "ministry of the Word".

³⁰⁴ Quoted in Cranfield, II, p.627 n.1.

³⁰⁵ The singular is more likely to be generic in all three cases, than an indication that the Christian community in Rome knew only one μεταδιδούς or προΐστάμενος or ἐλεῶν.

³⁰⁶ F.F. Bruce: The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with an Introduction and Commentary (The Tyndale Press, London,²1952), p.327; E. Haenchen: The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary, ET (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1971), p.507 n.9, 512f; R.B. Rackham: The Acts of the Apostles: An Exposition (WC) (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London,¹⁰1925), p.294. Cp. J.B. Mathews: Hospitality and the New Testament Church: An Historical and Exegetical Study (Unpublished Th.D. thesis, Princeton, 1965), pp.167-74 on ὑποδέχομαι as part of the early Christian hospitality-vocabulary.

³⁰⁷ K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury: The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, Volume IV: English Translation and Commentary (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1933), p.205; Haenchen, p.512; G. Stählin: Die Apostelgeschichte (NTD) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1966), p.224.

³⁰⁸ Haenchen, pp.507 n.9, 513; Rackham, p.296; Stählin, p.224, Pace Lake and Cadbury (p.205), there is no reason to doubt that Jason was a Christian (see Haenchen, p.507 n.9).

³⁰⁹ For the use of ἀδελφοί as a designation of the believers in a particular locality, see Acts 9:30; 11:29; 14:2; 15:1,3, 32-33, 36,40; 16:2,40; 17:10,14; 18:18,27; 21:7,17; 28:14-15.

³¹⁰ λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανόν is a Latinism, representing satis accipere (Bruce, p.327; Haenchen, p.508; Lake and Cadbury, p.206; A.N. Sherwin-White; Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963), p.95). As the representative and leader of the church (its patron!), Jason was apparently required to guarantee Paul's good conduct (Sherwin-White: op. cit., p.95f), or perhaps even to undertake to keep him away from Thessalonica (cp. 1 Th2:18) (W.M. Ramsay: St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London,³1897), p. 231).

³¹¹See G.B. Caird: Paul's Letters from Prison (Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon) in the Revised Standard Version: Introduction and Commentary (NCIB) (Oxford University Press, 1976), pp.213f, 219; J.B. Lightfoot: Colossians and Philemon, pp.303-10; P.T. O'Brien: Colossians, Philemon (WBC) (Word Books, Waco, 1982), pp.259, 273.

³¹²See pp. 398-407.

³¹³On the early Christian house-churches (especially Paul's) see Banks: Paul's Idea; J.H. Elliott: Home, pp. 188-99; F.V. Filson: "The Significance of the Early House Churches", JBL 58 (1939), pp.105-12; J. Gnllka: Der Philemonbrief (Exkurs I: Haus, Familie und Hausgemeinde (pp.17-38)); E.M.B. Green: Evangelism in the Early Church (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1970), pp.250-69; C.S. Hill: Sociology, pp.207-66; H.-J. Klauck: "Die Hausgemeinde als Lebensform im Urchristentum", MTZ 32 (1981), pp.1-15; idem: Hausgemeinde und Hauskirche im frühen Christentum (SBS 103) (Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, Stuttgart, 1981); Malherbe: Social Aspects pp.60-91; W. Rordorf: "Was wissen wir über die christliche Gottesdiensträume der vorkonstantinischen Zeit?", ZNW 55 (1964), pp.110-28; P. Stuhlmacher: Der Brief an Philemon (EKK) (Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), pp.70-75 (Exkurs: Urchristliche Hausgemeinden).

³¹⁴p.216f.

³¹⁵"Significance", p.111.

³¹⁶pp. 111-12.

³¹⁷See his The Social Pattern of Christian Groups in the First Century (The Tyndale Press, London, 1960), pp.57-60, 65-71; "The Early Christians as a Scholastic Community", JRH 1 (1961), pp.4-15, 125-37 (at pp.7, 127-31).

³¹⁸So, for example, Banks: Paul's Idea, pp. 136-7; Elliott: Home, pp.188-99; Hill, Sociology, pp.260-61; Holmberg: Paul, pp.104-07; Meeks: Urban Christians, pp.60, 73, 78, 118-19, 134.

³¹⁹See especially A.T. Kraabel: "The Diaspora Synagogue: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence since Sukenik", ANRW II 19.1, pp.477-510.

³²⁰See Klauck: Hausgemeinde, pp.95-97; Stuhlmacher: Philemon, p.72f.

³²¹See M. Hengel: "Die Synagogeninschrift von Stobi", ZNW 57 (1966), pp.145-83.

³²²Hengel: art. cit., p.176.

³²³See R. Penna: "Les Juifs à Rome au Temps de l'Apôtre Paul", NTS 28 (1982), pp.321-47 (at p.329f).

³²⁴Hengel: art. cit., p.176.

³²⁵The text of the inscription is in SIG 98f; Barton and Horsley: "Cult Group" pp.8-10.

³²⁶art. cit.

³²⁷pp. 16, 22.

³²⁸p.23.

³²⁹p.22.

³³⁰He was not a priest in the cult (ibid.)

³³¹ibid.

³³²p.28-41.

³³³p.28.

³³⁴Hainz: Ekklesia, p.346. Cp. also Meeks: Urban Christians, p.76:

The head of the household, by normal expectations of the society, would exercise some authority over the group and would have some legal responsibility for it.

Cp. similar observations in Gniska: Philemonbrief, p.28; Klauck: Hausgemeinde, pp.43, 101; Schreiber: Gemeinde, p.135.

³³⁵Gniska: Philemon, p.17.

³³⁶Cp. Rom 13:7; Col 3:18-4:1.

³³⁷See pp.188f, 192 above.

³³⁸J. Behm: TDNT IV, p.1019.

³³⁹Best, p.226; Bruce, p.119. Note that $\nuουθετεῖν$ is coupled with $διδάσκειν$ in Col 1:28; 3:16.

³⁴⁰As is envisaged in 4:18; 5:14. Rigaux (p.576) notes that the threefold repetition $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\upsilon\mu\omega\upsilon$ and $\upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$ indicates a clear distinction between this group and the church as a whole, which is the object of their ministry.

³⁴¹Note the present tense of the participle.

³⁴²Meeks (Urban Christians, p.134) claims that the use of this verb indicates that those concerned are 'accorded some governing authority.' This is something of an overstatement, since pastoral exhortation and admonition is not at all the same thing as "governing", yet it does point in the right direction by recognising the authority-implications of this activity.

³⁴³'Les esprits devaient être ramenés au véritable enseignement apostolique.' (Rigaux, p.579).

³⁴⁴Cp. pp.188f, 191-2, 195, 196, 199 above.

³⁴⁵Thibaut and Kelley: Psychology, p.286.

³⁴⁶H. Seesemann: TDNT V, p.117.

³⁴⁷Seesemann: ibid.; BGD: art. οἶδα 5: Best, p.224; von Dobschütz, p.217f; Milligan, p.71; Rigaux, p.576.

This inference is normally supported by reference to the ἐπιγινώσκετε οὖν τοὺς τοιοῦτους which performs a similar function in the very similar passage, 1 Cor 16:15-18, and also to Ignatius' statement, καλῶς ἔχει θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι (ad Smyrn, 9:1), which is immediately followed by ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον

³⁴⁸ἡγεῖσθαι means simply "to consider, regard" (BGD: s.v.; F. Büchsel: TDNT II, p.907), and its context determines whether it is used in bonam partem or in malam partem (see Findlay, p.122). The context here shows that it bears the sense, "to esteem, hold in high regard" (BGD: s.v.; MM: s.v.; Büchsel: ibid.; against Rigaux, p.580).

³⁴⁹The word is found in the NT only in 1 Th 3:10; Eph 3:20 outside this passage, and is a stronger form of comparison than περισσοτέρως, ὑπερπερισσῶς and ἐκ περισσοῦ (see Rigaux, p.580).

³⁵⁰BGD: s.v.

³⁵¹These two words and their cognates are often linked by Paul: see 1 Th 1:3; 1 Cor 3:8, 14-15; 4:12; 15:58; 16:16.

³⁵²'Le mot d' »œuvre« (ἔργον) designera souvent chez Paul le travail au service de la mission suivant les ordres de Dieu.' (Dewailly: Eglise, p.70 n.1). Cp. also Ollrog: Paulus, p.171; G. Bertram: TDNT II, p.643 (who notes that this usage is also found in Acts (13:2; 14:26; 15:38)).

³⁵³This usage may reflect the influence of Isa 40-66, which speaks of the κύριος and his ἔργον in contexts which refer to the accomplishment of the final salvation, and the consequent restoration and renewal of the people of God (see esp. 40:10; 48:11; 62:11; 64:7).

³⁵⁴1 Cor 16:10; Phil 1:22 (on which see J.-F Collange: The Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians, ET (The Epworth Press, London, 1979), p.64; J. Gnllka: Der Philipperbrief (HThKNT) (Verlag Herder, Freiburg, ²1976), p.71). Cp. 1 Cor 9:1.

³⁵⁵1 Cor 16:10; cp. Phil 2:30.

³⁵⁶1 Cor 3:13-15.

³⁵⁷1 Th 1:3; 1 Cor 15:58.

³⁵⁸See C.K. Barrett: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (BNTC) (A. & C. Black Ltd., London, ²1971), pp. 87-88; F.F. Bruce: 1 and 2 Corinthians (NCB) (Oliphants, London, 1971), p.44; H. Lietzmann/W.G. Kümmel: An die Korinther I II (HNT) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, ⁵1969), p.16; H.-D. Wendland: Der Briefe an die Korinther (NTD) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, ^{II}1965), p.30.

³⁵⁹Cp. Moore, p.81; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.40; Schlier: Apostel, p. 96.

³⁶⁰ Although there is good ms. support for the reading $\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (p³⁰ \mathcal{A} D* F G P Ψ 81 104 etc.), which is accepted by Harnack (art. cit., p.8 n.1) and Dibelius (p.26), $\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (A B D² K L 33 etc.) is to be preferred because (i) $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ can be read as $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$, an alternative form of $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (in *Hermas: Vis* III we find both $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (9:10) and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (9:2; 12:3)), and (ii) the meaning "with them" (which is what $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ would have to mean) would be more naturally expressed with $\mu\epsilon\tau'\ \alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\nu$ (cp. *Rom* 12:18).

³⁶¹ Best, p.228; von Dobschütz, pp. 219-20; Lightfoot, p.80; Neil, p.123; Laub: *Verkündigung*, p. 73; W. Foerster: *TDNT* II, p.418.

³⁶² See pp. 163-66 above.

³⁶³ Bicknell, p.59; Findlay, p.123; Milligan, p.72; Rigaux, p.580f.

³⁶⁴ *Paul*, pp.168-69.

³⁶⁵ See pp.157-60 above.

³⁶⁶ Masson (p.73) claims that there was 'une certain tension' in this relationship, a problem he sees as underlying much of the contents of the letter (pp.72-80).

³⁶⁷ p.41.

³⁶⁸ p.195.

³⁶⁹ Best, p.228; Rigaux, p.580f.

³⁷⁰ pp. 160-63 above.

³⁷¹ See BDF #335 and #336 (esp. #336(3)) and Moulton-Turner III, pp.74-75 on the use of the present imperative.

³⁷² Rigaux, p.580. Cp. Plummer, p.94.

³⁷³ Cp. Meeks: *Urban Christians*, p.76:

The adaptation of the Christian groups to the household has certain implications for . . . the internal structure of the groups. . . . The new group was . . . inserted into or superimposed upon an existing network of relationships, both internal--kinship, *clientela*, and subordination--and external--ties of friendship and perhaps of occupation. . . . The household context also set the stage for some conflicts in the allocation of power and in the understanding of roles in the community. . . . The structure of the *oikos* was hierarchical, and contemporary political and moral thought regarded the structure of superior and inferior roles as basic to the well-being of the whole society. Yet . . . there were certain countervailing modes and centers of authority in the Christian movement that ran contrary to the power of the *paterfamilias*, and certain egalitarian beliefs and attitudes that conflicted with the hierarchical structure.

³⁷⁴See esp. Frame, pp.195, 204; Masson, p.75; Schmithals: Paul, pp.169, 172-75.

³⁷⁵See Hemphill: Charisma, pp.38ff; Roetzel: "Case Study", p. 374f.

³⁷⁶For an understanding of pneumatic gifts (especially glossolalia) along these lines, see W.J. Hollenweger: Conflict in Corinth & Memoirs of an Old Man: Two Stories that Illuminate the Way the Bible came to be Written, ET (Paulist Press, New York, 1982), pp.7, 19, 20f, 30-31.; A.C. Thiselton: "The 'Interpretation' of Tongues: A New Suggestion in the Light of Greek Usage in Philo and Josephus", JTS (n.s.) 30 (1979), pp.15-36 (at p.34).

³⁷⁷See pp. 85-86 above.

³⁷⁸See pp. 205-6 above.

³⁷⁹p. 86 above.

³⁸⁰p.114 above.

³⁸¹p. 214 above.

³⁸²pp. 232-33 above.

³⁸³"Les Epîtres" pp. 23-27, 33.

³⁸⁴Paul, p. 120.

³⁸⁵See pp. 92f, 96 above.

³⁸⁶See pp. 98-99 above.

³⁸⁷p. 98 above.

³⁸⁸See p. 98 above for a discussion of power as based on the possession of resources and on the dependency which the possession of those resources creates in others.

³⁸⁹On the various types of power, see p. 97 above.

³⁹⁰This also means that they can be seen as possessing coercive power, in that the necessity of the resources they provide will tend to create in others a readiness to comply with their wishes and directives, based on an unwillingness to arouse the possibility of those resources being withheld. This is not to say that the προϊστάμενοι acted in such a way as to coerce others, for this is not a statement about their intentions, but about the effect of their resources and the contribution they are able to make because of them.

³⁹¹See p.105f above.

³⁹²p. 99 above.

³⁹³Cp. the definition of the leadership-role on p. 111 above.

³⁹⁴p. 244f.

- ³⁹⁵Laub: Verkündigung, p.85.
- ³⁹⁶von Dobschütz, p.218; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.40; Laub: ibid.
- ³⁹⁷Best, p.228; Neil, p.123; Hainz: ibid.
- ³⁹⁸von Campenhausen: Authority, p.64f.
- ³⁹⁹Brockhaus: Charisma, p.108.
- ⁴⁰⁰Cp. Heb 13:17(said about leaders): 1 Pet 5:2-3 (said to leaders).
- ⁴⁰¹pp. 86-95 above.
- ⁴⁰²See pp. 98 , 246 above.
- ⁴⁰³See pp. 105-6 above.
- ⁴⁰⁴See pp. 89-91 above.
- ⁴⁰⁵pp. 87-88 above.
- ⁴⁰⁶Olsen: Process, p.117.
- ⁴⁰⁷'The question of an official appointment is in a sense academic because this passage is intended to elicit the esteem of the community on behalf of these persons and thus functions in a pragmatic sense as an appointment of sorts.' (Charisma, p.30).
- ⁴⁰⁸p.107f. Cp. p.93f.
- ⁴⁰⁹ibid.
- ⁴¹⁰p. 109.
- ⁴¹¹See pp. 93f above.
- ⁴¹²See pp. 205f above.
- ⁴¹³Charisma, p. 24 n.106 (quoted on p. 109 above).
- ⁴¹⁴p. 249.
- ⁴¹⁵pp. 24-25.
- ⁴¹⁶See p. 212 above.
- ⁴¹⁷Note the reference to προφητεῖαι in 5:20.

CHAPTER III

LOCAL LEADERSHIP IN THE CHURCH IN CORINTH

I CORINTHIANS: INTRODUCTION

There are some obvious and important differences between 1 Th and 1 Cor, both in regard to the letters themselves and also in regard to the church-situation each addresses. The procedure we have determined for this study requires us to give some consideration to each of these matters before beginning our study of leadership and ministry in the church in Corinth.

I. THE LETTER:

1. Its Unity:

In comparison with the structure of 1 Th, which reflects common epistolary conventions to a greater extent¹, the structure of 1 Cor is more obviously determined by the circumstances in which it came to be written. Although the εὐχαριστῶ - παρακαλῶ structure has not entirely disappeared², it is no longer the key to the interpretation of the letter's intention, as was the case with 1 Th. Both the form and content of the letter suggest that it is Paul's point-by-point response to news about the church (conveyed by οἱ κληρῆς (1:11) and undoubtedly also by Stephanas and his companions (16:17f)), and to a letter from the church (7:1). Consequently, it is not in the form of a unified exposition which unfolds in linear progression³; rather, the sequence of the material appears to have been determined by the order in which the various sources of information reached Paul, and by the order in which questions were raised in the church's letter.

This explanation of the apparently rather disjointed structure of 1 Cor has been regarded as inadequate by a number of scholars, who claim that the canonical form of the letter is artificial. They argue that, while the raw material is undoubtedly Paul's⁴, the

final product, with its rough seams and poorly-matched sections, is a patchwork quilt of someone else's making. As such a view has a direct influence on our exegesis of the letter (because it means that some key passages are given a different context from that which they have in the letter in its present form, which may lead to their assuming a somewhat different significance from that which they now have), we must give some consideration to the arguments involved.

Early in the century, J. Weiss argued that 1 Cor is composed of three separate letters to Corinth⁵, a view that was adopted (with slight modifications) by M. Goguel.⁶ More recently, J. Héring proposed a different reconstruction involving two original letters⁷, while W. Schmithals advanced a more complex hypothesis in which the two canonical letters to Corinth are seen as compilations from six original letters, the earliest two of which make up 1 Cor.⁸ More recently still, W. Schenk has presented detailed arguments for dividing 1 Cor into four original letters.⁹ His article received a mixed reaction. On the one hand, A. Suhl rejected his arguments, and proposed instead a modified version of Schmithals' two-source hypothesis.¹⁰ On the other hand, Schenk's arguments led Schmithals to undertake a radical revision of his original hypothesis, and to argue that 1 Cor and 2 Cor were compiled from nine original letters.¹¹ The recent commentary by C. Senft largely follows Schenk's reconstruction, but modifies it to some extent in the light of Schmithals' more recent arguments.¹²

On the whole, these hypotheses have been rejected as ill-founded¹³, but, although it is not possible to enter into a detailed consideration of all the arguments here, the various hypotheses have been elaborated on the basis of careful argument and analysis of 1 Cor's structure and contents, and cannot simply be dismissed. The most convenient way of dealing with the main issues briefly will be to organise our discussion around the four points raised in this connection

in the preceding chapter.¹⁴

(1) The first concerns the formal basis for compilation-hypotheses. In this connection, Schenk¹⁵ supports his case for the partition of 1 Cor by arguing that 4:14-21 is a letter-ending shorn of its concluding greetings and benedictions. However, R.W. Funk¹⁶ has shown that this passage belongs to the genre, the "apostolic parousia"¹⁷, and although such a section may constitute the final section of a letter, it does not always do so (as the passages quoted in the previous note show). J.L. White¹⁸ has further argued that 4:14-21, along with other "apostolic parousia" sections, forms the conclusion of the "letter-body" and precedes the paraenetic section of the letter. This compilation-hypothesis is thus deprived of its form-critical basis.

(2) The material basis for maintaining the secondary character of the letter has to do, firstly, with its stylistic features. In this regard, advocates of compilation-hypotheses point to awkward or abrupt transitions from one section to another¹⁹, and to a number of digressions in the argument which appear to be interpolations.²⁰ Secondly, these arguments seek to demonstrate conceptual disunity in the letter. This is claimed to be evident with respect to the following points in particular: the divisions within the church (1:10-12 versus 11:17ff)²¹; Paul's travel plans (4:19 versus 16:8-9)²²; Timothy's movements (4:17 versus 16:10)²³; and Paul's attitude to the εἰδωλόθυσια-issue (8, 10:23-11:1 versus 10:1-22).²⁴

Although it is not possible to enter into a detailed consideration of these arguments, the following points may be made by way of response.

(i) Many of the alleged contradictions in the letter are able to be resolved quite satisfactorily without recourse to a partition-theory. The σχίσματα of 1:10ff are not the same as those referred

to in 11:17ff²⁵; the differences between chapters 4 and 16 with regard to the travels of Paul and Timothy do not pose any real problem²⁶; and 8:1-11:1 does not offer conflicting solutions to the same problem, but treats different aspects of a many-sided issue.²⁷

(ii) Reference to the last passage in particular underlines the paramount importance of exegesis in deciding whether the alleged contradictions and digressions will bear the weight that advocates of the letter's disunity place on them. It is noticeable that few of the arguments for the disunity of 1 Cor provide any detailed exegetical support for their assertions about the meaning of the passages to which they refer. Conversely, it is significant that detailed exegetical studies of the passages in question generally support their integrity, as may be seen by reference to the studies of chapters 8-10 referred to in the previous note.²⁸

(iii) The question whether Paul's argument contains digressions of a kind that are irreconcilable with the letter's unity or integrity can only be decided by the use of the appropriate rhetorical and literary canons, rather than by reference to what seems possible or acceptable by modern standards. This point was anticipated to some degree by Kümmel, who justified the literary integrity of 1 Cor by claiming that Paul 'frequently uses the literary device of excurses [sic]',²⁹ referring to 2:6-16; 6:1-11; 9; 10:1-13; 13. It has now been taken up explicitly by W. Wuellner³⁰, who argues that

digressions in Paul's letters are illustrative of his rhetorical sophistication and . . . serve to support his argumentation.³¹

He applies the canons of both ancient and modern rhetorical study to 1 Cor in particular, in order to demonstrate the integral function of 1:19-3:20; 9:1-10:13; and 13 in the argument of the letter as a whole³², and thus incidentally strengthens the case for its unity.

(iv) The admittedly patchwork character of the letter, with

its disparate blocks of material and the abrupt transitions between them (1-4; 5-6; 7; 8:1-11:1; 11:2-34; 12-14; 15; 16)³³, does not necessarily indicate that the present form of the letter is the work of a redactor. On the contrary, the form of the letter can be seen to arise directly from the circumstances of its composition. The letter itself indicates that several different types of information about the church have reached Paul from a number of different sources. The most recent compilation-hypotheses rest on the assumption that Paul wrote to the church in response to most or all of these reports as soon as they reached him, and that there was both time and opportunity for each of these letters to be despatched to Corinth before the next piece of news arrived. Senft justifies this assumption by asking,

Aurait-il laissé s'accumuler les questions pour ne leur répondre qu'après des mois?'³⁴

However, we have no means of knowing how far apart the various reports about the church arrived, and nor do we know how quickly Paul was able to send off his written responses. If the total period involved was not, as Senft supposes, a matter of months, but a relatively short period³⁵, then, at the very least, it is just as likely that the present form of 1 Cor is due to the fact that it was composed in stages in response to the various reports that reached Paul and despatched to Corinth as soon as a reliable courier was available³⁶ as that it is due to the compilation of several separate letters that were written and despatched immediately in response to each report about the church.

(3) The third consideration has to do with the presumed editorial Sitz im Leben. As Schmithals' hypothesis³⁷ remains the only serious attempt to tackle this issue, the criticisms referred to in the previous chapter³⁸ still apply here, and there is no need to add to the comments made in our discussion there.

(4) The final consideration concerned the multiplicity of compilation-hypotheses. In view of the greater number and variety of such hypotheses in the case of 1 Cor, the point made in the previous chapter³⁹ is even more valid here: the probability of any of these hypotheses is in inverse proportion to their number and to the amount of divergence between them. The lack of agreement between the many hypotheses concerning 1 Cor as to both the number and contents of the putative originals tells against the probability that any of them is correct.

On the basis of the above comments, we conclude that the case against the unity of 1 Cor has not been proved, and that we may continue to regard the letter we have as being the letter Paul sent to Corinth.

2. Its Occasion, Date and Provenance:

As we have already noted, the letter is Paul's response to both a letter sent to him by the church (7:1), and news that various travellers have brought him (1:11; 5:1; 16:17-18). What these various sources of information disclosed about the condition of the church will be considered in the following section.

That the letter was written in Ephesus is shown in 16:8-9, 19, which means that it is some four or five years later than 1 Th.⁴⁰ As 1 Th was written during Paul's ministry in Corinth, 1 Cor was written after the church had been in existence for approximately the same length of time.

We must now consider the situation addressed by the letter.

II. THE CHURCH-SITUATION:

As we observed in Chapter 1⁴¹, 1 Cor plays a crucial role in the debate about Pauline church order. The evidence it provides is assessed in various ways.

(1) For the consensus-view, 1 Cor provides a paradigm of Pauline church order with its depiction of the church as a charismatic community without formal leadership, functioning through the diverse gifts distributed by the Spirit.⁴²

(2) Alternatively, 1 Cor has been interpreted as indicative of an early, transitional stage in the development of Pauline church order⁴³, so that it cannot be used to demonstrate Paul's settled convictions about ministry and order.

(3) Other scholars argue that 1 Cor reveals a quite abnormal state of affairs, and that it cannot be appealed to as evidence of what Paul desired or of how his churches normally functioned.⁴⁴

Obviously a great deal hangs upon the decision as to which of these views represents the most satisfactory assessment of the evidence. However, it would be premature to opt for any of them at this stage of our investigation. We will not be in a position to choose between them until we have examined the letter and the situation it discloses.

Our examination of the church-situation underlying 1 Cor may usefully begin by noting the important differences between the situations addressed by 1 Th and 1 Cor.

In the first place, 1 Cor was written to a church whose foundation had been laid with much greater thoroughness. Whereas Paul had spent only a relatively brief period in Thessalonica before his abrupt and enforced departure, he remained in Corinth for a long period.⁴⁵ Moreover, while 1 Th was written to a church that had been in existence for only a matter of months, 1 Cor was addressed to a church that was several years old. This means that there had been much greater opportunity for developments of various kinds to occur in the Corinthian church--especially for characteristic patterns of activity and functioning to emerge and become consolidated. This

does not mean, however, that we can regard the Corinthian church as exemplifying "the Pauline church". Quite apart from the question whether it is valid to assume that there was, or was expected to be, a standard pattern for all Paul's churches, the years since the foundation of the church in Corinth have also given the opportunity for various kinds of error to emerge. So in fact Paul writes 1 Cor, not to a model church, but to a troubled and troublesome church.

Secondly, therefore, the situation in Corinth was in many ways quite opposite to that in Thessalonica. In 1 Th Paul rejoices in the stability and progress of the believers, and encourages them to make further progress; in 1 Cor, by contrast, he has to rebuke and warn the church, summoning the believers away from error to a steadfast adherence to the Gospel and the Christian traditions.⁴⁶ Whereas the Thessalonians regarded Paul with affection and esteem, many of the Corinthians were unwilling to accept Paul's leadership of the church.⁴⁷ The church in Thessalonica was characterised by rich mutual love, encouragement and upbuilding; the church in Corinth, by contrast, was marked by a distinct lack of mutual esteem and care among its members.⁴⁸ So while the dominant note in the paraenesis of 1 Th was "more than"⁴⁹, a prominent leitmotif in 1 Cor is "other than".⁵⁰

What, then, was the situation confronting Paul as he wrote 1 Cor? To attempt a comprehensive answer to this question would require a separate and very lengthy thesis. All that is possible here, therefore, is to note the basic dimensions and underlying characteristics of the situation as a whole, and to give particular attention to those features of the church-situation which have some bearing on the exercise of leadership in the church. Even so, the range and complexity of the issues involved mean that it is necessary to limit the scope of our discussion, providing substantiation only

for those aspects of our interpretation which differ from widely-held views.

Our investigation of the church-situation will focus on two basic questions: What were the ingredients of that situation? and, what was the significance of the situation for the exercise of leadership?

1. The Ingredients of the Church-Situation:

Paul received information about the state of the church from at least three sources: the church had written to him (7:1), and news was conveyed to him by οἱ Χλόης (1:11) and presumably also by Stephanas and his companions (16:17). It is possible that he had heard other reports as well.⁵¹

(a) The Church's Letter:

The matters raised in the letter Paul received from the church, and the manner in which he responds to them in his letter, reveal the existence of a range of problems and divisions within the church.

The first concerned relations between the sexes. Paul begins by quoting a saying from their letter (7:1): καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς μὴ ἀπεισεσθαί) ⁵² whose ascetic stance is in stark contrast to the libertine attitude reflected in the previous Corinthian slogan he had quoted (6:12: πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν).⁵³ In this connection the Corinthians had apparently also raised the question of the proper course of conduct in relation to the παρθένοι (7:25).⁵⁴

The second issue concerned εἰδωλόθυτα (8:1). Again, there were two opposing viewpoints on this matter within the church. Some, on the basis of their γνώσις, maintained that they were free to eat such meat in any and every circumstance; others regarded total abstinence as the only safe option.

Thirdly, the Corinthians had affirmed their adherence to

the traditions they had received from Paul (11:2).⁵⁵ However, Paul finds it necessary to remind them of certain fundamental principles that were being undermined by the way some women were asserting their Christian liberty (11:3-16; cp. 14:33b-35), and to insist that they observe a pattern of behaviour that is accepted by all the churches (11:16; cp. 14:36).

Fourthly, they had raised the issue of πνευματικοί or πνευματικά (12:1).⁵⁶ Paul's response reveals the existence of a division between those who have pneumatic gifts--and are proud of their experiences and abilities, proud enough to disdain the non-pneumatics in the church (12:21-25)--and those whose lack of such gifts has led them to self-deprecation (12:15-16).

The church's letter also inquired about the collection for Jerusalem (16:1)⁵⁷ and about the possibility of another visit from Apollos (16:12).⁵⁸

(b) Verbal Reports:

The various reports reaching Paul acquainted him with the existence of a number of serious problems within the church. There were disputes centring on the key figures in the church's history (1:10-12); an instance of gross immorality (5:1-13); lawsuits between church members (6:1-8); and divisions at the church's fellowship-meal (11:17-34). It was apparently also by this means that Paul learned that some Corinthians were denying the resurrection (15:12). Although the other problems are serious enough, the first mentioned appears to be somewhat more complex and receives more extended treatment (1:10-4:21).⁵⁹ Because of its obvious importance for an understanding of the church-situation as a whole, and especially its bearing on the exercise of leadership in the church, we will examine the significance of 1:10-12 in some detail.

(i) How many groups were involved?

The four slogans of 1:12 most naturally suggest the existence of four groups⁶⁰ within the church, professing particular loyalty to Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ respectively. However, the existence of a fourth group has often been denied. This denial takes three main forms.

In the first place, it has been maintained that the words ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ are a gloss, possibly a scribal rejoinder to the preceding slogans.⁶¹ There is no ms. evidence to support this claim⁶², and while this is not sufficient to exclude it as impossible (since the fact that the words are found in all mss. may only show that the interpolation is a very early one, which other scribes found congenial), it does indicate that it must be treated as a last resort, to be relied upon only if the words in question cannot be interpreted satisfactorily as an integral part of the section concerned. That they can be so interpreted will be shown below.

Secondly, the words have been interpreted as Paul's own rejoinder to the preceding slogans, and thus as intended to serve as a repudiation of the Corinthians' conduct.⁶³ However, the fact that the words are identical in form with the preceding three slogans makes it unlikely that it was intended to be distinguished from them in meaning. If Paul had intended these words to be a criticism of the Corinthians' slogans, he is more likely to have made a clear distinction between his own words and theirs.⁶⁴ The words are most naturally read as the slogan of a fourth group within the church, and should be interpreted in some other way only if there are good grounds for denying the existence of such a group.

Thirdly, it has been argued that the fourth slogan can not have the same sense as the other three, as Paul neither corrects it nor denies its propriety.⁶⁵ In particular, it has been claimed that

the questions which follow in v.13 exclude the possibility that the words ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ are the slogan of a "Christ-party".⁶⁶ Each of the four items in v.13, it is claimed,

is favourable to the position of a "Christ party" and therefore unfavourable to the theory of the existence of such a party. . . . To the first question the Christ party would only have answered, "Of course Christ is not divided. We are the only ones who are of Christ" . . . the question is no challenge to a group who claimed Christ as their sole possession. . . .⁶⁷

This argument is unsatisfactory for two reasons. (1) The second and third questions in v.13 are not in fact 'favourable to the position of a "Christ party"'. Rather, since the "you" involved is the whole body of believers, the answers Paul expects--respectively, "No, Christ was crucified for us" and "No, we were baptised into Christ"--amount to a rebuttal of any claim that only some of the church members belonged to Christ. But was such a claim being made? Are the words ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ to be understood as a claim on the part of some of the Corinthians that Christ is 'their sole possession'?

(2) The second difficulty with this view is that the context suggests that the fourth slogan cannot have this meaning. Since the preceding slogans would clearly not have been intended to assert, "I belong to Paul (Apollōs, Cephas) rather than to Christ", the fourth slogan should not be understood as claiming, "Unlike the others, who belong only to men, I belong to Christ."⁶⁹ That this claim was not being made is further indicated by the fact that the letter contains no indication that an elitist conventicle had separated from the church because its members claimed an exclusive relationship to Christ--yet it is difficult to see how a group claiming Christ as its sole possession would have been content to meet with the rest of the church.

The intended meaning of the fourth slogan becomes clear

once we recognise that the first three have the sense, "Paul (Apollos, Cephas) led me to Christ; therefore he is my spiritual mentor." The words $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \delta\epsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ can then be understood as the claim "I know Christ directly, without any human teacher."⁷⁰ The dispute between the fourth group and the other three is thus not about whether Christ is known, but about how he is known.⁷¹

Once this fourth slogan is recognised as a claim to a relationship with Christ which is superior because it is direct and unmediated, the first question in v.13 can be seen as perfectly appropriate and equally a rebuke to all the Corinthians. They have divided Christ up--there is a Christ who is known through Paul, a Christ known through Apollos, a Christ known through Cephas, and a Christ who is known directly.⁷² Their disputing denies the fundamental truth that there is only one Christ to be known and only one way to know him--he is known only in and through the Gospel (1:21-24; 3:11; 15:1-19).

We conclude, therefore, that 1:12 indicates the existence of four groups within the church, claiming a special allegiance to Paul, Apollos, Cephas, and Christ respectively. Yet, as our brief survey of the issues raised in the church's letter indicated, the existence of these four groups did not result in four distinct positions being taken over each contentious issue in the life of the church. In most cases Paul has to deal with two different standpoints, not four, and the bewildering variety of hypotheses advanced in the literature demonstrates that these divisions cannot easily be correlated with the divisions reported in 1:10-12. This suggests that the four rival groups did not have distinct theological positions, that they were not "parties".⁷³ It also suggests that, in so far as their existence and views were linked with the other problems and disputes within the church, these four groups were not all equally

troublesome. The letter does in fact contain evidence which suggests that there was a particular group within the church which was the source of many of its problems.

(ii) Which group was the centre of trouble in the church?

Two important features of 1 Cor suggest that Paul is opposing the theological stance and aberrant behaviour of one particular group within the church.

First, he states at several key points in the letter that he is addressing some of the Corinthians in particular.⁷⁴ There are some in the church who have become "puffed up" (ἐφυσιώθησαν τινες: 4:18), using Paul's absence as an opportunity for proud conduct and bold claims. Paul threatens to confront them on his return to Corinth, using the stick if necessary (4:18-21).

Again, some of the Corinthians are maintaining ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν (15:12). In the course of his refutation of this claim, Paul declares, ἀγνοσίαν γὰρ θεοῦ τινες ἔχουσιν (15:34). This is best interpreted as a rejoinder to a claim to possess γνώσις θεοῦ.⁷⁵ Paul grounds his flat contradiction of this claim on the fact that those concerned display a continuing involvement with sin (15:33-34a), which for Paul clearly shows that they are strangers to that personal knowledge of God that issues in holy living.⁷⁶ It can hardly be doubted that the τινες of vv.12 and 34 are the same group⁷⁷; which means, therefore, that Paul is dealing with a group that claims to possess γνώσις (cp.8:1-13), that has a libertine outlook (cp.5:1-2; 6:12-20), and that denies the resurrection.

The extended discussion in chapters 12-14 of πνευματικοί/πνευματικά provides further evidence for the existence of a troublesome group within the church. Paul's vivid use of the body-metaphor suggests that the church is divided over the issue of pneumatic ex-

periences and abilities. There are those who regard themselves as of no consequence (οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος : 12:15-16), and, conversely, those who regard themselves as superior and disdain others (χρεῖαν σου οὐκ ἔχω : 12:21). In the context, this most naturally suggests that those Corinthians with pneumatic gifts have been vaunting their superiority, disdaining the non-pneumatics in the church and causing them to regard themselves as having no contribution to make and therefore no right to belong. The passage as a whole suggests that the root problem was a defective understanding of what it is to be πνευματικός.⁷⁸ The prominence of this terminology in 1 Cor and the relative infrequency of its use elsewhere in Paul's writings⁷⁹ suggest that it was an important ingredient in the Corinthian troubles.⁸⁰ This impression is confirmed by the fact that this terminology occurs in connection with some of the major problems Paul tackles. We find it in 15:44-49, where Paul appears to be responding to views that are current in the church.⁸¹ The discussion of the relation between the ψυχικός and the πνευματικός and the relation of both to the risen Jesus, who is ἄνθρωπος and πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν, implies that there is a connection between the pneumatics whose claims and conduct give rise to much of chapters 12-14 and the libertines who claim to possess γνῶσις and who deny the resurrection against whom Paul writes in chapter 15. The πνευματικός - terminology is also prominent in Paul's discussion of σοφία in which (significantly) the ψυχικός - πνευματικός distinction figures (2:14-15), and in which he appears to be responding to claims to possess a special σοφία (1:18-3:23--note especially 3:18). Thirdly, this πνευματικός - terminology is combined with reference to a troublesome τινες in 10:11-13. Here Paul reminds the Corinthians that although all the Israelites were baptised into Moses and ate the same πνευματικὸν βρῶμα and drank the same πνευματικὸν πόμα, they were not thereby

made immune from God's judgment on disobedience (10:1-5). Accordingly, he urges them not to commit idolatry καθώς τινες αὐτῶν (10:7), not to fornicate καθώς τινες αὐτῶν (10:8), not to test the Messiah⁸² καθώς τινες αὐτῶν (10:9), and not to complain καθάπερ τινες αὐτῶν (10:10). The clear implication is that, just as all Israel was in trouble although some in particular were to blame, so the whole church is infected with tendencies to error through the attitudes and conduct of some.

Thus, Paul's references throughout the letter to a particular group within the church and the important terminological and conceptual connections between these passages provide strong evidence for the view that the main thrust of much of Paul's exposition is directed against the views and conduct of a certain group. This group appears to have claimed pneumatic status, and with it, a special γνώσις and σοφία, to have denied the resurrection, and to have displayed a libertine outlook.

The second feature of 1 Cor which suggests that Paul was opposing the claims and conduct of a particular group within the church is the dualistic terminology which occurs so prominently. Distinctions are made between the τέλειοι and the νήπιοι (2:6; 3:1; 13:10-11; 14:20), the πνευματικοί and the ψυχικοί (2:13-15; 15:44-46) or the σαρκικοί (3:1-3), the σοφοί and the μωροί (1:18-31; 3:18-20), and the ἰσχυροί or δυνατοί and the ἀσθενεῖς (1:25-28; 4:10; 8:7-11). The prominence of these terms in 1 Cor and the relative infrequency of their use elsewhere in the Pauline corpus⁸³ suggest that Paul is using terminology which was current in Corinth.⁸⁴ While the manner in which Paul uses it in 1 Cor effectively defuses any suggestion of absolute or innate dualism, its use within the church indicates that some of the Corinthians had an elitist mentality to which they gave expression with such distinctions.

Significantly, this dualistic terminology is often found in connection with precisely those issues that have been raised by the claims and conduct of the group Paul singles out at certain crucial points in his argument. The discussion of σοφία involves the πνευματικός- ψυχικός, πνευματικός- σαρκικός, and τέλειος - νήπιος distinctions (2:6-3:3). Paul's response to those who claim to possess a γνῶσις which gives them liberty and ἐξουσία involves an implicit distinction between the ἰσχυροί and the ἄσθενεῖς (8:1-13). The extended discussion of pneumatic gifts and of the πνευματικοί makes use of the τέλειος- νήπιος distinction (13:10-11; 14:20). As we have already noted, the discussion of the resurrection involves the πνευματικός- ψυχικός distinction (15:44-46). This network of terminological and conceptual links implies that the problems Paul tackles in the letter, while not necessarily stemming solely from the activities of this one group, have nevertheless derived much of their character and impact from this group's claims and conduct.

The evidence we have considered points to a particular group within the church as the chief cause of many of the problems Paul has to deal with. Which group was this? Despite recent attempts to show that the principal source of the church's divisions and difficulties was the Apollos-group⁸⁵ or the Cephas-group⁸⁶, the evidence suggests that this group is to be identified with those who claimed ἐγώ εἰμι Χριστοῦ. As we argued above, those who make this claim see themselves as possessing a superior knowledge of Christ--it is not that they alone belong to Christ, but that they alone have a knowledge of Christ which is direct and unmediated. They reject any degree of dependence on human teachers:

. . . in Corinth apostolic tradition stands against free pneumatic status! The appeal to the Christ without against the appeal to the Christ within! The invocation of witnesses against the self-testimony! The message mediated through men against the ἐν τινὶ λαλῶν Χριστός!⁸⁷

Their position was thus theological in a way that the other three were not. For while the other three slogans seem to be indicative of personal rivalries more than explicitly theological disputes, those who used the fourth slogan must have had some kind of explanation of how the direct knowledge of Christ they claimed was possible. So whether this group were fully aware of the implications of their claim or not, and whether their views were properly thought out and cogently argued or not, the fact that they made such a claim indicates that they had begun to formulate a theological position quite different from that underlying the other three slogans.

The characteristics of the group Paul is opposing which have become apparent in the course of our discussion can be seen as the outworkings of the claim to a direct knowledge of Christ, not mediated through or dependent on any human teacher. Such a claim implies that this kind of knowledge of Christ is superior to that of those who look to Paul, Apollos or Cephas, and it is not difficult to see how this would have produced the elitist outlook which underlies the use of terms like πνευματικός and τέλειος as self-designations. The claim to independence of human teachers would seem to require a claim to a special γνῶσις or σοφία which permitted and sustained such independence. One obvious way of giving expression to this kind of superiority and independence would be to disregard the ethical norms contained in the teachings of Paul, Apollos and Cephas and to pursue a way of life untrammelled by conventional codes of conduct.

The profile of the group Paul is opposing thus matches up with some of the most likely implications of a claim to a direct know-

ledge of Christ, and this suggests that it is the fourth group indicated in 1:12 that is the principal source of many of the problems in the church.

(iii) What were this group's views?

In the history of interpretation of 1 Cor, many different conclusions have been reached about the position of this group.⁸⁸ This great diversity of interpretations can be seen as a reflection of the methodological problems involved in the attempt to identify the distinctive views of the Christ-group.

Many interpreters, following the lead of F.C. Baur, have relied heavily upon the evidence provided by 2 Cor in their attempts to establish this group's position. However, this procedure is inadmissible, because it begs the crucial question of whether the church-situation reflected in 2 Cor is simply an extension and intensification of that underlying 1 Cor, or whether other factors have intervened after the writing of 1 Cor to make the situation significantly different.⁸⁹ It cannot be assumed (as Baur and many others have done) that the implicit ἐγὼ Χριστοῦ of 2 Cor 10:7 had the same meaning as the ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ of 1 Cor 1:12.

Other interpreters, following the lead of T.W. Manson, have sought to establish the position of the Christ-group by a process of elimination: what remains, after what can reasonably be supposed to represent the positions of the other three groups has been subtracted from 1 Cor, is to be regarded as the position of this fourth group.

By this means, Manson concluded that they were

a group for whom Christ meant something like "God, freedom and immortality", where "God" means a refined philosophical monotheism; "freedom" means emancipation from the puritanical rigours of Palestinian barbarian authorities into the wider air of self-realisation; and "immortality" means the sound Greek doctrine as opposed to the crude Jewish notion of Resurrection.⁹⁰

This procedure can only succeed if the views of the other three groups

can be established with a fair degree of certainty, but the history of the discussion gives little basis for confidence that this can be done.⁹¹

Our discussion in the preceding section provides a way through the methodological difficulties exemplified in the above two approaches. The various references to a troublesome group within the church are connected by a network of terminological and conceptual links which enable us to build up a profile of the group's claims and attitudes. These may be summarised as follows.

1. In view of the prominence of "pneumatic" terminology in 1 Cor⁹², the claim to a direct knowledge of Christ not mediated by human teachers was undoubtedly explicated in terms of an experience of the Πνεῦμα⁹³. They know Christ in and through the Spirit, not through men--thus the claim to pneumatic status was a corollary of the claim ἐγὼ εἶμι Χριστοῦ. The discussion in chapters 12-14 indicates that their indices of pneumatic status were ecstatic speech (glossolalia), plus other supranormal experiences and abilities, such as healing.⁹⁴ This, along with Paul's response as a whole (and particularly his emphatic connecting of the Spirit with God⁹⁵), suggests that their conception of the Πνεῦμα was more Hellenistic-pagan than biblical-Christian,⁹⁶

2. For them, pneumatic status meant possession of a superior γνῶσις (8:1; 13:12) and σοφία (1:19-20; 3:18-20). The relatively high incidence of these terms and their cognates in 1 Cor⁹⁷ and the nature of Paul's treatment of these themes indicates that their claim to possess this γνῶσις and σοφία was central to their self-understanding and the basis of much of their (from Paul's point of view) aberrant behaviour.

3. Their pneumatic status also meant for them that they possess an ἐξουσία and liberty which distinguishes them from the other church

members. They give expression to this view in their slogan πάντα (μοι) ἔξεστιν (6:12; 10:23).⁹⁸ The libertine attitude to sexual conduct (6:12-20; 5:1ff) and the "liberated" approach to the εἰδωλόθυτα -issue (8:1ff; 10:23ff) to which Paul responds in some detail can both be seen as resulting from this outlook.

4. Their experience of the Spirit, and the direct relation to Christ which they believed to be entailed and mediated by it, appears to have led them to regard themselves as having already entered a heavenly mode of existence. This appears to be the significance of the "realised eschatology" which Paul is combating throughout the letter⁹⁹--they are behaving as though they already lived in the promised future, acting as judges πρὸ καιροῦ (4:3-5)¹⁰⁰, claiming the prerogatives and benefits for which believers still wait (4:8), regarding their pneumatic experiences as final and absolute, rather than partial and provisional, in character (13:8-13). There is some indication that they regarded their present heavenly existence as akin to that of the angels (cp. 13:1)¹⁰¹, and that this resulted in a tendency to look upon bodily activity as having no direct bearing upon pneumatic, heavenly existence, and therefore as inconsequential.¹⁰² The belief that the final mode of existence had already been entered through the Spirit meant that the future was not thought to involve any radical discontinuity with the present, but only an extension of it. There was thus no room for the concept of resurrection¹⁰³, which not only entailed a discontinuity between the present and the future which made the present mode of existence necessarily incomplete and limited (15:42-44), but also meant that true pneumatic existence is necessarily corporeal, both in the present and in the future (15:44-49).

5. All of this has resulted in an elitism which manifests itself in a number of ways. As we have already observed¹⁰⁴, it found expression in a dualistic terminology and in a disdain of non-pneumatics.

It has also led to boastful pride and individual self-assertion¹⁰⁵--attitudes which lie at the root of the church's divisions (4:6), and whose prevalence and seriousness are indicated by the frequency with which, and the contexts in which, *φυσιοῦν* and *καυχᾶσθαι* are used in 1 Cor.¹⁰⁶

It should be noted that these features of the Christ-group's position are best understood as tendencies that have become evident; there is no basis in the letter for regarding them as fully-developed and entrenched views that have been taken to their logical conclusion. For despite the stern warnings he issues and the recall to the Gospel that he repeats throughout the letter, Paul does not regard these people as having strayed so far into error that they cannot be reclaimed. Along with all the other members of the church, they are still *ἅγιοι*, God's own people (1:2), and can still be addressed as *ἀδελφοί*--proud and boastful brothers, brothers in error and in danger, but still brothers.

The letter as a whole implies that the views of this group have become a source of infection for many in the church. The attitudes and claims reviewed above seem to have affected many who do not share their outlook and have not grasped the full implications of their claim to be Christ's in a superior way. So, just as some of the Corinthians seem to have been repelled by their claims and conduct, and to have adopted a quite opposite stance, others have found their independence attractive and enviable.

Can the position of this group properly be described as Gnostic? As is well known, Schmithals develops a sustained argument which seeks to show that

the Corinthian heresy involved a well-defined Christian Gnosticism.¹⁰⁷

A host of problems surrounds this identification¹⁰⁸, and it seems better

to regard the views of the Christ-group as displaying a tendency towards Gnosticism. Some of their ideas and expressions would be amenable to interpretation in a Gnostic sense, and could be productive of a Gnostic position when brought into contact with the interaction between Judaism, the Christian message, and that ubiquitous intellectual mood known as "Gnosis" that led to the emergence of a full-blown Gnosticism at a later period. The often quoted statement of R. Law makes the point well:

This Epistle . . . exhibits no trace of anything that can be distinctively called Gnosticism; but it does reveal into how congenial a soil the seeds of Gnosticism were about to fall.¹⁰⁹

(iv) What led to the factionalism reported in 1:10-12?

The evidence in the letter suggests a number of different factors which contributed to the emergence of these rival groups.

(1) The flow of Paul's exposition suggests some kind of connection between these ἐπίδεις (1:10-12) and baptism (1:13-17). This connection has been interpreted in terms of the influence of the mystery-cults: the Corinthians, influenced by their pagan background and environment, thought of Paul, Apollos and Cephas as the mystagogues who had become the "fathers" of those whom they had initiated into the Christian mystery by baptism, and thus gave their loyalty to their own particular "father".¹¹⁰ There are some real difficulties with this interpretation, however¹¹¹, and it is hardly required by the text.

In the first place, the reference to baptism in 1:13 is intended to expose the absurdity of these disputes, not to indicate the source of them. Paul's purpose is to insist that the church is founded on Christ--it is Christ who was crucified for them; it is into Christ that they were baptised. There is no suggestion that the Corinthians were uncertain about who was crucified for them, so it is improbable that Paul's words indicate that they were confused about the

one to whom baptism united them. In each case Paul is using a basic truth that is understood by all to expose the folly of their rivalry.

Secondly, the fact that Paul proceeds to refer to his own limited baptising activity in Corinth (1:14-17) in a way that implies a connection between the slogans in 1:12 and baptisms performed by himself and others in Corinth¹¹² can be explained without reference to the mysteries. It would be quite natural for a convert to feel a certain bond with the one through whom he became a believer, especially when that preacher's background, style and approach had already proved to have a particular appeal for him or were such that he readily identified with him anyway. Some of the Corinthians owed their conversion to Apollos (3:5), whose background and style were significantly different from Paul's.¹¹³ It is therefore quite likely that Apollos' ministry in Corinth had resulted in the existence of a group within the church who felt a particular loyalty to, and identification with him rather than Paul. Although there has been much debate about this, it seems likely that Peter had also been in Corinth¹¹⁴ and that his ministry there would have resulted in the existence of a group that identified with him and his approach.

There are thus two elements in the situation: (i) in addition to Paul himself, two other leading Christian figures have preached and won converts in Corinth, so that the church contains groups that would naturally identify with each of the three leaders; (ii) these three Christian leaders, although preachers of the same Gospel (15:11), differed significantly from each other in many respects, and are thus likely to have appealed to different kinds of people.¹¹⁵ While differences do not necessarily create divisions, they do provide an opportunity for them to arise if the right catalyst emerges. We shall consider below what that catalyst may have been in this situation.

If the first three slogans in 1:12 point to groups within the church that have been converted and baptised by Paul, Apollos and Peter respectively, and who thus identify with these leaders in a particular way, it seems probable that the fourth slogan is that of those who do not owe their initiation into the Christian faith to any such leader, but who have been won through the evangelistic impact of the church's life (14:24-25) or the witness of individual Christians. They are thus able to assert their independence of human teachers.

(2) It is probable that the capacity for division within the church was compounded by the fact that the heterogeneity of the three leaders was paralleled by a diversity of backgrounds and outlooks amongst the members of the church. As with most other matters in the interpretation of 1 Cor, there is little unanimity amongst scholars as to the composition of the church and the background of the various ideas and practices that were troubling the church.¹¹⁶ Again, we cannot enter here into a detailed discussion of the many issues involved, but must be content with a brief treatment of the most pertinent issues.

It is commonly maintained that the great majority of the members of the Corinthian church were Gentiles.¹¹⁷ This finds direct support in 12:2, and is strongly implied in 6:9-11 and 8:7.¹¹⁸ Yet there is an unavoidable Jewishness about much of the material in the letter. This is not simply a product of the Jewishness of Paul's assumptions, vocabulary, and methods of biblical exposition¹¹⁹, for in a variety of ways he seems to assume the Jewishness of his readers. He uses Scripture as an authority which the Corinthians will acknowledge and with whose contents they can be assumed to be familiar.¹²⁰ He assumes their familiarity with Jewish law, institutions, and terminology, alluding to Passover (5:6-8)¹²¹, Firstfruits (15:20; 16:15), Pentecost (16:8), temple ritual (9:13), and the saints' judgment of

the world (6:2-3), without there being any suggestion that these would be unfamiliar to his readers.¹²² Moreover, he refers to the Corinthians as though they were Jews: the Exodus generation are described as οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν (10:1)¹²³, and the gross immorality being tolerated by the church is referred to as πορνεία ἣτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (5:1). In view of all this, it is not surprising that some scholars have maintained that the membership of the church was substantially Jewish.¹²⁴

This ambivalence in the evidence presented in the letter cannot be resolved by supposing that Paul addresses Jewish Christians at some points in the letter and Gentile Christians at others. In all of the passages we have referred to he is addressing the church as a whole, seeking to correct errors that are having an influence on all by means of arguments that apply to all. Alternatively, it might be argued that those references which appear to imply a Jewish readership indicate that converts from Paganism, through regular attendance at the church's meetings and through catechetical instruction, would quickly become familiar with the contents of Scripture and thus with many of the ideas and institutions of Judaism. However, this would not explain the fact that Paul refers to his readers as those who had been pagans (12:2), but who no longer thought of themselves as Gentiles (5:1; 10:1), since their Christian conversion would mean their abandonment of paganism, but not of their Gentile status.¹²⁵

The apparently contradictory character of the evidence about the Corinthians' background is immediately intelligible if we regard the church as composed largely of converted proselytes and "God-fearers". This would mean that Paul was writing to people who were both "Jewish" and Gentile, for whom attachment to the synagogue was an intermediate step between conversion from paganism and conversion to Christ.¹²⁶ The fact that Paul takes it for granted that the

Corinthians are ready to think of themselves as a "third race" distinct from both Jews and Gentiles¹²⁷ lends support to this view. Those who would most readily see themselves in this way would be people who had already left one religio-cultural "home" and entered another prior to their Christian conversion, and who therefore had both Gentile and Jewish roots without having an exclusively Jewish or Gentile identity.

All of this means that the bulk of the church's membership came from the synagogue--a conclusion that also follows from what we know, or may reasonably suppose, about the ministries of Paul, Apollos and Cephas in Corinth.¹²⁸ The fact that all three could win converts from the synagogue community is suggestive of the heterogeneity of Diaspora Judaism. Although it cannot be assumed that every Alexandrian Jew was a Philo, or that Philo was representative of Diaspora Judaism as a whole, it is not at all unlikely that there would have been considerable affinities between the approach of Apollos and the thought of Philo, or that there would have been members of the synagogue community in Corinth who would have found such an approach most congenial. Likewise, it is probable that other members of this community would have felt more comfortable with the approach of Peter, which may have seemed to them more reassuringly traditional, more firmly rooted in the traditions of the homeland. Moreover, it is not improbable that some of Paul's converts (or those converted by them before the arrival of Apollos or Peter in Corinth) would have felt more at home with either of these two approaches than they did with Paul's.

In view of the diversity of style and approach represented by these three leaders, and in view of the heterogeneity that is likely to have characterised the Corinthian synagogue community, it is not surprising that scholars have been able to postulate both rabbinic¹²⁹ and Philonic¹³⁰ backgrounds for the terminology, beliefs, and practices

that were current in the church. However, our discussion suggests that it is unnecessary to attempt to explain the church-situation solely in terms of any one such background, since the Corinthians came from both Jewish and Gentile backgrounds, and the Judaism from which they were converted is likely to have contained rabbinic and Philonic elements--and more!

The evidence we have considered suggests that most of the Corinthian believers were converted proselytes and "God-fearers", for whom the praeparatio evangelica was the richly diverse Hellenistic Judaism of the Diaspora. The diversity of outlooks and backgrounds represented in the church's membership was thus, along with the diversity of background and approach evident in Paul, Apollos and Peter, a latent source of division and rivalry capable of being aroused by the right catalyst.

But what of the Christ-group? Our discussion of the connection between the ἐπίδεξ and baptism led to the suggestion that the members of this group had come into the church apart from the ministries of Paul, Apollos and Peter. This at once raises the possibility that their outlook is a result of the fact that they received a less adequate and comprehensive instruction in the faith as a result, and thus drew conclusions from Christian teaching and terminology that were at variance with its intended meaning. Moreover, our discussion of their views suggested that the claim to pneumatic status which lies at the heart of their self-understanding involves the kind of beliefs and practices which seem to stem from a Hellenistic, pagan religious understanding. This suggests that, unlike the converts of Paul, Apollos and Cephas, who were drawn largely from the synagogue, the members of this fourth group either came into the church directly from paganism or had such a fleeting contact with the synagogue and its teachings that their religious understanding was largely uninfluenced

by OT and Jewish concepts.

(3) A number of scholars have suggested that the group-consciousness reflected in 1:12 was correlated with the existence of several house-churches in Corinth.¹³¹ However, this hypothesis has been advanced on the grounds of either its inherent plausibility or its explanatory potential, and there has been no thorough attempt to substantiate it.¹³² The existence of several house-churches in Corinth, allied in some way to the rival groups referred to in 1:10-12, would clearly be a key element in the church-situation as a whole, and would bear directly on the question of local leadership in the church. We must therefore consider this in some detail.

We begin by noting that this hypothesis does have considerable explanatory potential in relation to the divisions in the church:

. . . the proneness to division which we mark in the apostolic churches was not unconnected with the division of the Christians of a city into house churches. "Birds of a feather flock together." Christians of a certain tendency grouped together and thereby were confirmed in that tendency. Separation from Christians of somewhat different background, views, and interests must have operated to prevent the growth of mutual understanding. Each group had its feelings of pride and prestige. Such a physically divided church tended almost inevitably to become a mentally divided church. . . . [This is true of] the four-sided party strife at Corinth. The only reasonable supposition is that the Apollos partisans, for example, found each other's company and ideas congenial, and therefore met together, and that the other groups likewise had not only their own party slogan but also their separate place of assembly.¹³³

This latter supposition is clearly inherently plausible and provides a reasonable explanation of the factionalism within the church, but is there any evidence to support it? There are five lines of argument which can be adduced, the first three relating directly to 1 Cor and the other two being more general considerations.

(i) There is reason to believe that three of the Corinthians named in 1:10-17 were heads of Christian households. This is clearly the case with Stephanas, whose household was the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας (16:15): its members had been baptised by Paul (1:16) and were active

in ministry (16:15). That Gaius, also baptised by Paul (1:14), was head of a Christian household is suggested by the reference to him in Rom 16:23¹³⁴ as host of the whole church.¹³⁵ It is probable that οἱ Χλόης were members of another Christian household in Corinth. Whether they were family members, freedmen, or slaves, it is unlikely that they would have had contact with Paul in Ephesus and brought him news of the Corinthian church unless they were Christians, and the manner in which Paul refers to them suggests that Chloe was a member of the Corinthian church¹³⁶, and therefore head of a believing household.¹³⁷

The links between these three households and Paul (through his baptism of them, his residence in them, or their visits to him) are likely to have meant that they would have been associated with the pro-Pauline group, if not in their own minds, then at least in the minds of others in the church. If there was anything like numerical parity between the four groups referred to in 1:12, there must have been several other Christian households as well, in addition to the believers who belonged to non-Christian families or households (7:12-16).

When the head of a Christian household sponsored regular gatherings in his house to which other believers were invited for fellowship, prayer, teaching, meals, etc., then a house church can be said to have existed.¹³⁸

(ii) The emergence of a number of house churches in Corinth is a likely outcome of the visits of Paul, Apollos and Cephas.

Like the Jews, the early Christians generally avoided inns because of their unsavoury reputation¹³⁹, and relied instead upon private hospitality when they were travelling.¹⁴⁰ This certainly applied to Paul. At the beginning of his Corinthian ministry he

found accommodation with Aquila and Priscilla (Acts 18:2-3)¹⁴¹, but may have moved later to stay at the home of Titius Justus (Acts 18:7).¹⁴² Just as Paul's ministry resulted in the conversion of a number of households (1:14-16), and thus provided him with a number of potential bases for his mission (offering accommodation for Paul and his colleagues, a meeting place for the church, and perhaps also a preaching place), so Apollos' ministry is likely to have resulted in the establishment of a connection between him and one or more Christian households.¹⁴³ This is also likely in Peter's case. Despite the breach between synagogue and church that occurred during Paul's ministry (Acts 18:6-7, 12-17), it is possible that Peter would still have had access to the synagogue. If so, he and his wife (9:5) may have stayed in the hospice attached to the synagogue¹⁴⁴ or in a Jewish home. Since his preaching of Jesus as Messiah and Lord would have met with either acceptance or rejection, he would either have had to find accommodation outside the Jewish community or have led his hosts to Christ. In either case he and his wife would then be the guests of a Christian household. Alternatively, they may have stayed in a Christian home from the beginning of their visit. Both possibilities mean that there would have been at least one Christian household in Corinth that was especially associated with Peter, and which would be a likely centre of Petrine support.

It is likely, therefore, that the Corinthian church contained Christian households that were identified in a particular way with the ministries of Paul, Apollos and Peter. These households would provide natural focal-points for the groups whose slogans are reported in 1:12.¹⁴⁵ In the light of the preceding discussion of the significance of the fourth slogan, it is natural to see the Christ-group as centred on a Christian household that had no connection with the ministries of the three leaders.

(iii) Two of Paul's references to the meetings of the church (11:20; 14:23) most naturally imply that there were regular meetings of believers in separate locations in addition to the regular meetings of the whole church.

In 11:20 he uses the expression *συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*. The formal similarity of this expression to the *συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ* in 11:18, and their proximity to each other, has led to the view that *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* and *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ* are synonymous.¹⁴⁶ However, this is to obscure a subtle but important distinction in the meaning of the two phrases. The *συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ* of 11:18 emphasises not only the fact of their assembling, but also the fact that by virtue of their regular assembling as one group they constitute an *ἐκκλησία*, the *ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ* (11:22; cp. 1:2; 10:32; 11:16). Those who assemble together are God's "assembly".¹⁴⁷ The *συνερχομένων ... ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* of 11:20 emphasises a different aspect of this assembling. Its precise sense is indicated by Paul's only other use of *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* (apart from 14:23). In 7:5 *εἶναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* refers to sexual intercourse, so that *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* refers to the local, physical aspect of being together.

In the LXX *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* always translates *יחד* or *יחדיו*,¹⁴⁸ and in different contexts represents each of the three different senses of the root meaning "together": simultaneity ("at the same time"), agreement ("with one accord"), and local, physical juxtaposition ("in the same place").¹⁴⁹ In the NT and other early Christian literature the third of these senses has come to predominate.¹⁵⁰ The precise expression *συνέρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* is found only once in the LXX.¹⁵¹ Josh 9:12, referring to the kings of the inhabitants of Palestine (v.1), reads *συνήλθοσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό ἐκπολεμῆσαι Ἰησοῦν καὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἅμα πάντες*. Here *ἅμα* refers to their unity of purpose in assembling, while *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* indicates that they all assembled in the same place. The

expression occurs nowhere else in the NT apart from these two verses in 1 Cor, and is found only once in the Apostolic Fathers.¹⁵² Barn 4:10 urges the readers not to isolate themselves from the Christian community (μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἐνδύνοντες μονάζετε) but to meet together regularly for their common benefit (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος). Here again the use of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό serves to emphasise the actual being together of the believers. Both Josh 9:2 and Barn 4:10 show that, although the expression συνέρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό may be formally pleonastic, the inclusion of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό serves to emphasise the local, physical aspect of meeting.

All of this suggests that while συνέρχεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ (11:18) has to do with the character of the group as an assembly, συνέρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό emphasises the fact that the members of this assembly gather together at the same place. We may therefore understand 11:20 as an indication that the whole church meets in one location for its fellowship-meals¹⁵³, which implies that there are other occasions on which the believers meet in separate locations.

A similar explanation accounts for the way Paul refers to the church meeting in 14:23, which appears to be doubly pleonastic, as he not only uses the expression συνέρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό but also speaks of ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη . This may be regarded as hyperbole: Paul is seeking to portray as vividly as possible the absurdity of the situation that at least some of the Corinthians would love to see in church--"The entire church, all assembled together and all speaking in tongues--imagine the effect that would have on an outsider!"¹⁵⁴ However, although there is undoubtedly some truth in this explanation, the form of his expression most naturally implies a distinction between the meeting to which Paul refers and other gatherings in which the Corinthians participate. He is referring to the meeting of

ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη not to meetings of groups within the church; he has in mind occasions on which all the believers are assembled in one place, rather than those on which they meet in separate locations.¹⁵⁵

Naturally these considerations fall short of proof; but at the very least they show that the manner in which Paul refers to the meetings of the church in Corinth is compatible with regular gatherings of smaller house churches in addition to the regular assembly of the whole church.

(iv) There is evidence to suggest that a similar pattern prevailed in other centres than Corinth.¹⁵⁶ Acts points to a plurality of house churches in Jerusalem (2:46; 5:42; 12:12) and Ephesus (20:20).¹⁵⁷ Paul's writings indicate the existence of several house churches in Rome (Rom 16:13-16)¹⁵⁸, Colossae¹⁵⁹, and Laodicea (Col 4:15-16).¹⁶⁰ In the following chapter we will argue that this was also the case in Philippi.¹⁶¹

Although the evidence available to us on this subject is only fragmentary and not always unambiguously clear, the emergence of a plurality of house churches in centres of any size is inherently plausible, particularly in view of such factors as the rapid numerical growth of the membership of the churches¹⁶², the fundamental importance of the household as a unit of social organisation¹⁶³, the likely difficulties encountered in finding suitable times and places for all the believers in each centre to meet as a whole group, and so on. This leads us to our final point.

(v) Another corroborating consideration is the implications of church size. The numerical size of a church is a significant determinative factor with regard to the character and location of its meetings. This can be related to the patterns of meeting of the believers in Corinth in two ways.

In the first place, the fact of meeting in private houses imposed an upper limit on the size of the gatherings.

The entertaining room in a moderately well-to-do household could hold around thirty people comfortably--perhaps half as many again in an emergency . . . it is unlikely that a meeting of the 'whole church' could have exceeded forty to forty-five people, and many may well have been smaller.¹⁶⁴

We do not know how many believers there were in Corinth when Paul wrote 1 Cor, but the fact that the church had been in existence for around five years, coupled with the fact that three prominent Christian leaders appear to have won converts in the city, suggests that the whole church constituted a sizable group.¹⁶⁵ Therefore, unless the church meetings were held in a house with rather more spacious quarters than was usual or in a public building of some kind¹⁶⁶, it is likely that they were somewhat crowded. This is implied by 14:26-33, for Paul's limits on the number of contributions to be made by the glossolalists and the prophets suggest that disorder has resulted from the attempt to retain "distributed participation"¹⁶⁷ in a group that is too large to permit it. Such regulation of the members' participation would not have been necessary for smaller house church meetings.¹⁶⁸

The general discomfort of meeting in such crowded circumstances--to say nothing of the rather noisy and chaotic character of the meetings (11:17-22, 14:26-36)--would have provided considerable incentive for the Corinthians to seek the more relaxed and intimate fellowship that would be possible in a smaller house church. Such small group meetings would prove even more congenial when they consisted of those who shared a common background and outlook and a common sense of identification with a particular leader (1:10-12!).

Secondly, as we noted in Chapter 1¹⁶⁹, one consequence of increasing group-size is the emergence of sub-groups. Initially such sub-groups may exist only at the level of members' perceptions

of, and interactions within the whole group--certain members identify more readily and communicate more often with each other than with the other members of the whole group. However, the desire to sustain the intimacy of interaction and ease of communication achieved within this informal sub-group may lead to its taking on a more defined character. The members concerned may begin meeting together separately, specifically for the purpose of continuing and developing their sense of identity and fellowship. This is perhaps especially likely where the character of the meetings of the whole group is such as to minimise opportunities for expressing this sense of identity and closeness. The emergence of such sub-groups thus permits the continuance of the affective unity and intensity which characterised the group in its earliest stages.¹⁷⁰ At the same time, it creates a threat to the unity of the whole group by creating rival centres of interest and loyalty which may accelerate the emergence and expression of divisions within the group.¹⁷¹ In Corinth, the diversity of backgrounds from which the believers have come, the separate ministries of leaders as different as Paul, Apollos and Peter, and the rather disorganised state of the church meetings would all have served to reinforce the tendency towards the emergence of sub-groups which is inherent in increasing group-size. Separate house churches would provide an obvious and convenient focus for the crystallisation of such sub-groups in the church.

We have now considered five lines of argument which converge to provide significant support for the hypothesis that there were several independent house churches in Corinth which met regularly alongside the regular assemblies of the whole church. The existence of the rival groups referred to in 1:10-12 may plausibly be related to this plurality of house churches, with one or more house churches serving as the focal point of each of these groups.

On the basis of the evidence in 1 Cor, we have been able to suggest three possible sources of the factionalism reported in 1:10-12: the fact that different members of the church would have a natural sense of identification with one of the three very different preachers who had worked in Corinth, particularly when that preacher had been the instrument of their conversion and baptism; the heterogeneity of backgrounds and outlooks represented in the church's membership; and the existence of several house churches meeting in addition to the gatherings of the whole church.

Yet however much these three factors may have contributed to these disputes within the church, they are not sufficient to account for the origin of them. Diversity is a necessary cause, but not a sufficient cause, of division. The various kinds of differences and distinctions that we have seen to characterise the church would clearly have provided a convenient foothold for rivalry and division, but some catalyst would have been needed to transform potential sources of division into actual splits within the church.

(v) What was the catalyst that turned differences into divisions?

According to P. Vielhauer,

der Anspruch der Kephasleute was der Katalysator der Parteibildung. . . .¹⁷²

There are two major difficulties with this view. (i) It goes hand-in-hand with a denial of the existence of a Christ-group¹⁷³, and is thus faced with the objections that stem from our argument for both the existence of this group and its influence on the situation in the church. (ii) It entails a view of the nature of Petrine influence on the church that is questionable.¹⁷⁴

On the face of it, the slogans reported in 1:12 are all likely to have been generated by the same cause, rather than any one of them being the cause of the others. N.A. Dahl has proposed such an

explanation of the disputes, arguing that it was the decision to send a letter to Paul from the church that provoked rivalry among the Corinthians as to which teacher and leader was to be preferred.¹⁷⁵

While some aspects of his reconstruction of the church situation will be taken up in more detail below¹⁷⁶, we may observe at this stage that precisely the same issue (Paul's authority over the church) and precisely the same reactions (assertions of independence from Paul) are likely to have been aroused by an event prior to the proposal to write to Paul. The Vorbrief (5:9) gave clear expression to Paul's assumption of his right to direct the church as a whole, and not just his own converts, and would thus have been likely to provoke the same reactions as Dahl attributes to the decision to write to Paul. That decision may well have exacerbated the divisions between these four groups¹⁷⁷, but the arrival of the Vorbrief is likely to have generated them.¹⁷⁸

It is not difficult to see how this letter may have caused some resentment in many of the Corinthians. Those members of the church who had no firsthand knowledge of Paul and who had been converted through the ministries of Apollos or Peter could easily have resented the assumption implicit in the Vorbrief that Paul had the right to act as teacher and leader of the whole church, and this resentment may well have found expression in assertions of independence from Paul and of loyalty to Apollos, Peter or Christ as teacher and leader. There would then have been a natural progression to making comparisons and contrasts between the three leaders, in which each of the Corinthians found a justification for their loyalty to one rather than the others in that leader's evident superiority. At the same time, those asserting their independence of all three leaders in favour of a direct relation to Christ through the Spirit would find grounds in all of these arguments about the respective merits of Paul,

Apollos and Peter for regarding them all as inadequate.

The various criticisms to which Paul responds throughout the letter--for example, those concerning his inferior performance as a preacher (1:17; 2:1-5) and the elementary character of his message (2:6-3:2a); or his failure to exercise his apostolic authority by his insistence on working to support himself (9:3-18); or (contrarily!) his exercise of apostolic authority in directing the life of the church (4:14-21)--may thus be seen as a consequence of the disputes referred to in 1:10-12, disputes which were triggered off by the arrival of Paul's Vorbrief.¹⁷⁹

We have now completed our survey of the ingredients of the church situation, a survey which, in view of the passage's obvious bearing on the exercise of leadership in the church, has concentrated on analysing the background and significance of 1:10-12. We must now consider the significance of the church situation, particularly with regard to its implications for the exercise of leadership in the church.

2. The Significance of the Church-Situation:

As Paul writes 1 Cor, he clearly has reason to believe that the church's condition is serious, but not yet terminal. The letter provides clear evidence that disintegrating pressures are at work, but also that the church has not yet reached the point of no return. Despite the many serious problems and errors to which the letter refers, some of which we have considered above, there are also clear indications that Paul does not regard the situation as beyond recall. No interpretation of 1 Cor which fails to take adequate account of both kinds of evidence can be regarded as satisfactory. The following positive aspects of Paul's address to the church should be noted.

First, despite all their errors of belief and conduct, Paul

is still able to address the Corinthians as Christian believers. He greets them as ἄγιοι (1:2); thanks God for the way His grace is so richly evident in the church's life (1:4-9); addresses them as ἀδελφοί (1:10 and passim); and so on.¹⁸⁰

Secondly, despite all the divisions present within it, the church still meets as a whole group (11:17-18; 14:23,26; 16:19-20). It has not broken up into separate conventicles, and so can still be addressed as one group.¹⁸¹

Thirdly, despite its many defects and problems, Paul regards the church as retaining its responsibility and competence to function as a church. The discipline of offenders (5:1-13), the resolution of legal wrangles between members (6:1-8), the orderly conduct of church meetings (11:33-34; 14:26-40), the organisation of the collection (16:1-4), and the reception and support of Timothy (16:10-11) are all assumed to lie within the church's competence.

Fourthly, as we noted above¹⁸², Paul sees much of the trouble in the church as being the result of the claims and conduct of some members in particular. Few seem to have escaped the influence of the various errors and disputes concerned, for Paul generally exhorts and rebukes the whole church; yet many of the problems seem to derive their force from the activities of the self-styled πνευματικοί, those who lay claim to a direct knowledge of Christ.

In view of all this, it is clear that the situation is far from irretrievable, for the serious inroads that error has made into the church have not carried it beyond the bounds of recognisably Christian existence. Yet, on the other hand, the situation is serious:

. . . Paul had to envisage the possibility that his letter . . . might easily make a bad situation worse. Quarrel and strife might develop into real divisions of the church, if his recommendations were enthusiastically received by one group and rejected by others.¹⁸³

The following aspects of the situation are of particular significance.

In the first place, the contents of the letter show that Paul is aware that his authority to act as the church's leader has been questioned. As we have already observed, the various criticisms to which he responds are best understood as part of the rationale offered for preferring alternative leadership. While the opposition to Paul is especially characteristic of some (4:18), many of the Corinthians were involved in it to some degree. This follows from a recognition of the fact that the obverse of the slogans which profess a particular relationship to Apollos, Cephas or Christ is the assertion of an independence from Paul which must have involved an unwillingness to accept his continuing oversight of the church's life.¹⁸⁴ Because of this, Paul has to provide an apologia for the character of his apostolic ministry and to exercise his apostolic leadership in a way that neither yields to the false and unacceptable views that are current in the church (hence 4:1-5) nor increases the tensions and divisions by being insensitive or aggressive in his approach (hence 4:14). We shall consider this more fully below.

Secondly, as we have argued above, Paul has to respond to the false and unbalanced views and elitist conduct of those who claim a direct knowledge of Christ through the Spirit. The position of this group is more directly theological in its character and implications than those of the other three groups, for while the disputes about the superiority of Paul, Apollos or Peter have serious theological implications, there is no reason to believe that they were theologically-based. It is not difficult to see how the claims and conduct of the Christ-group would serve to exacerbate the tensions and divisions involved in the rivalry over the merits of Paul, Apollos and Cephas. The mere fact of this rivalry contained the seeds of serious trouble within itself, but the views of the πνευματικοί had the

capacity to add a disturbing theological dimension into the differences of background, approach and emphasis between the three leaders and their adherents.

So the fact of Apollos' considerable rhetorical and exegetical skills (Acts 18:24) and of his superiority to Paul in this regard (2 Cor 10:10) was innocent enough in itself, but under the elitist concept of the spiritual man espoused by the Christ-group had the capacity to produce the claim that there was a superior wisdom to that contained in the elementary message preached by Paul (hence 1:17-3:23). Likewise, the fact that Peter was married (9:5) but Paul was not (7:8) was quite incidental in itself, but when viewed through the lens of the Christ-group's concept of the freedom of the pneumatic had the capacity to engender some extreme views and behaviours in relation to marriage and sexual morality (hence 5:1ff; 6:12-20; 7). In these and other areas, what might otherwise have remained only matters of personal preference had now become theologically-charged divisions.

For some, the views of the πνευματικοί would prove attractive, opening up new possibilities of thought and action in directions to which they were instinctively drawn anyway. For others, these views would prove disturbing, especially because their impact on others would suggest that the various differences of background and approach that characterised them were more serious and more substantial than they had first appeared.

So Paul has to counter the erroneous views and unacceptable behaviour of the πνευματικοί in such a way that he recalls to a proper Christian understanding and conduct both those who are propagating this outlook and those who have been influenced by it. This requires him to provide a discussion of (amongst other things) the

status and role of apostolic leaders (and especially of himself as church-founder), the proper content and expression of life in the Spirit, and the Gospel as the enduring foundation and determinant of Christian existence.

Thirdly, the consequence of the ἐπίδες concerning the church's leaders (1:10-12), of the claims and conduct of the πνευματικοί, and of the variety of conflicts and divisions in the church (between the libertines and ascetics (chs. 5-7), the uninhibited and overscrupulous (chs. 8-10), the well-to-do and poor (11:17-34), and the pneumatics and non-pneumatics (chs. 12-14) is that little consensus remains about the way the church should function and where it should look for guidance. There is thus no agreed and accepted leadership, either from outside the church or within it. Paul is thus faced with a situation in which the natural kinds of development that might otherwise have occurred in this regard, and which we saw to be emerging in the church in Thessalonica, have been undermined and distorted by the divisions within the church. This, too, will be considered more fully below.

With this discussion of the ingredients and significance of the church situation in Corinth, we have provided a basis on which to consider the question of local leadership in the church. However, as in the preceding chapter, we must first give some attention to the exercise both of apostolic leadership and of mutual ministries and corporate responsibility by all the members of the church, for both of these form the context in which local leadership is exercised.

1 CORINTHIANS: EXPOSITION:

As we established in the previous chapter, the context in which local leadership emerged and by which it was shaped was formed by Paul's own leadership of the church on the one hand, and by the mutual ministries and corporate responsibility of all the members of the church on the other hand. We will therefore consider each of these aspects of the church's functioning before beginning a detailed analysis of 16:15-18.

1. THE AUTHORITY OF THE APOSTLE:

The nature of the situation in the Corinthian church was such that Paul's status and role had become an important issue. As we have seen¹⁸⁵, the attitudes and conduct of the Corinthians meant that Paul had to rebut various criticisms that had been made of him, and to define and justify his apostolic function in the face of an unwillingness to accept his authority. As a result, 1 Cor is

das grosse Zeugnis des Dienstes des Apostels am Bau der Gemeinde, das seine Vollmacht und Tätigkeit als Apostel, Theologe, Seelsorger, geistliche Vater und Leiter der Gemeinden in vollender Einheit zeigt. . . .¹⁸⁶

Many important issues are raised by this material, but we will consider the question of Paul's apostolic authority only in relation to his leadership of the church, and only with a view to determining its bearing on the emergence of local leadership in the church. This means that much that is interesting and important will be mentioned only in passing or omitted altogether.

As in 1 Th, we see Paul's apostolic function defined in 1 Cor in relation to both εὐαγγέλιον and ἐκκλησία. Christ sent him to preach the Gospel (1:17), but we find him writing to the church. Since the church is founded on the Gospel and saved only by holding fast to the Gospel (15:1-2), the apostle (who founded the church by

preaching the Gospel in fulfilment of his apostolic commission) must watch over the church to ensure that it remains true to the Gospel. So Paul's oversight of the church is an integral part of his apostolic mission. This follows from his reference to the church as τὸ ἔργον μου . . . ἐν κυρίῳ and ἡ . . . σφραγίς μου τῆς ἀποστολῆς (9:1-2). His relation to the church can be summarised as follows:

1. Paul is the founder of the church:

The course of events since the foundation of the church and the nature of the situation he must now address mean that Paul gives prominence to his role as church-founder in a rather different way from that of 1 Th.

On the one hand, against the Corinthians' boasting in men (1:12; 3:4,21; 4:7), Paul insists that neither he nor the others are any more than δῖακονοι (3:5)--servants of God, of the Gospel, and of the church (3:5-8,21-22; 3:1). They are not masters to be exalted (cp. 2 Cor 1:24), for it is God who caused the Gospel to bear fruit through their ministries (3:6-7), and the church is God's γεώργιον, God's οἰκοδομή, God's νόος (3:9,16-17). From this point of view, all those who have ministered in Corinth are equal. Nevertheless, they have made different contributions. While Paul planted the seed, Apollos watered it (3:6-8); while he laid the foundation, others are erecting the superstructure (3:10-15); while he is the church's father, it also has a number of παιδαγωγοί (4:15). These other ministries are valid and important, but they cannot displace the foundational contribution made by Paul. It was Paul who planted the Gospel in Corinth (3:6), who laid the foundation (3:10), who fathered the church through the Gospel (4:15).

So, on the other hand, against the tendency of some of the Corinthians to downgrade or even reject his authority, Paul insists that his status as church-founder carries with it a continuing

responsibility for, and authority over the church. Despite the fact that there were a significant number of church members who did not know Paul and who owed their conversion to other preachers, he nevertheless claims them all as his children (4:14). No matter how many other Christian workers lead men to faith or how many new members have been added to the church since his departure from Corinth, Paul clearly believes that his founding of the church makes him responsible for it from that time onwards. Since his chronological priority in the church's life is no mere historical contingency, but a manifestation of the grace of God (3:10) and an expression of his apostolic commission (1:17; 9:1-2), other preachers who have subsequently exercised a ministry in Corinth cannot stand in the same relationship to the church. There may be many παιδαγωγοί, and they may exercise an important influence on the development of the children, but there can be only one father, and he retains overall authority and responsibility for them.

2. Paul is the father of the church:

Paul describes his pastoral oversight of the church in terms of the relation between a paterfamilias and his children (4:14-21).¹⁸⁷ Because this passage provides a convenient summary of the character and content of the relationship between apostle and church, it will serve as a focus for our discussion.

Paul's present relationship to the church--the nature and scope of his responsibility for it and the character of his response to it--is based on the fact that he is its founder/father: ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα (4:15).¹⁸⁸ He fathered the church ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ and διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, which point respectively to his original commissioning by Christ and the continuing activity of Christ in the mission, and to the Gospel as the source of the church's life.

These facts have important implications for the present state of the church. The Gospel Paul preached (and which the others preached: 15:11) is the message which called the church into being: so the Corinthians must not now ignore or reject that message (15:1-2). There is no route to a deeper relationship with Christ that involves abandoning the Pauline message or repudiating the Pauline mission, for (let those claiming a special relationship to Christ not mediated by men take note!) it was ἐν Χριστῷ that Paul became the church's father-- just as Apollos and Cephas (and others) are the church's παιδαγωγοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ.

As the founder-father of the church, Paul continues to be responsible for it even in his absence. The passage on which we are focusing indicates three means by which the absent apostle exercises oversight and provides direction for the church: he writes to it (v.14); he has left it an example to be followed (v.16); and he sends an envoy (v.17). We shall consider each of these in turn.

(a) His Letter: γράφω ταῦτα (4:14):

In Paul's absence, his letter is a necessary instrument for directing the church's life. Yet it has certain limitations: (i) a previous letter was misunderstood and has to be clarified in the present one (5:9-11); (ii) Paul is sending Timothy as well to remind the Corinthians of his ὁδοί (4:17); and (iii) there are some problems that can only be dealt with when Paul returns to Corinth (11:34). However, this does not mean that the letter is an ineffective stop-gap, for it brings the absent apostle into the assembly to greet, to teach, to rebuke, to exhort, to encourage, to command. So the letter

ist selbst ein Aspekt im Führungsverhalten.¹⁸⁹

Because the letter is the address of the church's father to the children for whom he is responsible, it contains elements of both an informal, persuasive authority and a more formal, prescriptive authority.¹⁹⁰

(i) Persuasive authority:

The fact that Paul is writing to those who are his τέκνα ἀγαπητά conditions the way he addresses them--he seeks to admonish not to humiliate (4:14), and prefers to be gentle rather than harsh (4:21). So to a considerable extent he relies upon persuasion, reasoning, exhortation, and advice in dealing with the needs and problems of the church, and does not simply resort to bare commands.

This might be seen as a consequence of the church situation. In view of the many tensions and divisions within the church, and of the number of church members who (to say the least) have reservations about his leadership, Paul knows that he must tread carefully lest he should make a bad situation worse. Since he cannot expect the Corinthians to comply readily with his apostolic fiat, he argues for the positions he advocates and seeks to persuade the Corinthians of their validity. Although there is obviously some truth in this, it will not do to explain Paul's approach purely in terms of a pastoral strategy.¹⁹¹ Rather, it is to be seen as a product of his conception of the nature of the relationship between himself and the church.

In the first place, as father of the church, Paul is responsible for children on the way to maturity.¹⁹² At present, they are behaving in a childish manner and must be summoned to grow up (3:1-3; 14:20). They must be τέλειοι, not νήπιοι or παιδία. In the light of this, Paul's approach to the church's problems in the letter can be seen as encouraging and enabling them to become more responsible and mature by giving a demonstration of how to deal with problems and issues in the light of the Gospel.

The aim and effect of always analysing ethical and other problems from the point of view of their relation to "the Gospel", that basic instruction that the converts have already received, is to make them capable of applying this sacred ratio to other situations and problems. The intended result is that the local churches with their own knowledge of and access to sacred ratio will make independent decis-

ions and direct their own development . . . the apostle's way of criticizing faults and answering questions . . . builds up the readers' knowledge and capacity for correct analysis and judgment.¹⁹³

By reasoning and persuading rather than commanding Paul is seeking to enable his children to grow in their maturity.

Secondly, Paul is related to the Corinthians not only as a father to his children, but as a brother to his siblings. The Corinthians are not only his τέκνα ἀγαπητά (4:14), but also his ἀδελφοί.¹⁹⁴ He is over them as their father, but alongside them as their brother.¹⁹⁵ Like him, they have been incorporated into Christ and endowed with the Spirit; like him, they serve the Lord and stand under the Gospel. He cannot therefore address them as though he had absolute authority to command and require obedience, for they belong to Christ, and are governed by him through his Spirit and the Gospel.¹⁹⁶ So Paul must deal with their problems by expounding the implications of the Gospel, indicating the direction of life in the Spirit, and summoning them to obey the Lord.

So because the Corinthians are both his children, but children on the way to maturity, and his brethren, Paul argues, persuades, counsels, and exhorts, rather than simply issuing directives. Yet this does not mean that he saw himself as having no authority to direct the church in certain areas. Nor does it mean that he regarded his advice and argument as being without authority, for throughout the letter he speaks as the church's founder-father, with an apostolic authority that is not to be ignored. This is seen most clearly when he exercises his authority in a more directive, prescriptive manner.

(ii) Prescriptive authority:

Whereas 4:14 shows the church's father writing to his children with affectionate concern and restraint, 14:37 shows the

apostle writing with full consciousness of the authority given to him by the Lord. He calls upon the church (and especially the self-styled "pneumatics") to acknowledge ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν ὅτι κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή.¹⁹⁷ Paul is so confident that his instructions have divine authority that he regards recognition of this authority as a decisive index of a person's spiritual status and test of his spiritual perception. The following points about this assertion should be noted.

(1) In view of the implicit reference contained in the verse to the fact that some Corinthians were claiming special pneumatic status, ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν probably applies to all that Paul has written in response to the question about πνευματικοί (or πνευματικά) (12:1).¹⁹⁸ At the very least it refers to the instructions concerning the conduct of glossolalists and prophets in the church meetings (14:26-36).¹⁹⁹ Although his instructions concerning the proper conduct of the church meetings, and his teaching about the right understanding of the Spirit and the gifts he distributes, shows no sign of being based on any dominical saying²⁰⁰, Paul nevertheless insists that what he has said carries the Lord's authority. He clearly regards himself as entitled to create authoritative traditions because of his apostolic status.

(2) The claim that Paul is speaking here as a prophet, the charismatic who 'anticipates the verdict of the ultimate Judge',²⁰¹ cannot stand. In addition to the criticisms that have been made of this thesis as a whole²⁰², it is unsatisfactory because it does not do justice to the content of Paul's statement. He does not see himself as one pneumatic among many²⁰³, but as the apostle of Christ who has an authority which extends even to regulating the activity of the prophets (14:29-32). The authority of his instruction is superior to that of any pneumatic impulse or claim (14:37).²⁰⁴

Versus 37-40 have therefore rightly been characterised as a Schlusswort voll von apostolischen Bewusstsein.²⁰⁵

As apostle, Paul believes he has the authority to regulate the life of the church and the conduct of its members--even of its inspired members.

Therefore, in addition to persuading, advising and appealing, the letter also shows him prescribing, instructing, commanding. He exercises his authority in prescribing certain forms of conduct and in proscribing others.²⁰⁶ It is significant that two of the words he uses in this connection are also used in the letter to refer to the authoritative teaching of Jesus. In 7:10 he uses παραγγέλλειν of the directive given by Jesus, and in 11:17 he uses it of his own instructions about conduct in the church meeting.²⁰⁷ In 9:14 he uses διατάσσεσθαι of Jesus's instructions, and in 7:17, 11:34 and 16:1 he uses it to refer to his own directives to the churches. Both words imply authority²⁰⁸, and the fact that he uses them of both the Lord and himself (despite the clear distinction he makes in 7:10-12,25 between the Lord's authority and his own) indicates the extent to which he sees himself as possessing authority over his churches.

This authoritative aspect of 1 Cor cannot be explained solely as a consequence of the church-situation.²⁰⁹ Paul makes it clear that the same is true of his relation to all his churches: he has ὁδοί which he teaches, and expects to be followed, in all his churches (4:17); and in all of them he enjoins (διατάσσεσθαι) upon the believers a basic principle which is to govern their lives (7:17). What he does in this letter he does in all his churches.²¹⁰

It is clear, therefore, that Paul does not regard himself as no more than a mediator of traditions, delivering to his churches traditions that he himself had received--although he does do that (11:2,23; 15:1). He is also a creator of tradition, adding traditions of his own to that regulative body of teaching that he transmits to his churches (7:12,17; 11:34). It is his ὁδοί that he teaches in every

church (4:17). Since the traditions he hands on to his churches include those he has created where there was no dominical or primitive tradition to guide him (7:17-24; 14:26-32), it is difficult to accept the claim that his exercise of apostolic authority was bound to the 'decisive events and words of the past', such that

only where these events and words speak immediately to the issue at hand can the apostle speak as apostle.²¹¹

Paul creates traditions as well as inherits them, and the traditions he creates have a regulative authority for the life of the churches.

So, although the letter is in some senses a substitute for a visit from Paul and thus does not permit that complete engagement with the church's needs and problems that will be possible when he comes to Corinth (11:34), it is nevertheless a significant vehicle of fatherly responsibility and apostolic authority. By means of the letter the absent apostle is able to address the church for which, as founder-father, he bears a primary responsibility, and to bring all his wisdom, affection, and authority to bear on its troubles. Through the letter he provides strong and wide-ranging leadership for this confused and divided church.

(b) His Example: μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε (4:16):

The importance Paul attached to this call for the Corinthians to imitate him is suggested, firstly, by the use of the παρακαλῶ – formula, which serves to give a certain solemnity and weight to his appeal (cp. 1:10)²¹², and secondly, by the fact that, in contrast to 1 Th, in which he could count on the Thessalonians' relatively recent memories of him, Paul is now writing to a church whose members either have not seen him for several years or have not seen him at all, so that imitating him cannot be a matter of following certain patterns of conduct that are still fresh in their minds. Why does Paul expect the Corinthians to imitate him in such circumstances? What does his appeal

mean?

The significance of these words is best established by noting the way they are linked with both the preceding and following statements.

In the first place, the call for imitation is linked to the assertion that Paul alone is the church's father (v.15). It is because he begot them through the Gospel that he calls upon them to imitate him: παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς²¹³ On one level, this can be understood as the natural outcome of Paul's chronological position in the church's life. As the first believer they had encountered, Paul would inevitably have served as a model for his converts of the new way of life to which they had committed themselves. As the pioneer preacher of the Gospel in Corinth, Paul was in a 'pattern-forming position':

The first impressions of the shape, character and direction of life in Christ were seen in Paul and learned from him. His position as spiritual father was determinative of the basic shape of their Christian lives.²¹⁴

There is a second level of meaning in the appeal, created by the fact that other models of the Christian life had been available to the Corinthians, with the result that comparisons were made and conclusions drawn that were tending to undermine Paul's authority over the church. Accordingly, he indicates that children should imitate their father, not their παιδαγωγοί. Their responsibility to imitate him is thus an aspect of his authority as the church's founder-father.

Secondly, the call for imitation is linked with Timothy's visit (v.17). It is to enable them to imitate him that Paul has sent Timothy to Corinth: διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον ...²¹⁵ In order to achieve this objective, Timothy will remind them of τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ.²¹⁶ What are these ὁδοί and how will Timothy's reminder about them enable the Corinthians to imitate Paul?

Although the *ὁδοί* are often interpreted as the lowly, self-sacrificial character of Paul's ministry, his readiness to accept suffering and deprivation as part of his apostolic vocation (the way of life depicted in 4:9-13)²¹⁷, it is better to understand them as specific teachings Paul passes on to his churches. In the first place, the "ways" indicated in 4:9-13 are "better caught than taught"; so the fact that Paul teaches them in his churches (v.17d) suggests that his *ὁδοί* are principles or precepts. Secondly, 1 Th shows that it was Paul's custom to give ethical teaching to his converts. In 1 Th 4:1-2, he refers to the *παραγγελίαι* he had given the Thessalonians as part of his teaching them *τὸ πῶς δεῖ ὑμᾶς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀρέσκειν θεῷ*. He did not merely exhort his converts to please God (2:12), but taught them how to do so (4:1-2). The obvious connection between *περιπατεῖν* and *ὁδοί*²¹⁸ suggests that the *ὁδοί* of 1 Cor 4:17 are equivalent to the *παραγγελίαι* of 1 Th 4:2.²¹⁹ Paul's *ὁδοί* are therefore not to be understood as referring to his "way of life", but as the instructions he gives his churches about living the new life *ἐν Χριστῷ* --his "ways" define their "walk".²²⁰ The principle enunciated in 7:17 may be one of these *ὁδοί*: it is concerned with the believers way of life (*οὕτως περιπατεῖτω*), and Paul teaches it in all the churches (*ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις*²²¹).

What is the connection between Timothy's reminding the Corinthians of Paul's *ὁδοί* and their imitation of Paul? Or, to pose the same question another way, what is the connection between Paul's teachings and his example?

Michaelis gives a reductionist interpretation, in which the concept of imitation is absorbed into that of obedience-- *μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε* is equated with "Obey my teachings."²²² De Boer rightly criticises this interpretation²²³, but his own is no more satisfactory

because he takes τὰς ὁδοῦς μου to mean "my example of Christian living"²²⁴, which is reductionist in the opposite direction. The obvious way to understand the connection between Paul's teaching and example is that he set out to practise himself what he taught to others. Because this was so, the Corinthians will be imitating him if they are reminded of his teachings and put them into practice. Paul regarded himself as both instructor and exemplar²²⁵; he taught by means of λόγος and τύπος. It is because his conduct accords with his teaching that the Corinthians who have not seen him will be enabled to imitate him when Timothy reminds them of his ὁδοί. When they do so, they will not only be obeying their father's instructions, but will be displaying the family-likeness by copying their father's example. This does not mean that Paul expects the church to assume a monochrome appearance, with every member becoming exactly like him. His concern is that they should practise his teachings in the same way that he does, not that they should adopt every aspect of his style or approach.

This is demonstrated by 11:1, where Paul repeats his call for the Corinthians to imitate him: μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ ἔγωγε Χριστοῦ. The context gives this call a specific content. In 10:31-11:1 we have the conclusion to the lengthy discussion of the complex issue of the εἰδωλόθυτα (8:1), a conclusion which summarises the main thrust of his argument throughout the preceding chapters. Their lives are to be controlled by the desire to promote God's glory (10:31) and man's benefit (10:33), and this means renouncing a self-pleasing attitude in favour of one that is more concerned with what is profitable for others than what is permissible for oneself (10:23-24). This is how Paul lives, constantly seeking to benefit others and lead them to salvation (10:33). It is clear that this conclusion looks back to ch.9 (and

especially vv.19-23)²²⁶, in which Paul depicts himself as a paradigm of true Christian freedom--the freedom to forego legitimate rights for the sake of others. This call to imitate him therefore makes explicit what is implicit in ch.9: Paul provides a model of Christian life that they should imitate.

Paul makes it clear that he himself follows an example: he is an imitator of Christ (καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστοῦ). The context indicates that this refers primarily to the eschewing of self-pleasing in favour of a self-giving service of others--the attitude that was exemplified supremely by Jesus, especially in his surrender to death on the cross (Rom 15:3; 2 Cor 8:9; Phil 2:6-8).²²⁷

Both the exhortation and affirmation in this verse should be given their full weight. Paul does not simply say μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ γίνεσθε for he is conscious of his responsibility as founder-father of the church to provide an example for the believers, to practise what he preaches.²²⁸ Nor does he say merely μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε for he wants them to realise that the principle he has been expounding is basic to authentic Christian existence. If they continue to behave in a self-centred, self-pleasing way, then no matter what they may claim, they are refusing to be controlled by the mind of Christ, whose self-giving and self-sacrifice to the point of death on the cross is the heart of the Christian message (1:17-25; 15:1-3), and thus the foundation of Christian living.²⁹⁹ To follow Paul's example will lead them further along the way of Christ. Conversely, to claim ἐγὼ εἰμι Χριστοῦ and yet to reject Paul's example, is to demonstrate a manifest lack of unity with the Christ of whom the Gospel speaks.

The location of this call to imitation at the conclusion of the lengthy discussion in chs.8-10, in the course of which Paul has portrayed his own conduct as a paradigm of authentic Christian living, shows that the letter itself will enable the Corinthians to imitate the

long-absent (and in many cases unknown) apostle. The letter not only reminds them of some of Paul's *ὁδοί* but shows how those principles and ethical precepts are applied in the complex realities of daily life.

So, even though Paul has not been in Corinth for some time, and even though many of the Corinthians do not know him personally and profess a loyalty to other leaders whom they admire and follow, he nevertheless calls upon all the members of the church to imitate him. This call is part of his assertion of his responsibility and authority as the founder-father of the church: their following his example is an entailment of his status as the church's father and a means by which he directs the church's life. They will be enabled to imitate him--to follow him in practising the principles and precepts he teaches (his *ὁδοί*)--by being reminded both by the letter and by Timothy what he teaches about the content of life in Christ.

(c) His Envoy: *ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον* (4:17):

Timothy's projected visit to Corinth is referred to in 4:17 and 16:10-11. As was the case in 1 Th, he is referred to both as Paul's subordinate (4:17) and as his partner (16:10).

In the first of these passages Timothy is presented as Paul's subordinate in three ways. (i) Paul has sent him to Corinth²³⁰: he goes at Paul's bidding rather than at his own initiative.²³¹ (ii) His task is to remind the Corinthians of Paul's teachings, his *ὁδοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ*. He has no independent message of his own, but is to act as a mouthpiece for the absent apostle. (iii) He is described as Paul's *τέκνον*.²³² This means that he is Paul's convert²³³, that he is Paul's student--as a spiritual father, Paul is a teacher; his *τέκνα* are those who learn from him and imitate him²³⁴, and that he is under Paul's authority, as a son is under the authority of his father.²³⁵

In the context, the description of Timothy as Paul's τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν καὶ πιστόν has a twofold function. It serves to commend him as a worthy and reliable envoy, one who has Paul's confidence and who will faithfully represent the absent apostle to the church. Secondly, with its echo of the τέκνα ἀγαπητά of 4:14, it serves as an implicit exhortation to the Corinthians. They are Paul's beloved children, but Timothy is πιστός as well--he at least can be relied on to obey Paul's teaching and follow his example. Timothy is thus portrayed in 4:17 as both a reliable representative of the church's father and an example to the Corinthians, who will both teach and exemplify Paul's ὁδοί to them.

The second passage acknowledges Timothy as Paul's partner. Like Paul himself (ὡς καὶ γὼ) Timothy is engaged in the ἔργον κυρίου (16:10). This is a mission-term, referring to the spreading of the Gospel and the care of the churches.²³⁶ It is work done for the Lord, but also work done by the Lord (cp. Phil 1:6; Rom 14:20)--it is the κύριος who stands behind the work of Paul and Timothy and who is at work through them. Paul is therefore commending Timothy as one who is doing the Lord's work and one through whom the Lord is working. Although he is Paul's subordinate, Timothy is also Christ's servant; although under Paul in the mission, he is alongside him in the Lord. When he arrives in Corinth, he will be there on Paul's behalf and in the Lord's name.

It is worth observing that this dialectic of partnership and subordination is paralleled in the way Paul describes the church's relationship to him. As Timothy is Paul's τέκνον, the Corinthians are also his τέκνα; they too are to submit to his authority, to obey his teaching, and to follow his example (4:14-21). As Timothy is engaged in the ἔργον κυρίου, so are the Corinthians (15:58), and as participants in the Lord's work, they are Paul's ἀδελφοί. As God's

servant, doing the work of the Lord, Paul is a brother among brethren; as Christ's apostle, the leader of the mission and the founder of the church, he is a father responsible for his spiritual children.

The ministry of Timothy, Paul's faithful τέκνον, in Corinth is one of the means by which the absent apostle is able to retain his links with the church and to exercise oversight of its life. Timothy's visit is an expression of Paul's leadership of the church.

3. Paul as the leader of the church:

The nature of the situation in the church means that Paul has to assert and explain his responsibility for the church and his right to direct its life. The basis on which he claims this responsibility and right is the fact that he founded the church. For Paul this means that all the Corinthian Christians are his τέκνα (4:14), that the whole church is his ἔργον in the Lord, the seal of his apostleship (9:1-2), no matter how many of its members owe their conversion to preachers who came to Corinth after Paul.

He exercises his authority over the church as its founder-father by means of his letter, his example, and his envoy, each of which serves as an instrument through which he shapes the church's life. He acts as the church's leader, giving direction and assuming control over all the areas of its life.²³⁷ So when he returns to Corinth, he will give directions about various features of the church meetings which need to be straightened out (11:34b). Moreover, he hopes to be able to stay for a lengthy period (16:5-7), presumably in order to re-establish his relationship with the church and to provide it with the direction it needs.

This does not mean, however, that Paul's is the only leadership that should be exercised in the church. Indeed, he urged Apollos to return to Corinth (16:12)--which shows how little he regarded other leadership as incompatible with his own. The church is God's, not

Paul's (3:9,16-17), so it is entirely proper for other servants of God to build on the foundation Paul laid (3:10), or to serve as παιδαγωγοί to the children he begot (4:15)--provided that these ministries subsequent to Paul's are true to the Gospel (3:11), and that they are not seen as undermining Paul's ultimate responsibility for the church as its founder-father.

Yet the other leadership to which Paul refers in this way appears to be that exercised by visitors to Corinth (such as Apollos and Peter), not by some of the Corinthians themselves. In view of the extent of the control over the church he assumes and exercises in the letter, and in view of the leadership exercised by other travelling Christians since the church was founded, what room is there for any local leadership in the church, either in theory or in practice?

This question becomes all the more pertinent when we observe that Paul appeals throughout the letter to the whole church as the bearer of responsibility, and expects the church as a whole to deal with the problems that exist. At no point does he appeal to any local leadership who can step in and sort out the troubles which are undermining the church's stability and growth. The conclusion seems obvious: there was no leadership-group in the church to which he could appeal.²³⁸ As we have already seen²³⁹, according to the consensus-view this is not simply fortuitous, but reflects the understanding of the Spirit and charismata expounded in chs. 12-14. Before we turn our attention to 16:15-18, therefore, we must consider what the letter discloses about ministry and responsibility within the church.

II. CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY AND CHARISMATIC MINISTRY:

In 1 Th, Paul gives prominence to both the mutual ministries

and corporate responsibility of all the members of the church.²⁴⁰ In 1 Cor, however, there is almost no reference to any mutual ministries within the church. Whereas the use of the reciprocal pronoun was both relatively frequent and noticeably significant in 1 Th, indicating existing and expected mutual love and service (1 Th 3:12; 4:9,18; 5:11,15), it is used only infrequently in 1 Cor and in a way that indicates the breakdown of mutual care within the church. In 11:33 Paul tells the Corinthians that, in contrast to their inconsiderate behaviour at the fellowship-meal, they are to wait for one another. In 12:25 he reminds them that the members of the body are intended to display a deep and mutual concern--a reminder that is made necessary by the obvious failure of the Corinthians in this regard (12:21; 13:4-7).

This contrast between 1 Th and 1 Cor illustrates the difference between the church-situations to which each is addressed, and can be interpreted in two ways.

The first has to do with the unity of the church. There are some indications in 1 Th of potential threats to the peace and unity of the church, but these are completely overshadowed by the cohesion and harmony that mark the church's life.²⁴¹ The church in Corinth, by contrast, is plagued by many different disputes and divisions. There are disputes about the church's leaders and disputes in the courts; there are divisions between libertines and ascetics, between the "strong" and the "weak", between the well-to-do and the poor, and between pneumatics and non-pneumatics.²⁴² Rather than building each other up (1 Th 5:11), the Corinthians are puffed up against each other (4:16; 8:1) and set against each other in a variety of ways. So although the church remains united in the sense that it continues to meet as one group, its unity is under serious threat. The face-to-face mutuality which characterised the church in

Thessalonica was conspicuously lacking in Corinth.

The second interpretation of this contrast between 1 Th and 1 Cor has to do with the size of the church. As we argued in the previous chapter²⁴³, the mutuality in the church in Thessalonica can be seen as an indicator of its size. 1 Th refers to the kind of reciprocal interaction that is possible only in a relatively small group. The fact that this kind of continuing mutual interaction is not attested in 1 Cor may thus be seen as reinforcing the view that the church in Corinth was relatively large and contained several house-churches.²⁴⁴

While 1 Cor lacks the emphasis on mutual ministries that is evident in 1 Th, it does contain the same emphasis on the believers' corporate responsibility.

1. Corporate Responsibility:

Throughout the letter Paul addresses the church as responsible for its own conduct. His assumption that the believers bear a corporate responsibility for the church's life becomes especially evident in relation to several areas of its functioning. Although it is not possible to provide a detailed discussion of the relevant passages, we will consider each of them briefly with a view to ascertaining how Paul viewed the church's responsibility. The church is regarded as responsible for corporate decision and action in the following areas.

(a) The discipline of members (5:1-13):²⁴⁵

Paul's response to the scandalous behaviour of the offender (v.1) and the shameful reaction of the church (v.2a) reflects a concern for both the purity of the church (vv.6-8,13) and the salvation of the man concerned (v.5b).²⁴⁶ He insists that the man is to be expelled from the church (vv.2b,13)²⁴⁷--the old leaven must be removed (v.7)!

Paul's understanding of the relation between his own role and that of the church in this matter has been interpreted in two quite opposite ways. Some scholars²⁴⁸ argue that Paul takes the initiative here only because the church has failed to act, and that, despite the strong lead he gives, he regards the church as the real bearer of responsibility in this matter. Others²⁴⁹ maintain that it is the apostle's prerogative²⁵⁰ to give judgment in such a case, and that the church's role is to give its assent:

The community merely constitutes the forum; it does not share in the action.²⁵¹

Neither view can be maintained to the exclusion of the other, for there is truth in both of them. The passage is most naturally interpreted as indicating that it is apostle and church together who bear responsibility.²⁵² On the one hand, Paul makes it clear that he sees himself as acting in conjunction with the church, and not apart from it (vv.3-5). That this is not simply a consequence of his absence from Corinth, so that he is urging the church to do on his behalf what he would do if he were physically present, is suggested by two features of the text. (i) The emphasis on the fact that the expulsion will be carried out in the church meeting (συναχθέντων ὑμῶν, v.4) implies that Paul regards the church as the agent of this move.²⁵³ (ii) The second question in v.12 (οὐχὶ τοῦς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε;) clearly indicates Paul's view that the church is responsible to exercise discipline.

On the other hand, however, there is an important sense in which the church cannot act apart from the apostle. Although there is no suggestion that such disciplinary action cannot be taken unless he is present, his contribution is nevertheless indispensable, for it is from him that the church receives the Gospel and the traditions which provide the norms and standards by which its life is governed.

The church is able to exercise right judgment (v.12b) and to maintain its integrity (v.13b) only when its life is based on the apostolic teaching. In this sense, even in his absence Paul continues to shape and direct the church's life.²⁵⁴ He does so, however, in such a way that the church is encouraged and enabled to take responsible action, not in a way that confines it to a passive dependency, always waiting on his initiative.²⁵⁵

(b) The resolution of disputes (6:1-8)²⁵⁶

Paul is horrified²⁵⁷ at the news that members of the church are involved in litigation in the courts.²⁵⁸ His response is to make two points with great emphasis²⁵⁹: (i) believers should resolve disputes within the church, and should not have recourse to the courts²⁶⁰; and (ii) there should not be such disputes between believers. These principles derive from two fundamental truths about the church. The first is its nature as a brotherhood, a family²⁶¹: brothers in Christ should be more concerned about each other's needs and the church's unity than about their own rights; if they were, such conflicts would never become so bitter. The second concerns the church's eschatological destiny: since the people of God are to judge the world, even the angels, they can and should resolve the disputes which may occur in the course of daily life (βιωτικὰ) (vv.2-3). The first truth establishes the church's responsibility to act, the second indicates its competence to do so. Because of what they are and what they will be, the church members are to deal with such matters.²⁶² Paul does not envisage that they will do so by establishing some kind of standing court²⁶³, but is thinking of an ad hoc solution, where one of the believers (α σοφός²⁶⁴) gives judgment in the matter²⁶⁵:

He does not mean that Christian courts ought to be instituted, but that Christian disputants should submit to Christian arbitration.²⁶⁶

(c) The conduct of church meetings (11:17-34; 14:26-40):

In dealing with the problems that occur in the church's meetings²⁶⁷, Paul addresses the whole church as accountable for the problems and responsible for their resolution. So although the misconduct at the communal meals, in which some church members (οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες) are slighted and neglected, is particularly the fault of some (those who have οἰκία²⁶⁸) (11:22), the whole church is the object of Paul's disapproval (v.17). Each member is to examine himself as to the manner of his participation in the meal (11:27-29). In the "service of the Word", each member has a contribution to make (14:26) because no one is without some gift which promotes the welfare and upbuilding of all (12:7-11).²⁶⁹ While not all contributions will be of the same kind (v.26) and every member will not be able to contribute at every meeting (vv.27,29), the responsibility for the content and conduct of the meetings rests upon all. All are responsible to observe the controlling principle of οἰκοδομή (v.26); all have a part to play in ensuring that everything is done in a seemly and orderly way (v.40); and all are to be involved in evaluating the prophetic utterances given in the meeting. While only two or three may prophesy, the testing of prophecy is the responsibility of the whole church (οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν).²⁷⁰ Indeed, although not all are prophets (μὴ πάντες προφῆται; - 12:29), all may (depending on the sovereign working of the Spirit) utter prophecies (14:1,5,24).

In both passages Paul addresses the members of the church as corporately responsible and individually competent (because each is enabled by the Spirit to contribute to the upbuilding of the church) in relation to the content of the meetings of the whole church. In both passages it is also made clear that the church's responsibility in this area does not exclude the apostle's authority and leadership.

He is to give instructions about the conduct of their meetings when he returns to Corinth (11:34b), and he lays down guidelines for the conduct of the prophets (14:29-32) in a way that shows his authority over them (cp. 14:37-38).

(d) Participation in the collection (16:1-4):

The arrangements for the collection emphasise the responsibility of each member (v.2: each one is to set aside money weekly for the collection) and of the whole church (v.3: the church is to select representatives to take the money to Jerusalem). Yet Paul is very much in charge: he gives instructions (διέταξα) about this (v.1); the church will choose representatives, but he will send them (πέμψω) (v.3); and if Paul decides to go himself, they will be his companions (σὺν ἐμοὶ πορεύσονται) (v.4).

(e) Reception and support of Christian workers (16:5-11):

Paul takes it for granted that the church will provide hospitality during the lengthy stay in Corinth that he hopes for (παρὰμενῶ, v.6; ἐπιμεῖναι, v.7).²⁷¹ He also assumes that the church is responsible for providing support for Christian workers who (like himself and Timothy (vv.6,11)) set out for other centres, after ministering in Corinth. Προπέμπειν was part of the early Christian mission-vocabulary²⁷², and referred not simply to escorting the traveller on the first stage of his journey²⁷³, nor just to the prayers and farewells that accompany the traveller's departure²⁷⁴, but to the provision of everything that is needed for the journey.²⁷⁵ Paul regards himself and his co-workers as having the right to receive such support, and the church as having the responsibility to provide it.

Two important conclusions emerge from our brief review of these passages. (1) The responsibility of the church and the authority of the apostle are linked throughout, and neither factor excludes

the other. The apostle's authority is an important element of the foundation on which, and the framework within which the church exercises responsibility for its own life, a responsibility which Paul's leadership is designed to elicit and enhance. This very much in line with what we found in 1 Th.²⁷⁶

(2) At no point does Paul appeal to any group within the church to take charge, to supervise or organise, or to rectify the problems and errors that are evident. Quite naturally, the absence of such an appeal is interpreted as a clear indication that there was no distinct leadership-group within the church.²⁷⁷ As we have noted²⁷⁸, this conclusion is interpreted in different ways, the most common of which (the consensus-view) sees it as a corollary of the theology of Spirit, ministry, and community expounded in ch.12. However, before we take up this matter and examine the implications of ch.12, we need to observe that the non-existence of any leadership-group within the church is not a necessary inference from Paul's failure to appeal to one.

The following observations are of particular importance in this regard. (i) In some of the areas we have considered above, what the letter speaks of as the corporate responsibility of all the believers will in fact be discharged representatively by only some of them. So the church's responsibility to resolve internal disputes can be discharged by a σοφός (6:5), acting on behalf of all. Again, while the Corinthian contribution to the collection is the responsibility and work of the whole church, some of its members will represent it when the money is sent to Jerusalem (16:3-4). Thirdly, while the reception and support of missionaries is the responsibility of the whole church (16:5-11), not all would be in a position to contribute funds or to provide hospitality, and those who could do so would presumably be regarded as acting on behalf of the church as a whole. The fact

that the church's corporate responsibility is discharged in this representative way, with some members acting on behalf of all, suggests that it is possible that such representative service was undertaken in other areas of the church's life as well--for example, in pronouncing and enforcing the church's decision to expel the flagrantly immoral member, or in rehearsing the significance of the bread and wine shared at the communal meal. Where some do representatively what all are responsible for, it is not in any way remarkable or strange that Paul should consistently address those who bear the responsibility (the church as a whole) rather than those who actually discharge it.

(ii) In fact, in all his letters to churches Paul

prefers to address the community as such rather than its leaders; hence the absence of a particular sort of leadership cannot be deduced from the silence of 1 Cor.²⁷⁹

In the first place, Paul consistently addresses the whole church even when a distinct leadership-group did exist, as we discovered in 1 Th.²⁸⁰ Secondly, it is customary for Paul to address the whole church even when what he says applies to some members in particular. The generalising second person plural is characteristic of his letters, and is especially noticeable in 1 Cor in passages which are directed particularly at some members of the church (see 3:16-17; 4:21; 6:7-8; 11:17,22; 14:12).

Both of these facts follow from Paul's concept of the church:

Pour Paul, l'Eglise de Corinthe, ce n'est pas d'abord les chefs ou les dirigeants; c'est avant tout la communauté chrétienne de base. C'est pourquoi il s'adresse directement à tous et à chacun. Et pas seulement pour les exhorter, mais aussi pour leur faire assumer la responsabilité. . . .²⁸¹

In particular, the generalising use of the second person plural is not simply a result of the fact that it would be tiresome to keep on specifying who in particular was being addressed, but can be seen as a

reflection of Paul's conviction that the church is a unity, a body in which the condition or conduct of one member has an effect upon all (12:25-26).

Paul always addresses his letters and their contents to the whole of a particular church, treating it as a unity. And this he does in order to create and maintain that unity. What he has to say concerns all Christians, even if it is only a part of the church that has the responsibility of realizing it.²⁸²

(iii) Despite all of this, it might be argued that if there had been a leadership-group in the church, Paul would certainly have called upon them to restore order because the problems in the church were so serious that they could not be allowed to continue unchecked. The fact that, in such circumstances, he did not appeal to any local leaders to take charge, but both urged the church as a whole to take its responsibilities seriously and also gave a very strong lead himself in the letter, must surely indicate that there was no leadership-group to call upon. The facts can be interpreted in another way, however. It can be argued that the circumstances in the church were such that, far from an appeal to the leaders being the obvious thing to do, it would have been a futile exercise. In the first place, the variety of divisions within the church, and especially the existence of rival groups with conflicting loyalties (1:10-12), would almost certainly have resulted in the breakdown of consensus about leadership within the church, as well as about leadership from outside. If the church did have leaders within it, it is difficult to see how any of them could have proved acceptable to all the rival groups. For Paul to have given the task of restoring order to individuals who were associated with one of these groups, and thus unacceptable to those identified with the other groups, would inevitably have resulted in even greater conflict.

Secondly, the influence of the self-styled πνευματικοί

with their claim to a direct knowledge of Christ through the Spirit and thus independent of any human teacher, and their view of glossolalia as the primary criterion of pneumatic status, is also likely to have contributed to a lack of consensus about leadership in the church.²⁸³ It is difficult to see how they would have found any leadership acceptable which did not come from within their own ranks, or at least conform to their ideas about the marks of the spiritual man.

Thirdly, while our study of 1 Th pointed to the church's hosts as its leaders²⁸⁴, the evidence in 1 Cor suggests that the house church leaders (who might have been expected, on the basis of our findings in the previous chapter, to have formed a natural leadership group within the church) were causing some of the problems in the church. In addition to the rivalry between different house churches in relation to the leadership of Paul, Apollos and Peter, there are two other respects in which the letter suggests that this group was behind some of the troubles Paul has to deal with. The litigation referred to in 6:1-8 is most likely to have involved some of the more well-to-do church members, those with property and finance to quarrel about.²⁸⁵ The abuses that have deprived the communal meal of its character as the κυριακὸν δεῖπνον (11:17-22) also stem from the well-to-do, those who have houses and show no consideration for the "have nots".²⁸⁶ So those whose status and influence as the hosts and patrons of the house churches and of the whole church would have placed them in a good position to give some direction and order to the church's life cannot be appealed to, for they are implicated in the problems that need to be rectified.

If the problem in Corinth consisted of lack of unity, self-discipline, love and wisdom, primarily situated in the leading stratum it is no wonder that Paul cannot appeal to them to set all this aright except by a letter

addressed to all Christians in Corinth, where he impresses on them that they are one body and must act as such.²⁸⁷

The intention of the above three arguments--concerning the representative discharge of the church's corporate responsibility; Paul's customary use of the generalising second person plural; and the factors in the church-situation precluding any appeal to local leaders--is not to prove that there was a leadership-group within the church, but to show that Paul's failure to appeal to one does not prove that there was no such leadership-group.

However, the case against the existence of a distinct, recognised leadership-group within the church does not rest solely on the absence of any reference or appeal to one; it is based also on the theology of ministry and community expounded in ch.12 in particular. In this connection it is argued that

if leadership was required Paul assumed that the charismatic Spirit would provide it.²⁸⁸

Moreover, such leadership was distinguished from any kind of defined or official position by virtue of its charismatic character:

. . . in the earlier years of the Hellenistic mission there were no specific and well defined ministries apart from those of prophet and teacher. On the contrary, the tremendous variety of words used by Paul . . . indicates a whole range of activities and services which overlapped and which could not be clearly distinguished. . . . Such ministries were open to all, . . . for they were essentially charismatic ministries, that is activities for which no further qualification was needed than obedience to the inspiration of the Spirit. . . . They should certainly not be designated 'offices' . . . in the charismatic community all may be prompted by the Spirit to exercise any ministry. . . .²⁸⁹

It is thus the charismatic nature of ministry and community that precludes any distinct, defined group of leaders within the church.

We must therefore turn to examine the teaching of ch.12, with a view to determining its implications for the question of whether there was regular, recognised local leadership in the church, and if so, what form it would have taken.

2. Charismatic Ministry:

It became clear in the Introduction and first chapter of this thesis that the interpretation of 1 Cor 12-14 is a key factor in the challenge posed to the consensus.²⁹⁰ In the course of our critical analysis of two representative statements of the consensus-view, we indicated that much depended on how the passage is approached. Against Dunn's interpretation we claimed (following Brockhaus²⁹¹) that it is vital to recognise the paraenetic and polemical intention of the material, and that failure to do so results in an assimilation of Paul's outlook to that of the Corinthians whose views and practices he is seeking to correct.²⁹² We also claimed that this failure and its consequences are evident in Dunn's equation of πνευματικά with χαρίσματα.²⁹³ However, this was all stated rather than argued, and since these are obviously vital issues, they require more careful and detailed consideration. Yet the complexity and number of exegetical difficulties raised by this passage and the sheer volume of the scholarly discussions of it are such that only a separate full-scale study could hope to provide an adequate discussion. In this context all that it is possible to do is to indicate what we consider to be the most satisfactory understanding of the passage. Of necessity this will have to be selective, as to attempt to deal with all the issues raised by the material or all the interpretations that have been suggested would involve a far lengthier discussion than could be accommodated within the framework of this study. How can this be done in a way that does justice to the material and the issues it raises, and yet keeps the discussion within manageable bounds? The most useful way in this context of finding a passage through the multitude of questions and debates surrounding the material in these chapters is to examine it in terms of its intention. What is the direction of Paul's argument in this passage? What was he attempting to do?

(a) The direction of Paul's argument:

To ask this question immediately raises another: what situation was Paul addressing? The intention of his response was obviously determined, at least in part, by the needs of the situation. We have already provided a reconstruction of the situation confronting Paul as he wrote this letter²⁹⁴, and indicated that a crucial element of that situation was the existence of a group of self-styled πνευματικοί. On the basis of the γνώσις and σοφία they claimed to possess, and of the ἐξουσία and liberty that they believed to follow from this, they regarded themselves as τέλειοι, already experiencing final, heavenly existence, and claimed a direct relation to Christ not mediated by human teachers.²⁹⁵ All of this, we suggested, was bound up with their claim to be uniquely possessed and directed by the Spirit.²⁹⁶ This view is confirmed by considering the opening verses of ch.12 in the context of the passage as a whole.

(i) The fundamental issues: 12:1-3

These chapters constitute Paul's reply to another of the matters raised by the Corinthians in their letter: περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν (12:1).²⁹⁷ This could have been a query about πνευματικοί²⁹⁸, but in view of the neuters in 12:4,31; 14:1, it is more probable that it referred to πνευματικά.¹⁹⁹ Yet the two are obviously closely connected³⁰⁰, and the Corinthian πνευματικοί are likely to have regarded the πνευματικά as the principal defining characteristic of the πνευματικός.³⁰¹

What did the Corinthians mean by the term? The passage as a whole suggests that for them it denoted ecstatic utterance.³⁰²

(1) Paul turns immediately to the subject of λαλεῖν ἐν πνεύματι (v.3), which remains a predominant concern throughout (12:8,10b; 13:1; 14:2-19,27-35,39).³⁰³

(2) Glossolalia is one of the few items that figure in each of the three lists in ch.12 (vv.8-10,28,29-30), and in each case it is placed last (in vv.10 and 30 with its counterpart ἐρμηνεῖα γλωσσῶν). In the context of the whole discussion this is to be seen as part of Paul's response to Corinthian views.³⁰⁴

(3) In ch.13 λαλεῖν ταῖς γλώσσαις is the first item to be subjected to the criterion of ἀγάπη (v.1).

(4) The whole thrust of ch.14 is to subordinate glossolalia to prophecy on the basis of the criterion of οἰκοδομή. When tested by this standard, glossolalia is found wanting--it does have some value, but is not to be too highly prized (v.39). There would be little need to argue this point at such length unless the Corinthians held a different view.

(5) The distinction made in ch.14 between prophecy and glossolalia is paralleled by the distinction between prophecy and πνευματικά (14:1³⁰⁵), and between the prophet and the πνευματικὸς (14:37).

All of this is usually taken to mean that πνευματικά was the Corinthians' term for glossolalia³⁰⁶, and that Paul is seeking to reverse their preference for glossolalia over prophecy. However, in view of the Hellenistic understanding of πνεῦμα which appears to have been at the basis of their views³⁰⁷, it may be that they made no clear distinction between the two.³⁰⁸ Paul's argument in ch.14 can then be seen as intended not only to establish the superior worth of prophecy, but also to differentiate between prophecy and glossolalia, and to do so in a way that distinguished both of them from the types of ecstatic speech prized in Corinth.³⁰⁹

Just as the preceding sections of Paul's response to the letter from Corinth quoted Corinthian catchwords in a way that showed their deficiencies, so these chapters also appear to use expressions current in Corinth with critical intent. The Corinthians

appear to have termed ecstatic speech λαλεῖν ἐν πνεύματι³¹⁰ or
 λαλεῖν μυστήρια πνεύματι³¹¹ or λαλεῖν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἁγγέλων.³¹²
 Such ecstatic speech appears to have been regarded by them as ἡ
 φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος.³¹³ Accordingly, their catchword was
 ζηλοῦτε τὰ πνευματικά, and they saw themselves as ζηλωταὶ
 πνευμάτων.³¹⁴

So we conclude that πνευματικά was the Corinthians' designation of ecstatic speech. The term itself presents no problem to Paul, who does not differ from the Corinthians over its definition--it is that which embodies or manifests the Spirit³¹⁵--but over its reference. How and where is the Spirit's presence manifested? That is the principal question raised by the Corinthian use of the terms πνευματικοί and πνευματικά, and it is the question Paul addresses immediately in his response to their letter.

He begins by referring to their previous experience of pagan ecstasy (12:2)³¹⁶, both to draw attention to the disturbing similarity between their pagan past and their present conduct³¹⁷ and to imply that a clear contrast between the two should be expected.³¹⁸ The juxtaposition of the reference to this pagan ecstasy and of the reference to the Spirit of God (v.3) carries with it the implication that the presence and activity of the Spirit is to be seen in terms of a contrast with such ecstasy, not of an analogy with it. So while pagan ecstasy may involve the experience of being overwhelmed by an alien power and swept beyond the bounds of volition³¹⁹, the Spirit of God does not manifest his presence in an individual in that way. He does not evacuate the mind, removing self-control and rational awareness, but works in and through the mind and will; so it is not the case (as the Corinthians seem to have thought) that the greater the abandonment, the greater the presence of the Spirit.³²⁰ If ecstatic speech is the

principal index of the Spirit's presence, then ecstasy becomes self-validating, and the ecstatic must be recognised as a πνευματικός irrespective of what he says. The first half of v.3 is intended as a reductio ad absurdum of this position³²¹--the utterance of the words Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς is necessarily incompatible with the presence of the Spirit of God; and so ecstatic speech as such cannot be the criterion of the Spirit's presence.

The criterion is given in the second half of the verse: since the confession Κύριος Ἰησοῦς cannot be made apart from the Spirit, the Spirit is present wherever Jesus is confessed as Lord. It is therefore not how men speak but what they say that marks the presence of the Spirit. In relation to speaking, it is content not manner that is the primary criterion of that presence. This means, against the views of the Corinthian πνευματικοί, (i) that just as not all ecstatic speech derives from the Spirit, so not all speech inspired by the Spirit is ecstatic; and (ii) that all the members of the church are πνευματικοί, those in whom the Spirit is manifested, since the Spirit is present in all who confess Jesus as Lord.³²²

With these brief comments Paul lays the foundation for the rest of his argument. He does so by confronting squarely the fundamental premise of the Corinthian pneumatics' position and indicating the basis for a right understanding of the Spirit's presence and activity. In view of the nature of the situation he is addressing and of the focus and thrust of his argument, it is clear that chs.12-14 cannot be treated as a straightforward exposition of Pauline theology, for he is not responding to a request for information from people who were humbly aware of their need for deeper teaching,³²³ Yet it would be equally mistaken to regard the passage as pure polemic, for although it is clear that Paul is responding to claims, attitudes and values that he believes to be unacceptable and erroneous, it is also clear

that he does not regard the position of the pneumatics as completely and utterly wrong. The Spirit may be manifested and experienced in gifts of ecstatic speech (12:10)--their error lies in believing this to be the sole or supreme criterion of the Spirit's presence. Such gifts may be of real benefit (14:2,4,27-28)--their error lies in thinking that they are of supreme value. So while the position of the πνευματικοί cannot be accepted, it cannot be rejected out of hand either. Throughout these chapters, therefore, Paul is seeking to establish the principles and criteria by which the presence and activity of the Spirit can be discerned and evaluated rightly, and to do so in a way that effects a fundamental shift in the position of the πνευματικοί. In relation to their views, his argument addresses two basic questions: (1) What is the right understanding of the presence and activity of the Spirit? (2) What are the characteristics of the πνευματικὸς ?³²⁴ The answers he gives are neither systematic nor comprehensive, for he chooses to interact with their views and terminology in a way that directs them to a more balanced and adequate understanding.³²⁵ It is therefore essential to observe the direction of his argument, for he is not so much stating his own position as seeking to move the pneumatics away from theirs. This can be seen in the way he deals with the two basic questions indicated above.

(ii) Concerning the Spirit:

The environment in which the churches lived contained not only θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κύριοι πολλοί (8:5) but also πνεύματα πολλά.³²⁶ It is therefore not surprising that misconceptions of the Spirit should have arisen, in view of the natural tendency for converts from paganism to think of the Spirit in the light of concepts that were familiar to them in their pre-Christian past. Paul's response to the Corinthian pneumatics was therefore a matter of 'Geistverständnis gegen

Geistverständnis',³²⁷: his task is to indicate the distinctives of a Christian understanding of the Spirit, and he does this by emphasising the connections between the Spirit and Christ and the Spirit and God.

(1) The Spirit and Christ:

We have already noted how Paul establishes the confession of Jesus as κύριος as the fundamental criterion of the Spirit's presence (12:3). The Spirit is known to be present where Jesus is confessed as Lord. The same Christocentric focus of the Spirit's activity is indicated in relation to Christian initiation (12:12-13; cp.6:11), which is in/by (ἐν) the Spirit, but into (εἰς) Christ. The Spirit is the agent by which believers are incorporated into Christ, so that both common confession of Christ and common membership in Christ reflect the activity of the Spirit.³²⁸ The Spirit is the means by which the unity of the σῶμα Χριστοῦ (vv.13,27) is effected.³²⁹

Through this relation of the Spirit to Christ in both Christian confession and Christian initiation, Paul indicates the Christocentric focus of the Spirit's activity. It is not focusing on the Spirit, but on Christ, that is the true mark of the spiritual man. It is important to observe in this connection how Paul emphasises the centrality of Christ in this letter.³³⁰ His intention in this regard is clearly signalled in the introductory thanksgiving (1:4-9), where the profusion of references to Christ is very striking.³³¹ The effect, and undoubtedly also the intention, of all this is to stress the fact that the Christian is one who belongs to Christ, looks to Christ, depends on Christ, waits for Christ. This needs to be emphasised so that those who are boasting in men (3:21) will learn, ὁ καυχώμενος ἐν κυρίῳ καυχάσθω (1:31), and so that those who claim

an esoteric relation to Christ through the Spirit, and who regard themselves as manifesting the Spirit in the πνευματικά will learn that the only Christ to whom the Spirit relates men is the Christ proclaimed in the Gospel (the μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ 1:6³²²) and that the primary manifestation of the Spirit is in the confession of Christ.

(2) The Spirit and God:

We have already drawn attention to the way Paul's phraseology in 1 Cor emphasises the connection between the Spirit and God.³³³ This connection is indicated in a number of ways throughout ch.12. It is emphasised in v.3, where the Spirit is designated both πνεῦμα θεοῦ and πνεῦμα ἅγιον, a fact which assumes particular significance when we observe that throughout the remainder of these three chapters Paul speaks simply of the πνεῦμα.³³⁴ In the remainder of the chapter, the Spirit is connected to God by their activities being spoken of in parallel terms. Both God (v.6) and the Spirit (v.11) are described as effecting (ἐνεργεῖν) the gifts and ministries, while the allocation of gifts, or functions in the body, is attributed to the will of the Spirit (v.11: καθὼς βούλεται) and to the will of God (v.18: καθὼς ἠθέλησεν). The way Paul expresses himself and the flow of his argument also suggests that the Spirit is the distributor of the gifts God creates. In vv.8-10, the various gifts are said to be διὰ, κατὰ and ἐν the Spirit, but not ἀπὸ or ἐκ the Spirit³³⁵, while after v.13, the Spirit disappears from view, and the emphasis is on God's ordering of the σῶμα (of Christ) according to His own purpose (vv.18,24,28).

All of this may indicate that one of the defects inherent in the views of the Corinthian πνευματικοί was an insufficiently theistic understanding of the Spirit, and that one of Paul's aims was to show that the activity of the Spirit cannot be understood properly except in relation to God and His purposes.

In the ways indicated, Paul links the Spirit to Christ and to God in order to Christianise the still too hellenistic concepts of the Corinthian pneumatics. In a world of many πνεύματα Christians look to one Spirit, the Spirit who is always linked to the one Lord they confess and the one God they know as Father (12:4-6; 8:5-6).

(iii) The Characteristics of the πνευματικός:

Earlier in the letter Paul had taken up the self-designation of the Corinthian πνευματικοί and used it in a way that imparted a rather different sense from that which it had in their usage (2:13-3:3). This process of redefinition is furthered in chs.12-14. Since the Corinthian pneumatics undoubtedly regarded the πνευματικά as the distinguishing mark of the πνευματικοί, by radically altering their notion of the πνευματικά through this section, Paul is at the same time redefining the concept of the spiritual man, the πνευματικός.³³⁶ Three aspects of his argument deserve particular comment.

(1) From ecstasy to ἀγάπη:

What the pneumatics prized as signs of their status as τέλειοι, their participation in final heavenly existence, actually demonstrated that they were still incomplete, still awaiting the eschaton. That is one of the implications of ch.13, which, despite claims that it is an interpolation³³⁷, is clearly an integral part of the entire discussion which begins at 12:1.³³⁸ Paul argues that pneumatic gifts are not signs of the arrival of the eschaton, but features of the age that is passing away (vv.8-13).³³⁹ Ἀγάπη is the supreme reality of the eschaton (v.13³⁴⁰); so it is ἀγάπη that it is the principal form of present participation in final eschatological reality. Therefore ἀγάπη is the chief characteristic of the true πνευματικός --without ἀγάπη even the man with every pneumatic power remains οὐθέν (vv.1-3). Indeed, while pneumatic ability may serve to make a man vain and intolerant, a fomentor of dissension and division, ἀγάπη will always build

community (vv.4-7). The πνευματικός may have ecstatic experience, but he must have ἀγάπη.

(2) From the individual to the community:

If all who confess Jesus as Lord are πνευματικοί (12:3), then the most important characteristics of the πνευματικός are not those which distinguish some members of the church from others, but those which unite them. So, against the elitism of the Corinthian pneumatics, Paul emphasises the unity of all the believers. All alike are endowed by the Spirit with an ability to serve the whole church (12:7,11)--the Spirit is therefore not to be identified with only one particular kind of activity (such as ecstatic utterance); and the πνευματικός is whoever serves the church, whatever form his service may take. All alike have been baptised by the Spirit into one body, and all alike experience the same Spirit (12:13).³⁴¹ The σῶμα Χριστοῦ into which the Spirit baptises is not composed of only one kind of μέλος, but of many (12:14,19); and it is God who wills and creates this unity-in-diversity (12:18,24,28). The Spirit is therefore not to be sought in the extraordinary experiences and abilities of some, but in the interdependent functioning and mutual care of the believing community (12:21-26). Since the whole believing community is the sphere of the Spirit's activity, the whole community (rather than some pneumatic elite) is the focus of the activities of the πνευματικός. The Spirit distributes gifts πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον (12:7); ἀγάπη does not seek τὰ ἑαυτῆς (13:5); so the orientation of the true πνευματικός is not to his own private fulfilment, but to the οἰκοδομή of the church (14:2-5,12).³⁴²

(3) From self-sufficiency to apostolic authority:

In view of the situation in the church, one of Paul's aims is to re-establish his authority to direct the church's life. Against the claim of the pneumatics that their possession of the Spirit makes

them independent of human teachers, Paul therefore indicates that God has placed apostles first in the church (12:28). One of the consequences of this is that the true πνευματικός is not a self-sufficient individualist, heeding only his own inner impulses, but someone who recognises the apostolic teaching as carrying authority to govern the life of the church, even to regulate the activity of the πνευματικοί (14:37).

These various aspects of the argument of these chapters show that Paul is not setting out to delineate a theology of church and ministry so much as to correct and realign the Corinthians' understanding of the Spirit, the πνευματικός and the πνευματικά, and thus to change their conduct, especially in the church meeting. Paul's theological understanding is more the basis from which he argues than the substance of what he says in this section.³⁴³ But what of the χάρισμα ? And what of the σῶμα Χριστοῦ ? Doesn't ch.12 in particular expound a distinctive theology of charismatic ministry and charismatic community?

(b) Charisma, ministry and church in Paul's argument:

While a full discussion of this issue would require detailed consideration of both a host of complex exegetical questions and a large body of scholarly literature, it is possible for us here only to consider rather briefly those aspects which are most germane to our purpose. We will therefore limit our discussion to a consideration of what these three chapters indicate about the meaning of χάρισμα and what they imply about the nature and forms of ministry within the church.

(i) The meaning of χάρισμα :³⁴⁴

The introduction of the term χάρισμα³⁴⁵ in 12:4 is an important part of Paul's response to the Corinthian situation. The

use of the word clearly points to grace (χάρις) as the character of all authentically Christian experience of the Spirit³⁴⁶ and as the source of all διακονία in which the church is served, and must be seen as implying a corrective to the Corinthian understanding of πνευματικά, for which Paul substitutes it.³⁴⁷ However, in view of some of the rather extravagant claims that have been made about Paul's use of the term³⁴⁸, it needs to be observed that it is not the word itself that exposes the error of the Corinthian pneumatics' outlook or expounds a theology of church and ministry. It is in fact used only five times in the whole of this section³⁴⁹, and its importance lies primarily in its function in the context of the argument of these chapters as a whole.

Paul uses it to point to grace, but this is neither the only way he does this nor the only place where he does so. It is clear from the way the letter begins that grace is one of the key themes of Paul's response to the Corinthian situation. Just as the contents of the introductory thanksgiving (1:4-9) signalled the centrality of Christ as one of the principal themes and intentions of the letter³⁵⁰, so too it identifies grace as one of the central motifs of Paul's address to the Corinthians. This is evident in the use of χάρις and χάρισμα (vv.4,7), in the use of διδόναι (τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν, v.4), and in the threefold use of the "divine passive" (ἐπλουτίσθητε, v.5; ἐβεβαιώθη, v.6; ἐκλήθητε, v.9), all of which serve to underscore the gratuitous character of the Christian life in its entirety. The theme runs throughout the letter, and is conveyed in the same three ways.³⁵¹ An essential part of Paul's response to the claims and conduct of the πνευματικοί is to remind them that all is of grace: τί δὲ ἔχεις ὃ οὐκ ἔλαβες ; (4:7). The use of χάρισμα in 12:4 can thus be seen as carrying this theme into the discussion of the πνευματικά. The same emphasis is conveyed

by the use of διδόναι (v.7) and of διαιρέσεις (vv.4-6) and διαιρεῖν (v.11), all of which indicate the gift-character of all authentically Christian experiences and abilities. The use of χάρισμα is thus one of the means by which Paul gives emphasis to grace.

What is the relation between χαρίσματα and πνευματικά? The view that they are, as used in these chapters, both equally Pauline and more or less synonymous³⁵² reflects a failure to appreciate the dynamics of Paul's argument in the light of the Corinthian views to which he is responding and the terminology in which those views are expressed.³⁵³ When interpreted against the background of the situation he is addressing, it is clear that Paul's use of χαρίσματα had a very different sense from that which πνευματικά had in Corinthian usage. Moreover, Pauline usage of both terms elsewhere gives little support to the view that they are virtually interchangeable or closely connected. The only other place in the Pauline corpus where there is any clear connection between the two is Rom 1:11, and there πνευματικόν is an adjective qualifying the noun χάρισμα.³⁵⁴ The linking of χάρισμα with the Spirit in 12:4 no more implies a necessary connection between them than the linking of διακονία with the κύριος and of ἐνέργημα with God implies some unique relation between them.³⁵⁵ The only sense in which πνευματικά can be identified with χαρίσματα is in terms of Paul's overall intention in the argument as a whole. Just as one aim and effect of these chapters is the redefinition of πνευματικός so that it can be used in a Pauline sense, shorn of the unacceptable connotations it carried in Corinth, so his argument can also be seen as redefining πνευματικά and redefining it in such a way that its meaning is closely related to that of χαρίσματα. However, the two can only be brought into this kind of relation on the basis of the argument as a whole; and to regard

ch12 as an exposition of the place of πνευματικά = χαρίσματα in the church results in an understanding of χάρισμα which stems largely from the Corinthian understanding of πνευματικά.³⁵⁶ What, then, does the argument as a whole say? The following aspects of it are of particular importance in this connection.

(1) Against the elitist pride of the πνευματικοί (13:4b), Paul emphasises the grace-character of each believer's contribution to the functioning and growth of the church. There can be no room for vanity where particular abilities and experiences are seen as gifts, as what has been received (so 12:4,7,11).

(2) Against the elitist disdain of the πνευματικοί for the non-pneumatics (12:21), Paul emphasises the diversity of the gifts distributed by the Spirit. This is done by (i) the threefold use of διαίρεσις (vv.4-6), which means "distributions"³⁵⁷, but also, in view of the implied contrast with τὸ αὐτό / ὁ αὐτός, "differences"³⁵⁸, so that it points both to the givenness and to the diversity of believers' gifts; (ii) the three lists (vv.8-10,28,29-30), which clearly indicate that the Spirit is manifested in, and the distributor of, a wide range of different gifts and functions, not just one or two³⁵⁹; and (iii) the use of the body-metaphor (12:12-26), with its repeated insistence that the body is composed of πολλὰ μέλη (vv.12,14,19-20). Against the pneumatic exclusiveness which confines the manifestation of the Spirit to ecstatic utterance (and perhaps also miracle-working), Paul expounds a charismatic comprehensiveness, in which the Spirit allocates and energises a wide range of gifts and functions.

(3) Against the elitist self-sufficiency of the πνευματικοί (12:21), Paul emphasises the interdependence of the members of the body (12:21-26). The God who wills and creates diversity, and whose grace

is expressed in each of the wide range of gifts distributed by the Spirit, intends this diversity to result in the unity of interdependence and mutual care and support (12:18,24b-26).

(4) Against the elitist self-centredness of the πνευματικοί (13:5b), Paul emphasises that the primary purpose for which the gifts are given is the edification of the church. What believers receive from God through the Spirit is given for the benefit of all (πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, v.7). The purpose the gifts are intended to serve, and the criterion by which their character as χαρίσματα is established, is that they result in the οἰκοδομή of the church (14:3-5,12,26).³⁶⁰

The χαρίσματα are thus all those abilities of many different types that function interdependently for the upbuilding of the church. When the Spirit is understood in a Pauline way, πνευματικά may be used in an equivalent sense, but there is no necessary connection between what the Corinthians mean by πνευματικά and what Paul means by χαρίσματα. The πνευματικά are a phenomenologically-distinct class of abilities and events, whereas χάρισμα is an open-ended designation, inclusive of anything that serves the church and results in its οἰκοδομή.³⁶¹ The πνευματικά are thus distinguished by their appearance, their manner, the extraordinary character of which was believed to demonstrate that their source was the Πνεῦμα; the χαρίσματα, by contrast, are recognised as such only by their effect, and it is the fact that they edify the church that demonstrates that their source is χάρις. The Corinthian πνευματικά thus may be χαρίσματα --if they are exercised in a way that edifies the church. Only then is it evident that they derive from the Spirit of God.³⁶²

In the light of the distinction between Corinthian πνευματικά and Pauline χαρίσματα that emerges from a contextual interpretation

of chs. 12-14, it is difficult to accept certain conclusions that are often drawn about the meaning of χάρισμα. It is difficult to accept, for example, that χάρισμα is quite distinct from "talents", that it has no connection with natural abilities or dispositions.³⁶³ It seems obvious, in fact, that one of the principal objects of Paul's argument is

to contest the spiritual relevance of any distinction between natural and supernatural ministries.³⁶⁴

When they permit service through which the church is edified, natural talents are also to be recognised as gifts of grace.³⁶⁵ It is difficult also to accept the claim that

charisma is always an event, . . . the experience of being grasped by an otherly power . . .³⁶⁶,

and thus to regard χάρισμα as essentially episodic, as punctual rather than linear. For whereas the parallel between χάρισμα and ἐνέργημα (12:4,6) may imply that χαρίσματα have a punctual character, the parallel with διακονία (12:4,5) surely suggests that they may equally well be linear in character³⁶⁷, functions as well as events, roles as well as experiences.³⁶⁸

In fact, both of these limitations of the meaning of χάρισμα can be seen as consequences of assimilating χαρίσματα to πνευματικά. The πνευματικά were necessarily "supernatural", quite other than any kind of natural talent; and they were also essentially episodic, particular experiences of 'being grasped by an otherly power'. The content and flow of Paul's argument seems clearly to indicate that while some χαρίσματα may have this character, others may not, for the defining characteristic of the χαρίσματα is not phenomenological. The χαρίσματα are known as such by their effect, not by their form.

Our discussion of the meaning of χάρισμα therefore leads us to endorse Brockhaus' contention that Paul uses it as a 'paränet-

ischer Terminus' and as an 'Interpretament'.³⁶⁹ It is not descriptive but evaluative; it does not designate a particular class of phenomenologically-distinct events and experiences, but interprets and evaluates all contributions to the church's life and functioning on the basis of their effect. It is thus essentially open-ended, and can be applied to a wide range of capacities and contributions.

Charisma is everything that the Spirit wishes to use and presses into service for equipping and upbuilding the church, what can serve for instruction and admonition and for ministering to one another. . . .³⁷⁰

It is therefore difficult to accept that there is any necessary antithesis between χάρισμα and "office", or that certain kinds of ministry could not be both charismatic in character and institutional in form.³⁷¹

What does Paul have to say in these chapters about the nature and forms of ministry in the church? Does his discussion adopt or imply either the view that all ministries are necessarily non-official because of their charismatic character or the view that some ministries may have an institutional, even official, form?

(ii) Ministries in the church:

In view of the long and complex debate about charisma and office, much of which has centred on these three chapters, it cannot be emphasised too strongly that the contents and purpose of Paul's discussion here is determined by the situation he is addressing. To draw conclusions about the implications of his statements without giving sufficient attention to their intention in the light of that situation will almost inevitably lead to a distortion of his position.

The structure and contents of these chapters make it clear that Paul's fundamental concern is to restore the proper order and functioning of the Corinthian church meeting (14:39-40)³⁷² and to correct the mistaken views which are leading to behaviour that causes

disorder. Therefore, in chs.12 and 13 he expounds the basic concepts, principles and criteria by which their outlook can be corrected and their behaviour modified, and does so in a way that provides the basis on which he addresses in ch.14 the specific problems that are creating disorder in the church meeting. So just as 14:26a is not prescriptive, giving instructions about the content of the church meeting, but descriptive, acknowledging the fact that the church is richly endowed (cp.1:4-7) and thus indicating that Paul is beginning where the Corinthians are in order to engage with their needs in a specific way (so vv.27-32), ch.12 is not to be seen as prescriptive, laying down a church order, but as paraenetic, and thus seeking to change particular defective attitudes.³⁷³ In view of its paraenetic purpose, ch.12 is not a comprehensive statement about church order, but says only what is necessary to effect the reorientation in the Corinthian pneumatics' outlook that Paul desires.

Again, it is by observing the direction of his argument that we will be best able to ascertain what he intends to convey about the nature and forms of ministry in the church. The essential matters may be summarised conveniently under two headings.

(1) Gift and function:

The relation between gift and function is indicated in two main ways. As we have already seen, there is a clear emphasis on the fact that the χαρίσματα are given for service--Paul connects them with διακονία (12:4-5) and states that they are given to all for the benefit of the church (12:7).

Alle Gabe wird mir zum Dienst am anderen gegeben. Sie stammt nicht von mir und gilt nicht mir.³⁷⁴

Secondly, the introduction of the body-metaphor (12:12-26) not only emphasises the diversity that should be characteristic of the church (ἐν σῶμα, πολλὰ μέλη), but also implies that continuity of

function is to be expected. After 12:12 the focus of the discussion shifts from χαρίσματα to μέλη, from gift to function. The soliloquy of the members who underrate their function to the extent of regarding themselves as having no place in the body (vv.15-16) and the dismissive comments of those who so overrate themselves as to see their function as all that the body needs (v.21) both presuppose that each of the μέλη has a continuing function and thus a stable role within the body. Since all of this is intended to address the specific problems within the Corinthian church, in which the πνευματικοί were adopting an elitist attitude and the non-pneumatics were made to feel worthless as a result³⁷⁵, it is clearly implied that a similar continuity of function will characterise church members.

This is not a hard and fast rule, of course, because believers are not restricted to one gift each³⁷⁶, and may therefore perform several functions within the life of the church, and also because certain kinds of gifts may be exercised only occasionally within the church's life.

Some gifts may have been attached to certain individuals only in a rather loose way and practiced (sic) rather spasmodically in response to particular momentary needs. . . . Others were constant and became the basis for continuing ministries in the church.³⁷⁷

Prophecy is a clear example of the latter. Although in principle all might prophesy (14:1,5,24,39) and in practice many may have done so at one time or other, some believers prophesied with sufficient regularity, and their prophecies proved to be both reliable and beneficial sufficiently often, that they came to be recognised as "prophets". So what distinguished the prophet from the church member who occasionally gave a prophecy was only the regularity of the former's contributions to the church meetings.³⁷⁸ Likewise, although any believer may come to the church meeting with a piece of

teaching to contribute (διδάχῃν ἔχει, 14:26; cp. Col 3:16), only some taught with sufficient regularity, reliability and profit for them to be regarded as "teachers".³⁷⁹ The obvious importance of both functions in relation to the church's οἰκοδομή meant that those with the necessary gifts should be able to exercise them regularly. Other gifts would not be called upon so consistently because, although important, they were not so directly related to the church's growth day by day and week by week (πίστεις, for example).

A church that aimed at ἀγάπη and οἰκοδομή in its life and activities would thus create room for the regular exercise of those gifts which most fully and most consistently met its needs. The church is therefore not simply 'a unitary, living cosmos of free, spiritual gifts',³⁸⁰ as though the gifts alighted now here, now there in a random manner, but a body with μέλη which perform certain necessary functions in a stable manner.

(2) Function and position:

In Chapter 1 we learned how stable, continuing functions both generate and reinforce expectations about the one who performs the function, and that function and expectations together create a role and position in the group concerned.³⁸¹ We also saw how such stability and the emergence of such roles are important aspects of the process of institutionalisation which is a feature of the life of social groups from the beginning.³⁸² It is a natural and reasonable assumption that these social processes took place in the Corinthian church, an assumption that finds support in two considerations.

(i) The emergence of a group of prophets (12:28; 14:29) in a church so rich with pneumatic endowments indicates that such regular functioning occurred and received recognition. (ii) Linking the Spirit's distribution of the χαρίσματα (12:4-11) with God's ordering of the body (12:18-26) implies that the Spirit of God is not capricious, but

can be relied on to provide the church with the ministries it needs for stable growth.

However, it is also a natural and reasonable assumption that the kinds of belief and behaviour Paul is combating led to a disruption of these social processes by creating dissent between church members and disorder in church meetings. Where there was a clamour on the part of some for continual public display of the more spectacular ecstatic or miraculous gifts, and a corresponding reluctance on the part of others to offer or press for less spectacular but more profitable contributions, there would be little opportunity for stable roles to emerge in as widespread a fashion as might have been expected. In fact, the ecstatic and miraculous gifts most prized by the πνευματικοί and those influenced by them are those that are least subject to institutionalisation, both because, in comparison with other gifts, they are less related to any natural talents and are more episodic in character, and because, however much they may have been prized by some, they are not actually essential for the church's life and growth in any continuing way. There was undoubtedly a need from time to time for healings, for example, but prophecy and teaching, words of insight and instruction, were necessary all the time. So some of the gifts referred to in ch.12 were more likely than others to have led to stable roles in the church³⁸³-- and while those that are least subject to institutionalisation are those whose value (established by the criterion of οἰκοδομή) Paul is seeking to minimise, those whose value is greatest (judged by the same criterion) are often those that are most liable to lead to stable roles and positions.

. . . it is in the nature of certain charismata that they have not merely an incidental, but a continual significance, and therefore of themselves might lay claim to continuing and regular recognition (for which reason the charismata,

too, are not only denoted as powers, etc., but also as persons; cf. 1 Cor.12:28. . .).³⁸⁴

In fact, the reference to the triad apostles, prophets and teachers in 12:28 can be seen to have a significant role in this connection, with its emphasis on the priority in the church of particular groups with definite roles.

While the introduction of ἀντιλήμψεις and κυβερνήσεις in this verse is often acknowledged as an implicit corrective to the pneumatics' scale of values, and part of Paul's attempt to shift their attention from the spectacular to the profitable³⁸⁵, it is not often recognised that the introduction of the triad at the beginning of the verse has a similar function.

It is unlikely that Paul would have introduced it if it didn't perform some function in his total argument³⁸⁶, especially when the ἐκκλησία to which he refers, in which God has set (ἔθετο) the apostles, prophets and teachers, is the Corinthian church, not the universal church.³⁸⁷ So the first place given to the apostles, whatever else it may involve, serves to remind the πνευματικοί that they are wrong to reject apostolic leadership and to remind all of the Corinthians of the discussion earlier in the letter about Paul's role in the church. He is first in the church as its founder--he planted the seed, laid the foundation, and fathered the family (3:6,10-11; 4:14-15). This chronological priority as church-founder carries with it a primacy as church-father--he has a continuing responsibility for, and authority over the church.³⁸⁸ To ignore or reject Paul's authority as the church's apostle (9:1-2) means, in the final analysis, to rebel against the purpose of God, by whose will and work (ἔθετο) the apostles have been placed first in the church. Because of the apostle's priority as church-founder and primacy as church-father, the ministries of the prophets and teachers are ranked

below his³⁸⁹--they build the church he founded³⁹⁰; his message provides the basis and norm by which their ministries are tested or from which they proceed³⁹¹; and he retains authority to regulate their ministries (14:27-32,37). Even prophetic gifts provide no basis for dispensing with apostolic leadership (14:37). All of this indicates that the introduction of the triad in 12:28 has a definite relation to the church-situation, and thus a significant function in Paul's argument.

One aspect of the verse's function relates, therefore, to the claims of the πνευματικοί and the rivalry over the church's leaders. Another aspect of its function may be seen in the fact that it moves the focus of the argument from gifts (vv.4-11) to functions (vv.14-26) to persons, from ministries to ministers. This transition from the gifts that enable ministry to the persons who minister can be seen as part of Paul's attempt to shift the Corinthians' attention from the sensational to the beneficial. In a church that lives by the Word, proclaimed with authority by the apostles, applied with inspired insight by the prophets, and expounded with clarity by the teachers, and whose functioning is controlled by a commitment to the principle, πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω (14:26), those gifts that promote the benefit of all most effectively and most consistently will be called upon and exercised with regularity. So the necessity of the ministries of prophets and teachers, and the extent to which the church is actually built up by them, is such that their functions have led to the emergence of clear and definite roles.³⁹² When the self-assertive display of pneumatic gifts gives way to the regular exercise of more edifying gifts, then particular roles and positions (like those of the prophets and teachers) will emerge quite naturally. In other words, institutionalisation will occur--but not in the case of every gift, for (as we have seen) some are episodic and occasional by nature.

The absence of any other mention of teachers apart from 12:28 may have some significance in this connection. How is Paul's failure to refer to them elsewhere in the letter to be explained? We have already argued that even if the triad is traditional, there is no reason to believe that Paul would have used it unless it was applicable to the Corinthian situation. Does this mean, then, that there were teachers in the church, but that Paul had no occasion to refer to them? This seems unlikely, as some reference to the activity of the teachers could have been expected in ch.14. It is more likely that the clear statement that God has placed teachers in the church, plus the absence of any reference to teachers elsewhere in the letter, is intended to imply a rebuke to the Corinthians' immaturity. Although many of them claim to be πνευματικοί, Paul can only feed them on milk because of their lack of spiritual maturity (3:1-3). Those who should be teachers still need to be taught the basics!³⁹³ Moreover, their immature rivalry and self-assertiveness, and their preference for the spectacular ecstatic gifts over the edifying gifts, has prevented those with teaching gifts from exercising a regular ministry and having the value of their contribution to the church's life recognised. However, if they now allow the principle of οἰκοδομή to determine the content and conduct of their meetings, teachers will emerge in their midst, since God can be relied on not to leave the church without any gift that is necessary for its life and growth.

The question with which we began this section--whether ch.12 implies that all ministries are necessarily non-official because of their charismatic character or that some ministries may assume institutional, even official form--is obviously not addressed in any direct or explicit way by Paul's exposition. However, the direction of the

argument, with its movement from gift to function to ministers and its intention of shifting attention from spectacular gifts to profitable gifts, implies that while some are essentially spontaneous in character and spasmodic in operation, others will be exercised with the kind of regularity that leads to the emergence of stable roles and recognised positions. While this must not be pressed, for it remains at the level of what is implied and is never specifically stated, it does suggest that there is no intention of divorcing the charismatic and the institutional.³⁹⁴

(c) Conclusions:

Our discussion has confirmed the paraenetic (and to some extent polemical) intention of Paul's argument in chs.12-14.³⁹⁵ His response to the Corinthians' query about the πνευματικά is not an abstract theoretical treatment of church order, but deals with the specific problems created by attitudes and behaviour that are evident in the Corinthian church. His exposition is therefore not a comprehensive statement--because it is shaped by the particular situation he is addressing and the specific goals he has as a result of that situation, he says only as much as he needs to in order to provide a basis for bringing about a sounder understanding on the part of the Corinthians and more orderly and edifying behaviour in their meetings. He provides a perspective from which they may perceive their situation more accurately, a conceptual framework within which they may understand their experiences and needs more adequately, and criteria by which they may evaluate their experiences and order their conduct more satisfactorily. In this context, χάρισμα functions as a corrective term, pointing them to grace, and as an evaluative term, indicating that everything by which the church is served and built up is given by God through the Spirit. It does not involve any necessary antithesis to

"office", for while χάρισμα refers to the givenness of everything which serves the church, "office" refers to one of the ways by which the church may recognise and order what is given to it. It is possible, therefore, for particular ministries to be both "charismatic" and "official"³⁹⁶, because the importance of their contribution to the church and the consistency with which they are exercised results in their being explicitly recognised by the church. It is thus in the nature of certain χαρίσματα to involve 'einen gewissen Zug zum Amt'³⁹⁷, which does not contradict their charismatic character because the Spirit is at work in both the distribution of gifts in the church and in the recognition of those gifts by the church.

Göttliche Gabe (Charisma) und kirchliche Institution (Amt) auseinanderreißen hiesse nicht anderes als den Geist selber spalten, der sowohl hinter dem Charisma als auch hinter der Gemeinde steht.³⁹⁸

So although Paul does not address this issue directly in these chapters, nothing that he does say in them excludes the possibility that there was a stable, recognised local leadership in the church. Indeed, it has been suggested that chs.12-14 only develop and make more detailed and explicit what is implicit in 1 Th 5:12-22.³⁹⁹ The concept of the church that emerged from the paraenesis there--a fellowship bound together in mutual interdependence, with all the believers competent and active in mutual ministries, and exercising a corporate responsibility in certain fundamental areas of the church's life--is spelled out more explicitly, although in different terms, in these chapters; and just as all of this was true of the Thessalonian church despite the existence of a recognised leadership-group within it, so the concept of the church presented in ch.12 in particular does not necessarily exclude the existence of a leadership-group within the Corinthian church.

In the course of this section of the chapter, we have argued that neither the way Paul regards the church's corporate responsibility

nor his exposition of charismatic ministry within the church as $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ entails the conclusion that a leadership-group within the church was either impossible in principle or absent in fact. On the contrary, we have argued that what he says about both corporate responsibility and charismatic ministry is compatible with the existence of such a group. Moreover, we have argued that the absence of an agreed and recognised leadership-group within the church would be more the result of the way the proper functioning of the church had broken down than of any theological objections on Paul's part to such an arrangement.

Was there a group of leaders within the church, then? If so, who were these leaders, and why is there no mention of them in those parts of the letter where some reference might have been expected? If not, did Paul believe there should be one? What is the significance of 16:15-18 in this connection?

III. LOCAL LEADERSHIP:

As with our examination of 1 Th 5:12-13 in the previous chapter, the purpose of this section is to provide a detailed exegetical study of 16:15-18, seeking to establish its meaning as precisely as possible and to assess its implications in the light of what we have discovered in the two preceding sections of this chapter and of what we learned about the meaning of group-leadership in Chapter 1. We will consider in turn its importance, its contents, and its implications.

1. The Importance of the Passage:

At first sight the passage may seem to be relatively unimportant in relation to the central themes and purposes of the letter. It is, after all, only a brief paragraph in a very long letter, and it is appended at the conclusion, after the main business of the letter

has been dealt with. Is this impression accurate? How important is what Paul says here? How central is it to what he is seeking to achieve in the letter as a whole?

The importance of the passage is to be judged not only in the light of its contents but also from its place in the structure of the letter and its relation to the situation in the church.

(a) Its place in the structure of the letter:

The following four points suggest that the location of this passage in the letter gives it a certain prominence and was intended to indicate the importance of what it says.

(1) The passage constitutes Paul's final appeal and directive to the church, and comes immediately before the greetings and blessings which mark the conclusion of the letter (vv.19-24). Precisely because they are Paul's final words about the church's life and functioning, the contents of the passage will acquire particular emphasis as the letter is read to the church.⁴⁰⁰

(2) The passage also gains prominence by intervening between the brief concluding paraenesis (vv.13-14) and the letter-ending (vv.19-24) which would normally have followed it.⁴⁰¹ It stands out because it appears to be an intrusion into the normal pattern of the letter-ending.⁴⁰²

(3) A further indication of the passage's importance is to be seen in the fact that the brief paraenesis which precedes it (vv.13-14) has a clear application to the situation being addressed by the letter.⁴⁰³ Γρηγορεῖν, with its sense of vigilance in view of the promised eschatological consummation⁴⁰⁴, may be seen as epitomising the "eschatological reservation" that Paul has emphasised in response to the Corinthian enthusiasm which emphasises the "already" (4:8) to the exclusion of the "not yet".⁴⁰⁵ Στήκετε ἐν τῇ πίστει recalls 15:1 (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστήκατε)⁴⁰⁶, and summons

to a continuing loyalty to the Gospel. Ἀνδρίζεσθε may be intended to recall 14:20⁴⁰⁷, but in view of the allusion to passages in the Psalms⁴⁰⁸ which link both ἀνδρίζεσθαι and κραταίωσθαι with the concepts of waiting on the Lord or hoping in the Lord⁴⁰⁹, can be understood as a call for that resolute loyalty that springs from the certainty of the Christian hope (cp. 15:54-58). Verse 14 clearly recalls both 8:1-3 and ch. 13. The fact that vv. 13-14 gather up some of Paul's central themes and intentions in the letter as a whole and constitute a final appeal to the church to return to, and to continue in authentic Christian faith, hope and love thus strengthens the possibility that vv. 15-18 will likewise relate to the principal needs and failings of the church.

(4) Consideration of the structure of the letter as a whole also serves to highlight the importance of this passage. Of the various markers which indicate the structure of the letter, two of the most important are the use of περὶ (δέ) to mark items raised in the letter to which Paul is responding throughout much of 1 Cor., and the παρακαλῶ - formula.⁴¹⁰ Paul uses this formula in 1:10, where he "gets down to business" with a strong appeal for the Corinthians to cease their quarrelling, and again in 4:16, where in the conclusion to his lengthy discussion of the problem of the ἐπίδες based on conflicting loyalties to church leaders, he calls upon the church to follow him as its founder-father. The only other use of this formula, which is

a formal pattern which Paul uses when he sets forth what is the main purpose of his letter, expressing what he wants the addressees to do⁴¹¹,

is that with which 16:15-18 begins. That the link suggested by the use of this formula between this passage and Paul's discussion of the ἐπίδες at the beginning of the letter is not purely fortuitous is implied by the reference to Stephanas and his household near the

beginning of that discussion. If vv.13-14 can be seen as indicating the principal responses the church should make to Paul's discussion of the issues raised by their letter, vv.15-18 may be seen as indicating one of the basic elements in their resolution of the quarrels that are dividing the church.⁴¹²

These four considerations suggest that the passage is more important than it might appear at first glance. They provide evidence that it is more than just an afterthought on Paul's part, and that it is directly related to his overall purpose in the letter. This view is strengthened by considering the contents of the passage in the light of the situation Paul is addressing.

(b) Its significance in the light of the church-situation:

When read against the background of the situation in the church, what is surprising about this passage is not that it says so little but that it says so much. What is said here has direct implications for some of the principal problems affecting the church.

(i) The ἐριδες. The fact that Paul baptised Stephanas and his household (1:16) is likely to have meant that many of the Corinthians would have identified them with the pro-Pauline group (1:12), irrespective of whether they openly sided with it or not. The journey to Ephesus Stephanas and his two companions⁴¹³ have undertaken in order to see Paul would only make such an identification more likely. In view of the way the Corinthians' loyalty to Paul, Apollos or Cephas has caused ζήλος and ἐρις in the church (3:3), with the likely consequence that households and individuals associated with one of these groups would have been unwilling to accept the leadership of anyone identified with another group, it is rather striking that Paul calls upon the church to submit to Stephanas and his household (v.16).⁴¹⁴

(ii) The πνευματικοί and their claims. The self-sufficient stance of the pneumatics, with their rejection of apostolic leadership on the basis of their direct relation to Christ through the Spirit and their elitist approach to the other members of the church on the basis of their ecstatic-pneumatic powers, undoubtedly caused them to be somewhat intolerant of any leadership that came from outside their own number. Read against this background, Paul's call for submission to Stephanas' household and to others who serve in a similar way appears very forthright and rather bold.

(iii) It seems clear that one of the main results of these conflicts within the church, with the variety of outlooks and values they reflected, would have been serious differences of opinion about who were the appropriate persons to exercise leadership in the church. In this passage Paul addresses that issue directly, as our study of the passage's contents will show. It may even be that, because of the nature of the problems and tensions within the church, this passage has deliberately been left until the end of the letter, after Paul has given a detailed response to the erroneous attitudes and ways that are evident in the church. After the errors in their outlook have been exposed and the proper alternative to their outlook expounded, and the entire letter has served to summon them to return to a right Christian stance, the risk that the call for submission to Stephanas and other such Christian workers would provoke a hostile reaction would have been much less than if Paul had included the passage near the beginning of the letter.

Read against the background of the church-situation, therefore, both the contents and the location of the passage assume a greater importance than a casual reading of the letter would suggest.

We have argued that both the place of the passage in the structure of the letter and its implications in the light of the situa-

tion in the church suggest that it is a significant part of Paul's total response to the Corinthian problems. Both of these considerations give some cause for regarding the contents of the passage as indicating one of Paul's objectives in writing to recall the church from error and to restore it to a sounder condition. In view of these indications of the passage's importance, it is clearly vital to have a thorough grasp of its contents and their meaning.

2. The Contents of the Passage:

The most convenient way of analysing the contents of the passage will be to examine in turn what vv.15 and 16 say about Stephanas and his οἰκία what vv.17 and 18 say about Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus and their παρουσία in Ephesus, and what the passage as a whole says about the response to them that Paul expects of the church.

(a) Stephanas and his οἰκία (vv.15-16):

There are four key words or phrases in this section which refer to Stephanas' household, and we shall examine each of them in turn.

(i) The οἰκία Στεφάνου :

A comparison of 16:15 and 1:16 suggests that ἡ οἰκία Στεφάνου and ὁ Στεφάνου οἶκος are equivalent expressions.⁴¹⁵ Although οἶκος and οἰκία are not synonymous, there is considerable overlap in their meanings⁴¹⁶, and in the NT they are often used interchangeably.⁴¹⁷ Who was included in this οἶκος/οἰκία ? Since both terms could be used in a very wide sense, including (when referring to the household rather than to the dwelling) not only the nuclear family, but also other relatives, servants and slaves, freedmen-clients, business associates and tenants⁴¹⁸, it is only the particular context in which they are used that can determine their intended scope.⁴¹⁹ So the attempt to show that οἶκος necessarily includes children⁴²⁰, which cannot be

sustained in the light of the actual usage of the term⁴²¹, finds no support here, for the members of this household are active in the service of the church and are to be submitted to by the church. They must therefore be adults.⁴²² This does not mean that there were no children in the household of Stephanas, but that, if there were, they are not in view in this section. Who were these adults? One obvious possibility is that they were members of Stephanas' family; another is that they were his slaves.⁴²³ Whether Stephanas was wealthy enough to have owned slaves can only be assessed in the light of all that the passage says or implies about him, and so will be considered later in our discussion. Whoever its members may have been, one indication of the household's importance in Paul's eyes is that he baptised all its members (1:16), while he baptised Crispus and Gaius only as individuals (1:14). This directs us to the next significant expression in the text.

(ii) The ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας :

Elsewhere in the NT ἀπαρχή is applied to Christians in general (Jas 1:18; Rev 14:4), but apart from Rom 16:5, where Epänetus is described as the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσΐας εἰς Χριστόν, this is the only passage in which it is applied to particular Christians.⁴²⁴ In both of these passages the designation ἀπαρχή clearly implies that those concerned were the first converts in the province—but does it imply more than this?

According to some scholars, it denotes that the first converts were specially dedicated to Christian service.⁴²⁵ E.E. Ellis argues that the ἀπαρχαί were

the consecrated first-born who, like the Levites, are set apart for the work of God.⁴²⁶

This identification is precarious, however, for ἀπαρχή is used in a variety of ways in the LXX⁴²⁷, and there is no more reason to see any

implied parallel between Epānetus or Stephanas and his household and the Levites than there is to see any Levitical allusion in the designation of Christ as ἀπαρχή (15:20,23). Moreover, the most natural interpretation of v.15 is that the status of Stephanas' household as ἀπαρχή and its members' commitment to Christian service are two separate facts about them, not that the latter is the basis of the former. While it may well be true that their status as ἀπαρχή provided both an opportunity and an incentive for particular involvement in Christian service, there are no secure grounds for maintaining that such an involvement was a defining characteristic of the ἀπαρχαί. ⁴²⁸

One additional nuance that the term does have in addition to denoting temporal priority emerges from a consideration of the apparent conflict between what is said of the οἰκία Στεφάνου here and the reference in Acts 17:34 to the conversion of some Athenians. Various suggestions have been made to resolve this conflict ⁴²⁹, but the most satisfactory is that of W.M. Ramsay, who argued ⁴³⁰ that it was Stephanas and his household, rather than the Athenian converts, who were the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας because, while no church seems to have been established in Athens, Paul baptised the household of Stephanas in the course of founding the church in Corinth. On this interpretation, ἀπαρχή refers not simply to the first convert(s), but to those of the first converts who formed the nucleus of the church.

Support for this interpretation comes from two significant features of the way Paul speaks about the οἰκία Στεφάνου.

(1) Although he insists that Christ sent him to preach the Gospel, not to baptise (1:17), Paul nevertheless concedes that he did baptise some of the Corinthians who responded to his preaching (1:14,16). Why did he perform any baptisms if Christ did not send

him for this purpose? The obvious answer is that the baptisms he did perform had special significance in relation to the goal of his mission.⁴³¹ It is clear from his writings that Paul did not interpret his apostolic commission to mean that he simply proclaimed the Gospel in one place and then moved on to another, for the founding and nurturing of churches was obviously regarded as an integral part of his mission.⁴³²

He was not only proclaiming and converting; he was also founding communities.⁴³³

It is in this light that his baptism of the earliest converts can be seen as a fulfilment of his commission rather than a departure from it, for such baptisms are surely to be seen as a church-founding activity. Once a church has been established through the baptism and joining together of a group of converts, other baptisms can be performed by Paul's colleagues, or by the first converts themselves. The baptism of Stephanas' household can therefore be seen as part of Paul's church-founding activity in Corinth, and this suggests that their status as ἀπαρχή has to do with the foundation of the church in Corinth, rather than simply with their conversion.

(2) In both instances where he uses ἀπαρχή of particular Christians, Paul appends the name of a Roman province: Stephanas' household is the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας and Epaenetus is the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας. It has long been recognised that Paul conceived of and carried out his mission in a representative, rather than an exhaustive manner⁴³⁴, and that one feature of his representative approach was a tendency to think in terms of provinces, and of provinces in terms of their chief city.⁴³⁵ The use of provincial names with ἀπαρχή serves therefore to link the individuals concerned with the progress and fulfilment of the mission:

Was im Grossen die Hauptstadt für die Provinz bedeutete,
war im Kleinen der Erstbekehrte für das neue Missionsgebiet. . .
Der Erstbekehrte ist das Unterpfand und sichtbare Zeichen
für die Missionierung des Ganzen.⁴³⁶

The meaning of ἀπαρχή in this sense is thus close to
that of ἀπαβών, as is also the case when Christ is described as
ἀπαρχή in 15:20,23⁴³⁷ and when the Spirit is described as ἀπαρχή
in Rom 8:23.⁴³⁸ The conversion and baptism of the ἀπαρχή
is thus a guarantee that the complete harvest will eventually be
reaped.⁴³⁹ However, this raises an obvious question: What grounds
did Paul have for believing that the conversion of Epaenetus or the
household of Stephanas did in fact represent the beginning of a full
harvest? Was he using ἀπαρχή only retrospectively, once it had
become clear that a solid and growing work did follow their conversion?
Or was there something about these conversions in particular that
enabled them to be regarded at once as the first instalment and the
guarantee of a completed work? The answer is surely to be found in
the involvement of the ἀπαρχαί in the founding of churches, for it is
not the response of an individual to the Gospel, but the establishment
of a believing community, that guarantees a full harvest.

Denn Mission ist für Paulus nicht so sehr eine reisende
»Durchquerung der Welt« . . . , bei der in der hinter ihm
liegenden Spur die zum neuen Glauben Bekehrten zurück-
bleiben. Paulus war weniger Reisemissionar, er baute
Brückenköpfe (sic).⁴⁴⁰

In this connection it is significant that it is not just Stephanas,
but his household, that is the ἀπαρχή.⁴⁴¹ They are the ἀπαρχή
τῆς Ἀχαΐας not simply as converts, but as a believing household.⁴⁴²
It is the conversion and baptism of an entire household that built
a bridgehead, for a believing household would provide the nucleus
of the church (as well as making available a meeting place and all
the other facilities and support that a household could provide⁴⁴³)
and a base for the extension of the mission.⁴⁴⁴

If the first conversions in a city were to represent the first instalment and guarantee of a full harvest in that province, rather than turning out to be no more than an ephemeral response to the message of yet another peripatetic preacher, it was necessary to bind together in community those who responded to the Gospel. If that new community was to survive and grow, it was necessary for it to have a base. A Christian household would have provided just the kind of nucleus and base that was needed for the church to flourish, and it would therefore be appropriate to designate such a household ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῆς

Stephanas and his household were known as the ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας because they were those of Paul's first converts in Corinth who formed the nucleus of the church and provided it with a base, and were thus the first instalment and guarantee of the full harvest that was to be reaped for Christ in Achaëa. This is a reminder of the importance of Christian households in early Christianity:

Households . . . constituted the focus, locus and nucleus of the ministry and mission of the Christian movement. . . . The conversion of such domestic units . . . meant that households of Christians became the basic social and cultic centers, economic support systems and practical means for the further extension of the Christian movement.⁴⁴⁵

(iii) Their διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις :

Some scholars have argued that Paul is referring here to the involvement of Stephanas and his household in the collection for the ἁγιοὶ in Jerusalem (16:1).⁴⁴⁶ However, this interpretation is unsatisfactory for the following reasons: (1) although ἁγιοὶ refers to the believers in Jerusalem in 16:1, it refers to believers generally in 6:2 and 14:33, and to the members of the Corinthian church in particular in 1:2 and 6:1; and in the absence of any clear indication to the contrary, it is more likely that the ἁγιοὶ served by Stephanas and his household are those in Corinth (or those who

pass through Corinth); (2) although διακονία is used to refer to the collection in 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1,12,13 (but not in 16:1-4!), there are many different kinds of διακονία (12:5: διαίρεσεις διακονιών) so that the mere use of the term does not show that the collection is meant: and (3) the collection is only in the process of being set up as Paul writes (16:1-4), while the διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις of Stephanas and his household has been under way for some time (ἔταξαν) and is known to the church (οἶδατε).⁴⁴⁷ What, then, is the content of this διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις?

In the course of his discussion of the meaning of διάκονοι Χριστοῦ in 2 Cor 11:23, D. Georgi⁴⁴⁸ claimed that διακονία here refers to 'Verkündigungstätigkeit'.⁴⁴⁹ Although much of his argument was seriously undermined by J.N. Collins⁴⁵⁰, Georgi's interpretation has been adopted by Ollrog, who argues that in most cases Paul uses διακονία and its cognates to refer to 'missionarische Verkündigungstätigkeit',⁴⁵¹ and thus claims that the διακονία of Stephanas and his household was 'ihre Indienststellung und Mitarbeit in der Mission. . . .',⁴⁵² This interpretation founders on the fact that Paul describes their ministry as διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις. Since their ministry was directed to believers, it can hardly have consisted of evangelistic preaching!

The most common interpretation is that which sees their διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις as practical service of the needy⁴⁵³, and thus as a precursor of the function of the διάκονοι.⁴⁵⁴ Its content is therefore specified as 'Armen- und Krankenpflege',⁴⁵⁵ as the provision of hospitality⁴⁵⁶, or as the provision of a meeting place for the church.⁴⁵⁷ While all of these may well have been included, the generality of the expression suggests that its scope should not be defined too narrowly. Since

early Christianity learned to regard and describe as διακονία all significant activity for the edification of the community⁴⁵⁸,

and since Paul often uses the word and its cognates as mission-terms⁴⁵⁹, it is best to regard it as having a wide, general sense here, indicating that Stephanas' household served the Corinthians and other Christians⁴⁶⁰ in a variety of ways. In addition to various kinds of practical help and support, they may also have exercised a "ministry of the Word".

Their ministry was obviously sufficiently consistent and sufficiently conspicuous for it to be known to the whole church (οἶδατε κτλ), and seems therefore to have been different in degree and/or in kind from the various kinds of mutual service which all believers are responsible to undertake. They have undertaken this ministry at their own initiative: ἑταξαν ἑαυτοὺς⁴⁶¹ From one point of view, this is an indication that the Spirit has been active in and through them, equipping and motivating them to serve the church.⁴⁶² From another (equally valid) point of view, it implies that they have both the necessary freedom and the requisite resources to perform such διακονία . Obviously not all members of the church would have been free to devote themselves to such regular service of the church, as ἑταξαν ἑαυτοὺς

implies a systematic laying out of themselves for service, such as is possible only to those free to dispose, as they choose, of their persons and their time. . . .⁴⁶³

Moreover, such services as caring for the poor and needy, providing hospitality for travellers and a meeting place for the church, and so on, presuppose that those who are engaged in them are not only able to give their time, but are also equipped with the necessary wealth, property, influence and ability. We will consider this further below.

(iv) Their συνεργεῖν and κοπιᾶν :

Verse 16 serves to portray Stephanas and his household as examples of a wider group, each of whom can be designated ὁ συνεργῶν καὶ κοπιῶν.⁴⁶⁴ This twofold designation is somewhat pleonastic⁴⁶⁵ in view of the way both words are used as mission-terms by Paul⁴⁶⁶ and of the way they or their cognates are often linked in his letters.⁴⁶⁷ In the previous chapter we argued that Paul uses κοπιᾶν as a term of acknowledgment and association⁴⁶⁸: it acknowledges that those whose ministry is so designated are involved in real exertions and so display real commitment in serving the mission in either its extensive, missionary aspect or its intensive, church-building aspect; and it serves to associate them with Paul in the work of the mission. We also argued that when it is used of Christians other than Paul or other apostles, it generally refers to involvement in the intensive aspect of the mission--i.e., in church-building rather than church-planting, the building up of believers rather than missionary preaching.⁴⁶⁹ So in 1 Th 5:12 the sphere in which the κοπιῶντες serve is the church (ἐν ὑμῖν). The same is true here, where κοπιᾶν refers to the service of believers (διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις). Since the form of this expression--two participles governed by the same definite article--implies that both terms have a similar reference⁴⁷⁰, it is doubtful that συνεργεῖν denotes involvement in 'Missions-verkündigung'.⁴⁷¹ Although the use of both ἔργον⁴⁷² and συνεργός as mission-terms suggests that συνεργεῖν was also a part of Paul's mission-terminology⁴⁷³, this does not mean that it always refers to the extensive, missionary aspect of the mission, any more than κοπιᾶν does. Both συνεργεῖν and κοπιᾶν, therefore, denote involvement in the mission (here its intensive aspect: διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις) but they are not synonymous, for whereas κοπιᾶν indicates that such service involves hard work, συνεργεῖν points to its collaborative

character.⁴⁷⁴

The passage therefore refers to two aspects of the association between Stephanas and his household and Paul and his mission. Their status as ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας derives from their association with Paul at the time of the church's foundation, when he baptised them as the nucleus of the church. The present form of their association with the mission (their κοινὸν) is their διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις. This may suggest that the content of this διακονία is the provision of the same kinds of support and service for the church which they offered in the beginning as its ἀπαρχή.

We will consider below who the others included in this designation may have been.

(b) Stephanas and his παρουσία (vv.17-18):

As Paul writes⁴⁷⁵, Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus⁴⁷⁶ are with him in Ephesus. A number of questions about the meaning and the impact of their visit arise out of the passage. Why did they come to see Paul? Did they come on their own initiative or at the behest of the church? What was the ὑστέρημα that they remedied by their visit? How did their coming refresh Paul? When and how had they refreshed the Corinthians? It is obvious that the answers given to these questions will have a direct bearing upon the estimate that is formed of their position in the church. This may be illustrated by considering two quite different interpretations of this passage and the situation to which it refers.

The first is that proposed by N.A. Dahl⁴⁷⁷, whose argument can be summarised as follows.

(1) 'The church at Corinth had sent Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus as a kind of official delegation to Paul. According to all probability they had commissioned these delegates to bring a letter

from the congregation to Paul, asking for his opinion on a number of questions.⁴⁷⁸

(2) 'Thus, the official attitude of the congregation seems to have been one of loyalty to the apostle. But on the other hand, Chloe's people could orally report that there was a(sic) strife in Corinth and that there was some opposition against Paul.'⁴⁷⁹

(3) '. . . it was not Stephanas and the other members of the delegation who reported the quarrels at Corinth. [This] may mean that the quarrels had started after the departure of the delegation. . . .'⁴⁸⁰

(4) The twofold exhortation to the church (vv.16a,18b) 'gives some reason to suspect that not everybody in Corinth was inclined to pay due recognition to Stephanas, his household, and his fellow delegates.'⁴⁸¹

(5) All of this leads to the following hypothesis: 'the quarrelling Corinthians were opposing Stephanas as much as they were opposing Paul. As Stephanas was the head of the delegation, he was quite likely also its initiator, and a chief advocate of writing a letter to Paul. . . .'⁴⁸² Thus, the pressure applied by Stephanas to get the church to write to Paul was the catalyst which produced the disputes about which Chloe's people informed Paul.⁴⁸³

Although it is not without validity in some respects, this hypothesis is vulnerable at certain points.

(1) There is no explicit indication in the passage, or elsewhere in the letter, that Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus were an official delegation from the church.⁴⁸⁴ We will consider this further below.

(2) Implicit in the hypothesis is the assumption that Paul did not learn of the quarrels in the church until after Stephanas and his colleagues had arrived with the church's letter and their own report about the situation. However, the fact that Paul deals at length with

these quarrels (chs.1-4) before he mentions the church's letter (7:1), and the fact that he refers to the report of Chloe's people as lying in the past (1:11: ἐδηλώθη .. μοι ...) while Stephanas and the others are with him as he writes (16:17), suggests that the visit of Chloe's people preceded that of Stephanas and the others, and that the disputes preceded the writing of the church's letter.

(3) The belief that it was the suggestion to write to Paul that provoked the quarrels about the merits of the various leaders to whom the Corinthians felt some attachment is unlikely, as we have already argued.⁴⁸⁵ These quarrels, and the unwillingness to accept Paul's authority over the church that they reflect, are likely to have been aroused by the Vorbrief Paul had sent some time before the church's decision to write to him.

Dahl is quite right to insist on the need to account for the apparent contradiction between reports of quarrels in the church (which imply rejection of Pauline leadership by a large section of the church) and the fact that the church has written to him (which implies acceptance of his leadership).⁴⁸⁶ However, his own attempt to provide a satisfactory reconstruction of the course of events cannot be regarded as successful. Yet our rejection of his hypothesis raises a crucial question: If the church was already divided by the quarrels reported by Chloe's people, how could the visit of Stephanas and his colleagues have brought any refreshment and encouragement to Paul? This question is the point of departure for W.-H. Ollrog's interpretation of this passage. He argues as follows.

(1) The customary interpretation of the passage, according to which the three visitors refresh Paul's spirit by bringing the church's letter and giving him fresh news, is untenable, because the situation disclosed by 1 Cor was such a bad one.

In wiefern hätte denn die Aufklärung des Paulus über die unguten Verhältnisse in der Gemeinde den Korinthern irgendeine Beruhigung verschaffen können? Der Grund für die gegenseitige Beruhigung kann nicht im Bericht über die Lage in Korinth gelegen haben.⁴⁸⁷

(2) The source of the refreshment of both Paul and the Corinthians (v.18a) is the παρουσία of Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus. Since it is their παρουσία, rather than any news they bring, which is the cause of Paul's rejoicing (v.17), it seems clear that he has been expecting their visit.⁴⁸⁸

(3) It is also their παρουσία that has remedied the Corinthians' ὑστέρημα :

Nicht ein Mangel des Paulus ist angesprochen, sondern einer der Korinther. . . ! Ihr, der Gemeinde, fehlte etwas, um ihretwillen machten sie die drei Korinther auf die Reise. Ihr Mangel ist nun, mit der παρουσία der drei Gemeindeglieder, beglichen.⁴⁸⁹

This leads to the following interpretation of the ὑστέρημα :

. . . wenn ihn die Anwesenheit der drei Gemeindeglieder behebt, ihn ihre Abwesenheit entstehen liess. . . .⁴⁹⁰

(4) The similarities between 16:15-18 and Phil 2:25-30⁴⁹¹ suggest that the meaning of the latter passage will illuminate that of this passage more fully. From that passage we learn that Epaphroditus, the Philippians' ἀπόστολος, joined Paul in order to participate in the mission.

Als offizieller Vertreter seiner Gemeinde vertritt er die Philipper in der Missionsarbeit bei Paulus und füllt damit den Mangel aus, der der Gemeinde anhaftet. . . . Paulus war demnach der Meinung, die philippische Gemeinde hätte zu ihm in die Missionsarbeit Vertreter, »Gemeindegessandte« . . . zu entsenden.⁴⁹²

So with Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus: their διακονία is to be understood as 'ihre Indienststellung und Mitarbeit in der Mission',⁴⁹³ and they have come to give this service on the church's behalf.

Like Dahl's, this hypothesis is both attractive in some respects and unsatisfactory in others.

(1) Paul's rejoicing at the παρουσία of the three visitors

need not imply that he had been expecting them; on the contrary, it may indicate that their visit was an unexpected bonus.

(2) The fact that the Corinthians' ὑστέρημα was remedied by the visitors' παρουσία does not show that it consisted of their ἀπουσία. It is more likely to have been the content and background of their visit, rather than the mere fact of it, that made up the church's ὑστέρημα.

(3) The admitted similarities between 16:15-18 and Phil 2:25-30 do not necessarily show that the situations referred to were identical. In fact, in addition to the similarities, there are also some important differences between the passages.⁴⁹⁴

(i) While Epaphroditus is expressly said to have been the Philippians' ἀπόστολος (2:25), there is nothing in 1 Cor to suggest that Stephanas and his companions had been sent by the church.

(ii) While Epaphroditus is acknowledged as having contributed to the mission (the ἔργον Χριστοῦ, 2:30), Stephanas' service is directed to the church (διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις), as we argued above, points to "Gemeindearbeit" rather than "Missionsarbeit").

(iii) While Paul's explanation of his decision to send Epaphroditus back to Philippi may perhaps imply that he had been expected to stay with Paul longer⁴⁹⁵, there is nothing in our passage to suggest that the three Corinthians had visited Paul 'um bei ihm zu bleiben.'⁴⁹⁶

Ollrog is right to interpret vv.17-18 as a coherent unit, with the refreshing of Paul's spirit linked to the refreshing of the Corinthians', and with both linked to the παρουσία of Stephanas and his companions. However, his explanation of these links is not convincing.

Both of the interpretations we have considered rightly emphasise certain aspects of the passage and of the situation to which

it refers, but neither of them accounts satisfactorily for all the evidence concerning the relation between this visit and the church-situation. We are now in a position to propose an alternative interpretation which takes account of both the strengths and weaknesses of the two we have examined.

We begin by observing that the section we are considering (vv.17-18) is to be read as a coherent unit, since its constituent elements are clearly linked together. The *ὅτι* with which v.17b begins shows that the visitors' remedying of the *ὑστέρημα* was the reason for Paul's rejoicing at their *παρουσία*, and the *γάρ* at the beginning of v.18 suggests (although its connective force cannot be pressed) that the refreshing of both Paul's spirit and the Corinthians' (which are obviously interconnected, as the form of the expression shows⁴⁹⁷) is connected with both the visitors' *παρουσία* and their making up the Corinthians' *ὑστέρημα*. An adequate interpretation of the passage must provide a satisfactory explanation of the connections between these three statements. Such an interpretation must also include the recognition that the emphatic position of the possessive adjective⁴⁹⁸ shows that *τὸ ὑμέτερον*⁴⁹⁹ *ὑστέρημα* indicates a lack in the Corinthians, not a lack on Paul's part.⁵⁰⁰ Moreover, since *ὑστέρημα* cannot be treated as synonymous with *ἀπουσία*⁵⁰¹, the expression indicates some failing on the Corinthians' part, not merely the fact that they were not where Paul was.⁵⁰² In what respects were the Corinthians deficient, and how did the *παρουσία* of Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus both remedy that shortcoming and refresh the spirits of both Paul and the Corinthians? Furthermore, how are these consequences of their *παρουσία* --and the visit itself--to be related to the quarrels that are dividing the church?

The most satisfactory explanation of the passage in the

light of the situation in the church is that Stephanas and his colleagues have succeeded in persuading the church to send a letter to Paul, submitting some of its principal concerns and difficulties to him and seeking his response⁵⁰³, and have then brought the letter to Ephesus.⁵⁰⁴ The Corinthians' ὀστέρημα was their failure, as a result of their disputing about the merits of the leaders with whom different sections of the church's membership identified, to seek the advice and help of their founder-father.⁵⁰⁵ Stephanas and the others have now remedied that ὀστέρημα by securing the agreement of the church to make contact with Paul by letter, and just as they took the initiative in persuading the church to agree on this course of action, so they also volunteered to bring the letter to Paul and to bring his reply back with them.⁵⁰⁶ It is for this reason that Paul is rejoicing at their παρουσία --not simply because they are there, but because of what preceded their coming and what their visit and the letter they have brought represent. He is delighted that the church has made this gesture, for, even though there are still sections of the church in which there is a resistance to Paul's leadership (4:18), the fact that they were willing to take such a step means that there is reason to hope that the situation can be retrieved and the quarrelling within the church can be overcome.

The παρουσία of Stephanas and his companions thus refreshed Paul's spirit not simply because in them he had contact with the Corinthians ('a bit of dear Corinth',⁵⁰⁷) about whom he was so concerned, but because the fact that they brought a letter from the church which they had been instrumental in having written represents a real breakthrough which holds promise of better things in Corinth, and also demonstrates that there are still those within the church mature and responsible enough to respond positively and creatively to the church's malaise. Paul thus has some basis for confidence

that the church will come to accept the leadership that he believes himself responsible to provide as its apostle and founder-father, and also that there are members of the church who are capable of giving the right kind of lead in his absence.

The παρουσία of Stephanas and the others has also refreshed the Corinthians' spirit, not only in a proleptic sense-- they will be encouraged to learn how glad Paul was to receive their letter, or helped and encouraged by his reply⁵⁰⁸--but also in the sense that they had succeeded in bringing some relief from the tensions and conflicts that were plaguing the church.

Es war . . . auch für die Gemeinde eine Beruhigung, in diesen Männern eine Gesandtschaft zu haben, die geeignet schien, zu einer Beilegung der Parteiungen und zu einer Klärung der offenen Fragen beizutragen.⁵⁰⁹

The Corinthians found refreshment in the measure of harmony that Stephanas and his colleagues had brought about by proposing this step and carrying it through.

Der Gemeindevorstand selbst ist nur möglich, wenn sich die Gemeinde in irgendeiner Form geeinigt hat und die Polarisierung überwinden ist. . . .⁵¹⁰

For Stephanas and his companions to have succeeded in persuading a divided church to agree upon such a course of action, especially when Paul's right and fitness to direct the church was one of the most divisive issues troubling it, implies that they must have enjoyed a relatively high degree of respect and influence in the church. Despite having been baptised by Paul and closely associated with him when the church was founded, they were obviously able to avoid being so identified with the pro-Pauline group as to have their proposal rejected out of hand by the other groups. Their ability to avoid being enmeshed in the factionalism and to retain influence and respect despite it was probably due to their continuing commitment to διακονία (πᾶσιν!) τοῖς ἁγίοις in Corinth.

(c) The church and its response:

Paul makes a twofold appeal for the proper recognition of Stephanas and his household and others who serve as they do. The first is linked particularly to the διακονία of Stephanas and his household, while the second is connected with Stephanas' παρουσία in Ephesus and all that it involves.

(i) ἵνα ὑποτάσσησθε τοῖς τοιοῦτοις (v.16):

The use of ὑποτάσσομαι in the NT⁵¹¹ encompasses a range of meanings, being virtually synonymous with ὑπακούω in some contexts, while in others, where willing deference to another is in view, it is closely related to the idea of humility.⁵¹²

In exhortation the middle embraces a whole series of meanings from subjection to authority on the one side to considerate submission to others on the other.⁵¹³

The clearest indication of the particular sense it has in this context is in the way ὑποτάσσεσθαι is depicted as a response to service. Its responsive character is suggested by (1) the obvious verbal play in the linking of ὑποτάσσεσθαι to τάσσειν⁵¹⁴, which implies that they are connected as action and reaction; and (2) the καὶ ὑμεῖς which precedes the verb, which is most naturally interpreted as "you too, for your part"⁵¹⁵ and therefore implies that they are being urged to respond to some prior action. The word is therefore best understood as referring to 'a voluntary yielding in love',⁵¹⁶ as it is indicating how the gratitude that springs from being served should find expression.

What does this yielding entail? The claim that Paul

fordert die Gemeinde konkret zum Gehorsam diesen Leuten gegenüber auf⁵¹⁷

unduly maximises the force of the appeal because it wrongly assumes that ὑποτάσσεσθαι necessarily denotes submission to authority.

Conversely, interpreting the appeal to mean that 'Stephanas deserved

the Church's respect',⁵¹⁸ unduly minimises its force, for while "yielding" will be accompanied by respect in such a context as this, it cannot simply be equated with it. Again, to interpret Paul as urging that wherever

some particular charisma of service was manifested through the same individuals in a regular way the community should recognize that here were men (and women) whose lead should be followed in these areas of service⁵¹⁹

is to limit his meaning in a way that finds no warrant in the text. The passage implies that the church is to yield to those who serve as Stephanas does because of their service, but gives no indication that it is to do so only in their service. However, this interpretation does offer a helpful understanding of what this "yielding" amounts to by referring to those 'whose lead should be followed'. To yield to Stephanas and others who serve as he does means to accept their leadership, and so Paul's exhortation indicates that their 'lead must be valued, respected, and followed.'⁵²⁰

Such yielding, when it is the consistent response to service regularly provided, will serve to confer a certain precedence on those to whom it is directed.⁵²¹ The effect of this exhortation is therefore to indicate that within the mutual submission that is expected of all⁵²², there is an asymmetry that is valid and right.⁵²³ It thus serves to sanction and encourage the emergence of a "functional hierarchy" within the church, in which Stephanas and others who serve the church as he does will be deferred to by the church as a whole.⁵²⁴ We will consider the implications of this in more detail below.

(ii) ἐπιγινώσκετε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους (v.18):

The recognition for which Paul appeals here is also, as the οὖν indicates, a response to what Stephanas and his associates have done. The οὖν connects this recognition specifically with their having refreshed the spirits of Paul and the Corinthians, but since

this is connected with their παρουσία and their remedying the church's ὑστέρημα, it is on the basis of their παρουσία and all that it represents that they are to be recognised.

The exhortation is therefore saying more than
recognize the arduous and dangerous character of their trip to Paul and back⁵²⁵,

for it is not so much the journey itself as what preceded it and what may be expected to follow from it that has brought encouragement to both the apostle and the church.

As with the previous exhortation, although the recognition that Paul calls for will be an expression of respect and gratitude for service freely given (or should be!), it involves more than this.

In dem ἐπιγινώσκετε οὖν τοιοῦτους myss, wie 14:37 zeigt, mehr liegen, als die Forderung einer dankbaren Anerkennung ihrer Leistungen; es schliesst eine „Anerkennung“ ihrer Personen, als massgebende Autoritäten, als Führer ein.⁵²⁶

Stephanas and his associates are deserving of recognition because of the responsible lead they have given the church in its confused and divided state. Indeed, their success in persuading the church to write to Paul indicates that their initiative and leadership have already found recognition to a significant degree, and Paul makes it clear that this recognition should continue. Those who give a lead in such ways should be followed.

Like that in v.16, this exhortation calls for a particular response to a group that includes Stephanas and his household, along with others. Who are these other persons (τοῖς τοιοῦτοις / τοῖς τοιοῦτοις)? It seems clear that the reference is to other members of the Corinthian church⁵²² who serve believers in a similar manner to Stephanas and his household.⁵²⁸ How many of the Corinthians does this include? The generality inherent in the way he formulates both exhortations is perhaps an indication that although there should be

others who are serving the church as the οἰκία Στεφάνου does, there are in fact none who are doing so. The others who have the necessary gifts and resources to serve the church in this way may well have been caught up in the factionalism and other kinds of divisions that have been disrupting the proper functioning of the church.⁵²⁹ In other words, Paul's exhortations can be understood not only as appeals to the church for the proper response to those who lead and serve, but also as calls to the appropriate members of the church to take their responsibilities seriously and to begin to work for the upbuilding of the church. The way Paul expresses his appeal in v.16 makes the ministry of Stephanas and his household a paradigm of that which the church is to recognise and submit to⁵³⁰; it is perhaps also to be seen as an implicit appeal for those who are in a position to do so to follow their example.

(d) Conclusions:

Before we turn to consider the principal implications of this passage, it will be useful to summarise our conclusions about the meaning of the important expressions it contains.

We have argued that the οἰκία Στεφάνου was known as the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας because, as a converted and baptised household, they were the founding nucleus of the Corinthian church, and also provided a base for both the church and the mission. The designation ἀπαρχή refers to them not simply as the first converts in the province, but as those of the first converts who served as a guarantee of a work that would proceed to completion.

In relation to the διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις undertaken by Stephanas and his household, we argued that, because of the way Paul makes special mention of it and because it was known to the whole church, it seems to have been a ministry that differed in scope and/or in kind

from the caring and help that are to be exchanged mutually between all believers (12:25-26). This impression is reinforced by the fact that it was directed not only to the Corinthian church but to other Christians as well (τοῖς ἁγίοις), which suggests that it involved the provision of hospitality and other kinds of support to Christians travelling through Corinth as well as to the church itself. Their ministry therefore made use of resources and opportunities not normally available to any except those who were relatively well-to-do. The fact that they have undertaken this ministry at their own initiative (ἔταξαν ἑαυτοὺς) not only implies that God has prompted them to serve in this way, but also reflects Stephanas' social and financial independence.

Their διακονία may well be an instance of the ἀντιλήμψεις to which Paul draws the church's attention in 12:28, while behind their παρουσία lies an instance of the κυβερνήσεις referred to in the same verse. In their διακονία they have been providing support for the church; their παρουσία is a result of the leadership and direction they have provided. We have argued that the visit of Stephanas and his two companions is a result of his initiative in persuading the church to make contact with Paul by letter in a bid to resolve some of the serious conflicts and tensions dividing it, and in volunteering to take the letter to Paul and to bring back his reply. His ability to persuade the disputing groups within the church to agree to such a move suggests that he possessed a significant degree of influence and prestige in the church.

The implicit description of Stephanas and his household as συνεργοὺντες and κοπιῶντες serves to acknowledge their continuing participation in the Pauline mission through their service of the church. As their special association with Paul at the time of the church's foundation is acknowledged in the designation ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, so these

terms indicate that their association with him and his mission continues through their active involvement in building up the church. This is a ministry which requires and displays both cooperation (συνεργεῖν) and strenuous effort (κοπιᾶν).

The church is to respond to the ministry of Stephanas and his household (and any others who serve in the same way) by giving them appropriate recognition and yielding to them, both of which involve accepting and following their leadership. Their ministry and the church's response to it will serve to create a "functional hierarchy" in the church.

The preceding paragraphs summarise the results of our attempt to ascertain as precisely as possible the meaning of the words and expressions Paul uses in this passage. Inevitably there have been a number of occasions throughout this section in which we have alluded to the implications of what Paul says. It is now time to consider those implications more fully, especially those which relate to the question of local leadership.

3. The Implications of the Passage:

What may be inferred from these verses about the position (i.e., the role and status) within the church of Stephanas and others who serve as he does? What do Paul's exhortations imply about his intentions for the order and functioning of the church? The most convenient way of exploring the implications of the passage in these areas is to consider in turn what Paul says about the οἰκία Στεφάνου and what he says to the church, and then to draw some conclusions about local leadership in the Corinthian church in the light of our discussion as a whole.

(a) Paul's description of the οἰκία Στεφάνου :

The most important implications of the way Paul refers to Stephanas and his household relate to the designation ἀπαρχή and to

the nature of his διακονία and the background and purpose of his παρουσία.

(1) The status of Stephanas' household as ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας has significant implications in three areas in particular, all of which bear upon their position in the church.

(i) Prestige: The expression ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας (along with the similar one in Rom 16:5) is obviously an 'Ehrentitel',⁵³¹ and implies that Paul regards those of whom he uses it as deserving of (if not already enjoying) a certain prestige within the church and the region concerned.⁵³²

And indeed nothing is more natural than that those who were the first converts at the foundation of a missionary congregation should be held in special respect by those who joined at a later stage, and should occupy a position of trust in the community.⁵³³

Our interpretation of this use of ἀπαρχή suggests that this prestige arises not simply from the fact of their being the first converts, but from their association with the apostle in the founding of the church and from their contribution to the establishing of the church. So their prestige as ἀπαρχή does not derive from the fact that they happened to be the first to respond to the Gospel in that centre, but from their involvement in serving the church from the very beginning as those who formed its original nucleus and provided its original base.

(ii) Influence: Those who form the original nucleus of a new church and provide it with a base and other kinds of support will naturally exercise a significant influence on the shape and direction of its life. Whereas everything the original converts know about the Christian life and about the nature, functioning and purpose of the church will have been learned from the apostle and his missionary colleagues, those who are initiated into an already established church will inevitably be influenced in their understanding of what it means

to be a Christian and what the church is all about by the original members of the church, especially when the apostle and his colleagues have gone elsewhere.

Wenn man . . . bedenkt, dass in späterer Zeit jeder Bekehrte schon eine geformte Gemeinde vorfindet, in die er sich hineinfinden muss und die durch den einzelnen nur schwer veränderbar ist, so wird die Bedeutung der „ersten Christen“ für die Form und den Inhalt der Gemeinde deutlich.⁵³⁴

The nature of developments in Corinth, with the impact made by the ministries of Apollos and Cephas and by the disputes that have arisen out of the resultant loyalties of the Corinthians towards different leaders, is likely to have meant that the influence of Stephanas and his household was less in this respect than might otherwise have been the case. Nevertheless, their success in persuading a divided church to make contact with Paul must mean that they had retained a significant degree of influence and prestige.

(iii) Seniority: As the first converts and founding members of the church, the members of the household of Stephanas would have had a greater length of Christian experience than other members of the church. It is likely that this length of experience would have carried some weight normally, especially when it included both association with the apostle in the foundation of the church and a continuing involvement in Christian service.

New emphasis has been laid on this quality of "seniority" in some recent discussion of the origin of ecclesiastical office. In response to a re-examination of the origins of the Christian presbyterate which claimed that age was an important consideration⁵³⁵, C.H.

Roberts argued that

it was seniority qua Christians that would have counted. Whatever precedence age may have enjoyed in a club or secular society, it is difficult to envisage it as conferring by itself authority in any early Christian community; it is not too difficult to understand how the position of being a veteran in the faith and acquainted with its earliest beginn-

ings, combined as it often but not always would be with seniority in years, became from being regarded as a standard and source of reference imperceptibly that of a presbyter who is also a bishop.⁵³⁶

Although he seems to be unaware of Roberts' article, J.H. Elliott has advanced a very similar argument in relation to Stephanas' position in the Corinthian church.

The Corinthians were to subordinate themselves to Stephanas and his household because these people were, as the first converts, "senior in the faith". They were elders, as it were, not necessarily in natural age but in Christian experience and service. . . . The Christians, like their Jewish and secular contemporaries, spoke of "elders" in both the natural and the titular sense. It is possible, perhaps probable, that when they chose and designated their leaders as "elders" the criterion for this choice was not merely natural age, but the length of age as a Christian, seniority in the faith. The term presbyteros does not occur in the genuine Pauline letters. However, in 1 Corinthians it is clear that Paul considered Stephanas a senior in fact, if not in title. . . . Experience in the faith and seniority in service apparently were major standards for the selection of Christian leaders as well as the precondition for subordination within the household of God.⁵³⁷

This is by no means a new approach, of course. In fact, it finds a striking parallel in 1 Clem 42, where it is claimed that the apostles appointed τὰς ἀρχαὶς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν... Although it is anachronistic as a representation of the actual course of events, the preceding paragraphs of our discussion suggest that this claim may be regarded as having some basis in fact. J. Rohde argues that this is so, and maintains that it

ist sicher, dass die Erstbekehrten auch die verantwortlichen Aufgaben der Gemeindekonstituierung und -konsolidierung wahrnehmen . . . , ohne dass ihnen auf dieser Entwicklungsstufe aber schon die genannten Amtstitel zukam.⁵³⁸

Whatever may have been true elsewhere, this passage certainly suggests that this was the case in Corinth, for Stephanas and his household were actively involved from the beginning in forms of service which contributed to the constituting and consolidating of the church.

What this seniority and service may have meant in relation to their position in the church will be considered below.

(2) Both Stephanas' διακονία and his παρουσία presuppose, we have suggested, that he had the necessary independence and financial and material resources to provide hospitality and support for his fellow-Christians and to travel to Ephesus at his own expense. A similar view of Stephanas' social position has been maintained by G. Theissen, who concluded, in his study of "social stratification" in the Corinthian church⁵³⁹, that Stephanas belonged to the upper stratum of the church's membership.

By applying four indices of elevated social status⁵⁴⁰ (namely, offices held in the synagogue or the city; possession of houses; services rendered to the church; and travelling)⁵⁴¹ to those Corinthians who are named in the NT, Theissen concluded that the great majority of the Corinthians known to us by name probably enjoyed high social status.⁵⁴²

This is especially true of Stephanas, to whom three of the four indices apply⁵⁴³: as head of a household, it is 'quite possible' that he owned slaves⁵⁴⁴; his διακονία probably involved 'material expenditure'⁵⁴⁵; and his journey to Paul may imply that he was one of those

sufficiently free from the need to earn a living that they could invest their time and money in travel.⁵⁴⁶

Theissen concedes, however, that none of these inferences is certain: the mere fact of reference to someone's house 'is hardly a sure criterion for that person's high social status'⁵⁴⁷; we can hardly infer such status 'from catchwords like διακονεῖν or διάκονος'⁵⁴⁸; and we must 'be cautious in drawing conclusions about the social status of people who travel', as many travellers were not at all wealthy.⁵⁴⁹ Yet he maintains that although each of these criteria is insufficient by itself to indicate high social status, the possibility that any of

them does so is increased when one or more of the others applies to the person in question.⁵⁵⁰ In the case of Stephanas, therefore, the likelihood that he came from the church's upper strata is based on the cumulative weight of three of these indices.

How strong is Theissen's case? In the first place, it must be admitted that the cumulative weight of three uncertain inferences is not very great! Theissen has certainly established the possibility that Stephanas was well-to-do, but his argument does not permit us to regard this as certain.

Secondly, it is not made sufficiently clear that the social status Theissen speaks of is high only in relation to that of the bulk of the church's membership (and, perhaps, of the city's population). It would clearly not have been high in relation to that of the Roman aristocracy, whose power and wealth vastly exceeded any that Stephanas may have possessed. At best, therefore, Theissen's argument shows that some of the Corinthian Christians were relatively well-to-do and influential.

Thirdly, Malherbe has argued that

Theissen's attempt to prove that Stephanas was a man of means is not convincing. We know Stephanas only from Paul's casual references in 1 Corinthians 1:16 and 16:15ff. To regard him as a person of means on the basis of Luke's description of other individuals, is methodologically unjustified, especially since Luke's descriptions reflect his tendency to present Christians as people of some social status. Perhaps the fact that Stephanas travelled to see Paul . . . may point in that direction, but not even that is certain.⁵⁵¹

These criticisms are rather too negative, however. In the first place, we have argued that the reference to Stephanas in 16:15ff is anything but casual.⁵⁵² Secondly, it may be argued that Theissen's use of the material in Acts actually serves to suggest that Luke's portrayal of the prominent role played by persons of relatively high social status in the early decades of the Christian movement cannot

be dismissed as purely tendentious, but (whatever its apologetic or other motivations) has some basis in fact. Thirdly, Theissen's argument can be strengthened in several respects, so that the claim that Stephanas belonged to the church's upper strata does not rest (as Malherbe suggests) solely on the possibility that his journey to Ephesus implies that he had some financial means at his disposal.

Our interpretation of vv.17-18 reinforces Theissen's case, because it increases the likelihood that Stephanas' trip to Ephesus was undertaken at his own expense, which most naturally suggests that he was a man of means. Likewise, our interpretations of the expressions ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας and διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις points to Stephanas as a man who used his material resources (his house, his money, etc.) in the service of the church from the time of its foundation. Further support for Theissen's conclusions about Stephanas' social status may be found in the fact that the others whom Paul baptised in Corinth (Crispus and Gaius, 1:14) seem to have had a relatively high status--Crispus as ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Acts 18:8)⁵⁵³ and Gaius as ξένος to Paul and the whole Corinthian church (Rom 16:23)⁵⁵⁴, which increases the likelihood that Stephanas belonged to the same social stratum.⁵⁵⁵

We conclude, therefore, that Theissen has succeeded in establishing the possibility that Stephanas was relatively well-to-do and influential, and that our own interpretation of this passage serves to strengthen his case in several ways. Although certainty is not possible, on the basis of Stephanas' prestige as ἀπαρχή,

aus seinem Haus- und (vermutlich ...) Sklavenbesitz, aus seinen freiwilligen Dienstleistungen für die Gemeinde sowie schliesslich seiner eigenständigen Reise zu Paulus wird man ... schliessen können, dass er zur wohlhabenden und tonangebenden Klasse in Korinth gehörte. . . .⁵⁵⁶

On the basis of such considerations W.A. Meeks has argued that, as one of those whose

relative affluence gave them the means to do things for the Christian groups that most members could not⁵⁵⁷,

Stephanas exercised a patronal role in the church.⁵⁵⁸ This is by no means a novel suggestion, as it was nearly a century ago that F.J.A. Hort interpreted this passage as meaning that

Stephanas was a wealthy or otherwise influential Corinthian who with his household made it his aim to use his position for the benefit of Christians travelling to Corinth from a distance. . . . Services like these rendered by a man of social eminence made it good for the members of the Corinthian Ecclesia to look up to him as a leader. He was in fact affording an example of what St. Paul meant by ὁ προϊστάμενος in Rom.xii.8.⁵⁵⁹

Hort went on to link this with Phoebe's activity as a 'patroness'

(προστάτις) -

a word suggestive of the kind of help and encouragement given by wealthy benevolent people to dependents or helpless strangers⁵⁶⁰ -

and concluded that

what Stephanas had done in Corinth she had done at Cenchreae. ⁵⁶¹

Our examination of the passage clearly supports this patronal understanding of Stephanas' role. We have argued that he was a relatively well-to-do and influential Christian who used his material resources and his independence for the benefit of the church, that as ἀπαρχή he and his household provided a base for the church when it was founded, and that their διακονία has involved them in continuing to provide hospitality and support for the church (as well as for believers from elsewhere). It cannot be claimed that any of this has been demonstrated as certain, for the available evidence is too slight to permit such certainty. Nevertheless, as we have examined each of the significant words and expressions in the passage in turn, the interpretation to emerge as most probable in each case has pointed in this direction, so that the validity of this understanding of Stephanas' role is supported by the cumulative weight of several

concurring probabilities.

The picture of Stephanas' status and activities that results from our examination of this passage is thus very similar to the conclusions we reached about the προΐστάμενοι in Thessalonica as hosts, sponsors and protectors of the church. He seems to have been a "patron" in the same way they were.⁵⁶²

It seems that Paul expected other members of the Corinthian church to exercise the same patronal function. This is the clear implication of the way he appeals to the church to recognise and submit to those who serve in the same manner as Stephanas and the members of his household.⁵⁶³ Obviously, these exhortations do not mean that Paul did not recognise (or expect the church to recognise) any other kind of διακονία or συνεργεῖν and κοπιᾶν than patronal service, for it is clear that he envisaged many other ways in which believers would serve the church (12:5: καὶ διαίρεσεις διακονιῶν εἰσιν!) Yet, since every believer is equipped and therefore responsible to serve the church in some way or other (12:7,11), the others (τοιοῦτοι) to whom Paul refers cannot be those who are like Stephanas only in the fact that they serve, for his exhortations would then be calling upon every member of the church to recognise and submit to--every member of the church!⁵⁶⁴ Rather, the τοιοῦτοι in question must be those who are like Stephanas in the way that they serve and not just in the fact that they serve. In addition to Stephanas, there are (or ought to be) other patrons whom the church should recognise and follow.

The significance of the fact that Paul baptised Crispus and Gaius as well as the household of Stephanas becomes more apparent in this connection. What little we know about these two men suggests that both of them were relatively well-to-do.⁵⁶⁵ We have already

argued that Paul's declaration that he was not sent to baptise (1:17) indicates that he must have regarded those baptisms he did perform as integral to his apostolic mission, and that they must have been significant in a way that other baptisms were not.⁵⁶⁶ The three baptisms he performed in Corinth are doubly significant in that, in a church where not many were wise, powerful or noble κατὰ σάρκα (1:26), the only people Paul baptised were quite prosperous.⁵⁶⁷ This fact, like the baptisms themselves, is best explained in relation to Paul's church-planting activity.⁵⁶⁸ In order to establish bridge-heads⁵⁶⁹, Paul needed converts who were not only deeply committed and adequately instructed, but also able to provide the accommodation, support and protection that the new congregation needed in order to survive and grow. The relative prosperity of men like Crispus, Gaius and Stephanas placed them in a position to offer these things to the church, so by baptising them Paul not only created the nucleus of a new church, but also secured the necessary base and support which would permit that church to survive. Those he baptised in Corinth were not only the church's first members, but also its "patrons".⁵⁷⁰

Such patrons, believers who possessed a significant degree of wealth, independence and influence, were of obvious importance in the establishment and growth of the churches in the first decades of the Christian movement.

Die Stellung des Hausvaters, seine grosse Verantwortung und Schutzpflicht, aber auch seine potestas über die von ihm abhängigen Familienmitglieder und Sklaven . . . bedeutete auch für das Christentum eine Hilfe. Denn die weitgehende rechtliche, Wirtschaftliche und religiöse Selbständigkeit des antiken Hauses, die aus der Stellung des pater familias folgte, bot der christlichen Mission die einzige Möglichkeit, die Entfaltung und Verwirklichung ihrer Botschaft inmitten einer heidnischen Gesellschaft wenigstens stückweise zu fördern und von fremden Zugriff zu schützen.⁵⁷¹

(b) Paul's exhortations to the church:

What implications may be seen in the response to Stephanas

and others that Paul urges upon the church? Our answer to this question must begin by repeating the observation made in response to Dunn's interpretation of this passage⁵⁷²--namely, that what Paul appeals for here is a response based on service but directed to those who serve in certain ways.

. . . die Anerkennung gelten grundsätzlich der Arbeit, die sie tun . . . , müssen faktisch aber den Personen entgegengebracht werden, wenn die Aufforderung einen konkreten Sinn haben soll.⁵⁷³

This needs to be emphasised against those interpretations of Paul's teaching which represent him as confining authority to ministry and denying it to persons in such a way that offices, ranks and titles are prevented from emerging. This is the import of Käsemann's claim that, for Paul, authority belongs only to 'the concrete act of ministry as it occurs',⁵⁷⁴ a view that is endorsed by Dunn.⁵⁷⁵ Against such views it needs to be stressed that Paul's exhortations here show that

Person und Dienst sind . . . nicht zu trennen.⁵⁷⁶

Indeed, the fact that the church is called upon to yield to Stephanas and others who serve as he does has clear implications for their status and position in the church.

These implications can be analysed in relation to the vertical and horizontal differentiation that are features of the process of social ordering as human groups become larger and more complex.⁵⁷⁷

(i) Vertical differentiation: We have seen that Paul's description of the οἰκία Στεφάνου indicates that they possess a significant degree of prestige and influence in the church, and that this prestige and influence are partly the result of Stephanas' possession of material and financial resources not available to most members of the church. This means that the life and functioning of

the church involves a certain degree of social stratification, which is the process

through which power, privilege, and prestige are unequally distributed, patterned, and perpetuated within social organisations.⁵⁷⁸

Paul's exhortations to the church entail the acceptance and perpetuation of this social stratification, or vertical differentiation--but only within certain limits. By calling upon the church to submit to and to recognise Stephanas and others who serve as he does, Paul is effectively endorsing his influence (i.e., his power) and his prestige within the church. But this is not an endorsement of social stratification as such, as though the mere fact of relative wealth or relative social eminence was to be a basis for power in the church. It is only those who put their independence, influence, and prosperity to work in constant and demanding service of the church (as Stephanas has done) who are to be given recognition and precedence. There are others whose relative wealth and eminence has become an occasion for splitting, rather than serving, the church (11:17-22), but they receive only censure from Paul and deserve no recognition from the church. Paul's exhortations, and the acceptance and perpetuation of vertical differentiation (i.e., distinctions of power and prestige) which they entail, apply only where status and service are wedded--as they are in the patronal function exercised by Stephanas.

(ii) Horizontal differentiation: Paul's description of Stephanas' activity has led us to conclude that he has been performing the function of a "patron", fulfilling the same role in Corinth as the προϊστάμενοι did in Thessalonica. We have also suggested⁵⁷⁹ that his exhortations are a tacit appeal for others who are in a position to do so to begin performing the same patronal role. Paul's exhortations also serve to highlight and confirm the importance of Stephanas' function in the

church and to endorse and encourage the expectations that are generated by such activity. In other words, they give impetus to the process of role-differentiation⁵⁸⁰, and do so in a way that gives the role of "patron" a continuing prominence and validity in the functioning and order of the church. By drawing attention to them in the way that he does, and by calling for the church to give explicit recognition to them, Paul makes an important contribution to the process by which the role and position of the church's "patrons" is defined and consolidated.

Paul's exhortations can thus be seen as relating to both the status and the role of Stephanas and others who serve as he does, and serve both to endorse and enhance his status and to confirm and consolidate his role. Both exhortations entail the acceptance and perpetuation of this status- and role-differentiation within the church.

By calling for Stephanas and others to be recognised and submitted to, Paul is urging the church to accept the validity of the distinctions of power and prestige and of role that are evident in Stephanas' relation to the church. By thus endorsing, and expecting the church to accept, the prominence of Stephanas and other "patrons", Paul is adopting a stance that is particularly significant in the light of the situation in the church. One feature of this situation was the lack of consensus about which sources of prestige and influence were valid. The ἐπίδες over the leadership of Paul, Apollos and Cephas involved disputes about the merits of the different approaches and abilities demonstrated by the three leaders.⁵⁸¹ The claims and conduct of the πνευματικοί accentuated the supranormal (whether ecstatic speech or miraculous deeds) as the criterion of pneumatic status, and thus as the principal

source of influence and prestige within the church. Against the background of the conflict between the different sets of criteria for power and prestige espoused by different groups within the church, Paul's exhortations serve to make it clear which members of the church ought to be influential and esteemed, and what kinds of influence and prestige should be valued most in the church. He is emphasising again, as he did throughout chapters 12-14 against the πνευματικοί, that service is all-important. However, he is also giving special prominence to the kind of service undertaken by Stephanas and the members of his household, and his exhortations both serve to endorse the power and prestige connected with this service and seek to enhance them.

The exhortations also seek to perpetuate the role and position of Stephanas and others whose service is of the same kind. He calls for a continuing⁵⁸² submission to and recognition of these members of the church, which clearly implies that he wants this pattern of church order to persist. The believers have already deferred to Stephanas and recognised him to some extent by agreeing to his proposal concerning the letter to Paul, and Paul now urges them to continue to do so, and not just in certain specific situations. Such a continuing response to the service of Stephanas and others will serve to stabilise and consolidate their position in the church. In other words, Paul's exhortations will give impetus to the process of institutionalisation, which is

the process of strengthening, stabilizing, and perpetuating a pattern of social ordering.⁵⁸³

Now that we have examined some of the principal implications of Paul's description of the οἰκία Στεφάνου and his exhortations to the church, we are in a position to assess what this passage implies about leadership in the Corinthian church.

(c) Conclusion: Leadership in the Corinthian Church:

Our discussion of the implications of the passage has suggested that the role of Stephanas in the Corinthian church was similar to that of the local leaders in Thessalonica. Like them, Stephanas was one of the κοπιῶντες, those whose active and arduous commitment to the upbuilding of the church constitutes participation in the Pauline mission. He was also a relatively well-to-do and influential Christian who used his material and financial resources to provide hospitality and other kinds of support for the church, and may thus be regarded as one of its προϊστάμενοι, its "patrons". Does this mean, then, that it is right to look upon Stephanas as a leader of the Corinthian church?

Two scholars in particular have explicitly denied that such a characterisation of his role is valid. As we have seen⁵⁸⁴, Dunn interprets Paul's exhortations to mean only that the lead of Stephanas and others is to be followed in the areas of service in which they are engaged, and so limits the generality of the call for the church to recognise and submit to them. In addition, he maintains that the passage

cannot refer to community leadership as exercised by a recognised group or individual, otherwise . . . we might have looked for an appeal or reminder or instruction to Stephanas in the various situations⁵⁸⁵

referred to in the letter which

would seem to cry out for a leader or organizing group. . . .⁵⁸⁶

As we have already indicated, this approach is not really satisfactory. In the first place, as we argued above⁵⁸⁷, the church is called upon to recognise and yield to Stephanas because of his service, but not only in the areas in which he serves. Paul urges the church to submit to Stephanas, and not simply to his service. Secondly, we have already argued⁵⁸⁸ that Paul's failure to appeal to any leadership group

to take charge does not necessarily demonstrate that no such group existed. Moreover, we have argued⁵⁸⁹ that because of the way the issue of leadership in the church was intimately bound up with the problems of both the ἐπίδεις and the stance of the πνευματικοί it may well be that Paul has deliberately refrained from giving any indication of his views about local leadership until he had first given a detailed response to both of these problems. In the light of the situation he is addressing, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Paul is giving a fairly clear indication of the kinds of people the church should look to for leadership.⁵⁹⁰

Ollrog, too, denies that the διακονία of Stephanas and his household is 'eine Leitungsfunktion'.⁵⁹¹ He supports this conclusion by arguing that Stephanas' 'vorgeordnete Stellung' does not exist independently of his ministry, but has emerged because of it; that it is better not to speak of 'eine Gemeindeleitung', as this presupposes 'eine organisierte Gemeinde'--which was not the case in Corinth; and that any monarchical concept of church-leadership is excluded by the fact that Paul refers here to an indefinite number of persons.⁵⁹²

These arguments are not at all convincing. The first shows only that Stephanas was not appointed to an official position, not that he did not exercise a leadership function. The second wrongly assumes that leadership is a characteristic only of organisations. The third implies that all leadership is monarchical, which is also a wrong assumption. The fundamental problem with Ollrog's argument is that he is operating with a tacit understanding of leadership that is too narrow, as a comparison with our discussion in Chapter 1⁵⁹³ will show. It appears that Ollrog himself found it difficult to adhere to such a restricted concept of leadership, as elsewhere in his study

he refers to Stephanas' 'Leitungsfunktion in Korinth'⁵⁹⁴, which is precisely the characterisation of his role that Ollrog rejects in the passage we have been considering!

Earlier in our discussion we found it convenient to use the language of "leadership" to refer to Stephanas' activities in the church. We described his initiative in securing the church's agreement to send a letter to Paul as an exercise of leadership.⁵⁹⁵ We concluded that the most useful way of characterising the response Paul desires from the church was to describe it as accepting and following leadership.⁵⁹⁶ We also suggested that the effect of Paul's exhortations was to endorse and encourage the emergence of a "functional hierarchy" in the church⁵⁹⁷, in which some members of the church consistently gave a lead and the others followed their lead.

By considering the implications of this passage in the light of the understanding of leadership outlined in Chapter 1⁵⁹⁸, we will be able to ascertain whether it is valid to use such ways of speaking about Stephanas and his role in the church.

In that discussion of the concept of leadership, we indicated that the emergence of leadership is best understood in relation to emerging differentiation within a group, especially differentiation in terms of power and prestige.⁵⁹⁹ We have seen that this passage implies that Stephanas possessed a significant degree of power and prestige within the church.⁶⁰⁰ As ἀρχή, he is likely to have possessed a certain amount of referent power⁶⁰¹ because he served (perhaps largely unconsciously) as a model of Christian living for many who joined the church after its foundation.⁶⁰² His διακονία, in which he provided various kinds of resources needed by the church and by Christians from elsewhere, meant that he possessed reward and coercive power.⁶⁰³ The resources which he was able to make available

to the church were not only those which reflected his material prosperity (hospitality, etc.), but also the knowledge and experience which stemmed from his association with Paul at the foundation of the church and his active involvement in service from the beginning.⁶⁰⁴ That the power stemming from Stephanas' possession of these resources was actual rather than merely latent is demonstrated by his success in persuading such a divided church to agree to establish contact with Paul. If leadership involves "functional dominance", the possession and provision of resources on which the other members of the group are dependent⁶⁰⁵, then Stephanas is rightly regarded as a leader of the Corinthian church.

We have also seen that Stephanas possessed a significant degree of prestige in the church, as attested by his successful initiative in bringing the church and its founder into contact. This prestige is likely to have come from his status as head of the household which was ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας⁶⁰⁶, from his διακονία⁶⁰⁷, and from his relatively high social status.⁶⁰⁸ The prestige associated with his social status is likely to have meant that others in the church regarded it as fitting that he should exercise a leadership role⁶⁰⁹, a perception that is likely to have been reinforced by his "functional dominance" in ministry.⁶¹⁰ Such prestige is closely connected, therefore, with the influence Stephanas exercised in the church. The close link between power and prestige is suggested by the observation that the

person of high prestige is: (a) an object of admiration, (b) an object of deference, (c) an object of imitation, (d) a source of suggestion, and (e) a center of attraction.⁶¹¹

The intended effect of Paul's exhortation is to increase the extent to which Stephanas is an object of deference (the church is to "yield" to him) and an object of imitation (he exemplifies the service others are to provide⁶¹²). Indeed, the general effect of what Paul says in this

passage is to endorse and enhance Stephanas' power and prestige⁶¹³, which not only gives additional impetus to the processes of vertical-differentiation and role-differentiation⁶¹⁴, but also reinforces Stephanas' status as a leader.

The initiative that lies behind Stephanas' παρουσία (vv.17-18) reveals a "functional dominance" in the maintenance (or better, the recovery) of cohesion and stability in the church, and was thus an exercise of the expressive dimension of leadership.⁶¹⁵ This initiative also brought about a more satisfactory level of coordination and communication in the church, and from this viewpoint also is to be regarded as an exercise of leadership.⁶¹⁶ The διακονία that Stephanas and his household have continued to provide can plausibly be related both to the maintenance of the church's cohesiveness (it has been directed to believers generally, rather than to any of the groups within the church⁶¹⁷) and to the accomplishing of the church's goals (by providing it with a meeting-place, for example), and can thus be seen as an exercise of instrumental as well as expressive leadership.⁶¹⁸

All that we have discovered about Stephanas' activity in Corinth suggests that he possessed "functional authority" to a significant extent.⁶¹⁹ Moreover, all that Paul says in this passage serves to acknowledge the legitimacy of the influence he exercises, and is thus tantamount to conferring authority on him.⁶²⁰ In a sense, then, the passage can be seen as the apostle's authorisation of Stephanas as leader of the church. Paul's exhortations effectively require the church to endorse this authority by accepting Stephanas' leadership.⁶²¹

In the light of all these correspondences between the analysis of leadership provided in Chapter 1 and what 16:15-18 states or implies

about Stephanas' place in the Corinthian church, we conclude that he may validly be described as a leader of the church. He does not simply provide occasional leadership acts, but is represented as exercising a leadership role. This conclusion raises two important questions in the light of the central issues in the recent challenges to the consensus on Pauline church order.⁶²² How is all that we have concluded about Stephanas and his role in the church to be related to what chapters 12-14 teach about χάρισμα and ministry? Can Stephanas' leadership role be described as an "office"? We will consider each of these questions in turn.

(i) Stephanas' leadership and charismatic ministry: In our discussion of chapters 12-14 we concluded that Paul uses χάρισμα as a paraenetic term, and that it is evaluative rather than descriptive, since it designates as a gift any and every attribute or ability that serves the upbuilding of the church.⁶²³ Because Stephanas' ministry has clearly been effective in promoting the growth and wellbeing of the church (although its effectiveness has been seriously undermined by various countervailing forces at work in the church), it must be regarded as charismatic in character. As we have already suggested⁶²⁴, it has involved the gift of initiative, which has enabled him to give the church a clear and decisive lead (cp. 12:28: κυβερνήσεις) and also the gift of caring, which has led him to provide various kinds of support for the ἅγιοι (cp. 12:28: ἀντιλήψεις). His ministry may also have involved other gifts as well. However, as we have seen, it also stems from his possession of material and financial resources (and the social independence and influence they create)--resources which are available to only a few of the church's members. This means that his ministry is a charismatic one in a quite different sense from that given to the term by Dunn, who defines

a "charismatic ministry" as an activity

for which no further qualification was needed than obedience to the inspiration of the Spirit.⁶²⁵

While it is clear that Paul would not have envisaged Stephanas' ministry as occurring apart from the activity of the Spirit, our discussion has shown that it cannot be accounted for solely in terms of the Spirit's activity. In addition to 'obedience to the inspiration of the Spirit' (which may be discerned in the words ἐταξάν ἑαυτούς) Stephanas needed wealth, prosperity, and independence not available to more than a few of the believers in Corinth in order to exercise his patronal ministry. If such a ministry must be evaluated theologically as "charismatic", it must also be evaluated sociologically as based on a relatively high social status.

Our discussion of chapters 12-14 also noted the prominence given in 12:28 to the ministries of prophets and teachers.⁶²⁶ In the light of this discussion, it is quite striking that 16:15-18 endorses and encourages patronal rather than prophetic leadership in the church. Because it has been argued (especially on the basis of 1 Cor) that the leaders in Paul's churches were prophets and teachers⁶²⁷, this aspect of the passage needs to be considered further. We have argued that the passage shows that Stephanas' ministry was patronal and that he was a leader in the church. It is also clear that Paul desired others to exercise the same patronal leadership, and that he wanted this pattern of order to be consolidated and perpetuated.⁶²⁸ In other words, Paul wanted the Corinthian church to incorporate a recognised leadership group consisting of Stephanas and other "patrons".

In view of the obvious parallel with the situation depicted in 1 Th, it is particularly striking that there is no mention in this passage of any "ministry of the Word". In fact, there is a very

striking contrast between the way the ministry of prophets is subjected to various limitations and restrictions in 14:29-32 and the way the ministry of these "patrons" is given such open-ended endorsement and encouragement here. This is undoubtedly to be explained in terms of the church-situation. The Corinthian church was suffering from a surfeit of largely undisciplined and unedifying "word"-contributions and a dearth of ministries that provided coordination and promoted cohesion. Therefore, while attempting to restrain the excesses associated with the verbal input at church meetings, Paul also had to encourage the exercise of those ministries which were capable of providing the stability and order the church lacked. He therefore makes a tacit appeal in this passage to others who are in a position to serve the church as Stephanas does--i.e., to heads of Christian households, who are thus also (actually or potentially) leaders of house-churches. By working together harmoniously (N.B.: *συνεργεῖν*) these members of the church will not only be able to provide the resources that the church needs for its continued functioning (e.g., meeting-places), but will also be able to coordinate the activities of the house-churches and promote the cohesion and unity of the church.

None of this should be taken to mean that prophets and teachers did not provide leadership through their ministries.⁶²⁹ By making clear the direction of God's will and the meaning of His Word, they obviously gave important and necessary direction to the whole church. However, leadership is a process to which all may contribute⁶³⁰, and giving a lead from time to time does not necessarily result in a leadership role. None of what little Paul says about prophets and teachers indicates that they exercised a leadership role in the Corinthian church⁶³¹, while our examination of 16:15-18 has shown that it attributes a leadership role to Stephanas. It seems clear, therefore,

that prophets and teachers were not leaders of the church, at least (since it is possible that Stephanas or other "patrons" may have been prophets and/or teachers) not qua prophets and teachers. Yet again, therefore, we are led to reject the view of Greeven and Merklein⁶³² as being inconsistent with the evidence.

Did Stephanas exercise a "ministry of the Word", and did Paul expect the other "patrons" to do so as prophets or teachers, or in some other capacity? The conclusions we came to on the basis of 1 Th 5:12⁶³³--that the church's leaders were those "patrons" who also exercised a regular ministry of pastoral teaching and exhortation ($\nuουθετοῦντες$)--may suggest that this is likely. Further support for this possibility may be found in the observation that, in view of the way 12:28 emphasises the priority of the ministry of the Word in the life of the church, it is hardly likely that Paul would expect the church to submit to leaders whose ministry did not have such a component. It is possible that pastoral instruction and exhortation was one aspect of Stephanas' commitment to $διακονία τοῖς ἁγίοις$, so that he served his fellow-Christians by sharing not only his material resources but also the understanding and insight he had gained as a result of his association with Paul and his length of Christian experience. However, unlike 1 Th 5:12, there is no explicit mention here of any "ministry of the Word", so we are not in a position to know whether it was an aspect of Stephanas' $διακονία$ or not. It is clear that he served the church as a "patron"; it is possible that he also served it as prophet or teacher or $\nuουθετῶν$ or $παρακαλῶν$.

(ii) Stephanas' leadership and office: In considering the relation between the leadership role attributed to Stephanas by this passage and office, there are two essential points to be made.

First, there is no hint of formalisation in the response

for which Paul appeals, and since office only emerges when the process of institutionalisation reaches the point where structures and procedures are formalised⁶³⁴, it is clear that Stephanas' position in the church is not official. Both in its description of the role Stephanas has played in the church and in its exhortations concerning the response the church is to make to such ministries, the passage shows that only informal working arrangements are in view.

The situation is therefore no different in this respect from that depicted in 1 Th. Yet the Corinthian church was considerably older and larger when Paul wrote 1 Cor than the Thessalonian church was when he wrote 1 Th, and the increasing size and age of a group normally leads to both increasing complexity and the emergence of more formalised structures and procedures.⁶³⁵ Why, then, does 1 Cor not contain evidence of such increased complexity and formality in regard to the church's leadership? Is the consensus-view right after all, in claiming that Pauline church order was devoid of such formal structures on principle?

Our discussion in this chapter has shown that it is not to Pauline theology, but to the situation in the church, that we must look for an explanation of the absence of more stable, explicit articulation in the church's functioning. It is the disputes between the groups supporting Paul, Apollos and Cephas, and the impact of the claims and conduct of the πνευματικοί that has prevented the emergence of any stable, recognised local leadership. It is against this background, and in the light of this lack, that Paul addresses his exhortations to the church, requiring that clear and continuing recognition be given to Stephanas and those who serve with him and like him, and that their leadership be followed. As we have seen⁶³⁶, this will have the effect of encouraging a particular kind of institutionalisation in the church, in which clear leadership roles and positions will emerge

and be consolidated. This leads to the second essential observation.

Secondly, the social processes and patterns of ordering that Paul both acknowledges in his description of Stephanas' ministry and reinforces in his exhortations to the church would normally have become more stable and defined over time, as leadership that was continually provided was clearly recognised and consistently followed. It is therefore quite possible that with increasing size and complexity, the church would reach the point (perhaps with the transition from the first to the second generation, as the original leaders needed to be replaced⁶³⁷) where formal definition of roles and positions became necessary. This would be the point at which "office" appeared. Such a move need not represent any radical change in orientation or serious departure from Paul's intentions on the church's part, but would simply mean that the process of institutionalisation that was operative before he wrote to the church and that was given significant impetus by what he says in this passage had advanced to the stage where more explicit definition of structures and procedures was required.

We conclude, then, that the emergence of office lies beyond the horizons of this passage--but only in the sense that it lies further along the path on which Paul here sets the church than either he or they have yet looked, not in the sense that it lies in another direction altogether. It is possible that office would not have emerged; but if it did, it would only be because processes that were already in operation, and that were sanctioned and encouraged by Paul, had reached an advanced stage of development. In fact, viewed in the light of Brockhaus' analysis of the concept of office⁶³⁸, Stephanas' position (as described and endorsed by Paul, and to be endorsed by the church) approximates to office, as it involves three of the five

constituent elements identified by Brockhaus: viz, continuity, recognition by the church, and a recognisable precedence in both authority and prestige. The absence of office is therefore not the result of Paul's theology (the consensus view), but a reflection of the particular circumstances prevailing in the church Paul is addressing.

IV. CONCLUSIONS:

The most useful way of setting out the principal conclusions to emerge from our investigation of 1 Cor will be to compare them with the conclusions we reached in the previous chapter.

We began the chapter by drawing attention to some of the more obvious contrasts between the situations to which 1 Th and 1 Cor were addressed.⁶³⁹ Our investigation of 1 Cor has shown that the difference between the two situations were more numerous and more marked than this preliminary comparison suggested.⁶⁴⁰ Two of these differences are of particular significance.

(1) While there were a number of latent sources of dissension and division within the Thessalonian church⁶⁴¹, the church in Corinth was seriously divided in many ways. Some of these divisions had greater potential for harm than others. The existence of rival groups expressing loyalty to Paul, Apollos, or Cephas (which stemmed from the ministries of all three in Corinth, reflected the diversity of backgrounds represented in the church's membership, and related to the existence of a number of house-churches meeting in addition to the regular meeting of the whole church) and of a group claiming a direct relation to Christ (and thus also special pneumatic status, the reality of which was attested by ecstatic speech) meant that other differences and divisions between the Corinthians acquired additional strength and depth. These ἐπίδες and the elitist stance of the

self-styled πνευματικοί also had repercussions of an adverse kind in regard to all three of the constituent patterns of ministry that 1 Th showed to be so important: viz., the ministry of the apostle, mutual ministries between all the believers, and local leadership.⁶⁴²

(2) The conspicuous lack in the Corinthian church of the mutual ministries that flourished in the Thessalonian church is primarily a reflection of the disunity in the church, but can also be related to its size and the shape of its life.⁶⁴³ Whereas 1 Th provided evidence that the Thessalonian church was a "group" in the sense defined in Chapter 1⁶⁴⁴, the evidence in 1 Cor suggests that the Corinthian church contained a number of house-churches⁶⁴⁵, and while these may have been "groups" in this sense, the church as a whole was not, as it was too large to permit mutual, face-to-face interaction or "distributed participation".⁶⁴⁶

The nature and extent of the differences between the situations addressed by 1 Th and 1 Cor are such that the third of the approaches to the interpretation of the Corinthian situation mentioned at the beginning of this chapter⁶⁴⁷ is obviously more in line with the evidence than the first of them is. At least in comparison with the church in Thessalonica, the church in Corinth cannot be treated as a paradigm of Pauline church order, but must be regarded as something of an aberration in many ways.⁶⁴⁸

So, for example, Paul is facing a situation that requires him to combat various challenges to the validity and value of his ministry (challenges that arise from within the church⁶⁴⁹) and to assert and argue his right to exercise authority over the church. He sees his authority as resting on his status as founder-father of the church, which entails a continuing responsibility for the church and a concomitant right to direct it. Although the nature of the church-situation in Corinth is such that he asserts his authority with greater directness

and intensity than he did in 1 Th, the character of his relation to the church as seen in 1 Cor is not significantly different from what emerges in 1 Th.⁶⁵⁰ Its basis and purpose are the same, and the means by which he expresses it in his absence from the church are the same also: viz., his letter, his example, and his envoy.⁶⁵¹

Although there was an evident breakdown in Corinth of the mutual ministries that Paul both acknowledged and expected in 1 Th, there is no difference between the two letters as far as the churches' corporate responsibility is concerned, for neither the conflicts and divisions in the Corinthian church nor the consequent need for Paul to assert his apostolic authority more firmly and widely lead to any diminution of the extent to which he addresses the whole membership of the church as responsible for its functioning and growth.⁶⁵² In this connection, we have argued that Paul's failure to appeal to any recognised leadership group to deal with the many problems requiring attention and his consistent assumption of the corporate responsibility of all the believers does not show that no such group did or could exist, any more than the corporate responsibility of the believers excluded a leadership group in the church in Thessalonica. We also argued that the concepts of charismatic ministry and the church as the body of Christ were not intended to describe as actually existing or prescribe as necessary a church order devoid of settled structures and recognised leadership. Rather, these concepts were primarily intended to provide a corrective to the distorted and unbalanced ideas of the πνευματικοί, and were thus an important part of Paul's elaboration of a perspective by which the different gifts and ministries present in the church could be evaluated correctly and ordered beneficially.

Finally, we have argued that in 16:15-18 Paul seeks to

encourage the emergence of stable, recognised leadership in the church. The importance of this passage in Paul's overall response to the needs and problems of the church is suggested by both its place in the structure of the letter and its implications for the church-situation.⁶⁵³ It is likely that Paul refrained from referring to the question of leadership in the church until after he had provided a detailed response to those problems--especially the ἐπίδες of 1:10-12 and the views and behaviour of the πνευματικοί --which had prevented the emergence of a recognised group of local leaders. Now he refers to Stephanas and the members of his household as exemplifying the kind of leadership that should be recognised and followed. They are honoured as the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας because they formed the nucleus of the church and provided it with a base when it was founded.⁶⁵⁴ Although the members of Stephanas' household were obviously actively committed to Christian service, it is Stephanas as head of the household who must be seen as the one chiefly responsible for the service it provides. The διακονία in which the household provided hospitality and other kinds of support for the church and for Christians from elsewhere, and the personal initiative and financial independence which were involved in his bringing to Ephesus the letter he had persuaded the church to write (hence his παρουσία and the refreshing of the spirits of Paul and the Corinthians), show him to have been a leader who served the church as a "patron". There are others in a position to provide similar patronal leadership which will, like Stephanas', constitute participation in the intensive, church-building aspect of the Pauline mission (συνεργεῖν and κοπιᾶν). Paul expects the church to yield to (ὑποτάσσεσθαι) and to recognise (ἐπιγινώσκειν) such leaders, and thus endorses and seeks to enhance their power and prestige in the church. His exhortations thus imply that their

position in the church will tend to become more clearly defined and more firmly consolidated in such a way that it moves in the direction of office.

The parallels between this passage and 1 Th 5:12-13 are clear and important. In both, Paul acknowledges and expects the church to recognise clearly and continually the ministry of leaders within the church. Both passages describe these leaders as κοπιῶντες, i.e., those whose exertions in Christian service represent their association with Paul and his mission. Likewise, both passages lead to the conclusion that they serve the church as "patrons" (προϊστάμενοι). (We should note, however, that 1 Th does not refer to any of the leaders in Thessalonica as ἀπαρχή, and 1 Cor does not refer to any ministry of pastoral instruction and exhortation (νοουθετεῖν) as part of the Corinthian leaders' function.) In view of the extensive differences between the situations Paul is addressing in each of these letters, it is most significant that in each of them he acknowledges and encourages the same kind of leadership in the church. Were these similarities merely fortuitous, or do they reflect some kind of deliberate strategy on Paul's part? These and other questions⁶⁵⁵ will be better considered after we have examined the evidence provided by Phil, to which we now turn.

CHAPTER III: NOTES:

¹See pp.16 1-3 above.

²Note 1:4,10; 4:16; 16:15. See Bjerkelund: Parakalô, pp.141-46.

³This has recently been disputed by K.E. Bailey ("The Structure of 1 Corinthians and Paul's Theological Method with special reference to 4:17", NovT 25 (1983), pp.152-81), who argues that 1 Cor consists of

carefully constructed essays that themselves exhibit a discernible theological method both internally as individual essays and together as a collection. (p.153).

Bailey's arguments cannot be regarded as convincing, and will be examined when we come to consider 4:14-21 below (see n.187 below).

⁴There are two passages in particular that have been regarded as non-Pauline interpolations. 14:33b-35/36 has often been rejected, especially on the grounds of its alleged incompatibility with 11:2-16, but some very persuasive text-critical and exegetical arguments have been marshalled in favour of its authenticity: see especially E.E. Ellis: "The Silenced Wives of Corinth (1 Cor.14:34-35)", in E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (eds.): New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis, Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1981), pp.213-20; W.A. Grudem: The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians (University Press of America, Washington, 1982), pp.240-55; and J.B. Hurley: Man and Woman in 1 Corinthians: Some Exegetical Studies in Pauline Theology and Ethics (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1973), pp.71-75.

The authenticity of 11:2-16 has also been challenged recently. W.A. Walker, Jr. argued that it is a combination of three non-Pauline fragments ("1 Corinthians 11:2-16 and Paul's Views regarding Women", JBL 94 (1975), pp.94-110), but his arguments were effectively countered by J. Murphy-O'Connor ("The Non-Pauline Character of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16?", JBL 95 (1976), pp.615-21). More recently still G.W. Trompf has argued against the authenticity of both 11:3-16 and 14:33b-35/6 ("On Attitudes toward Women in Paul and Paulinist Literature: 1 Corinthians 11:3-16 and its Context", CBQ 42 (1980), pp.196-215), while in the same volume of the same journal Murphy-O'Connor presented a more detailed defence of the passage's authenticity and theological coherence ("Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16", CBQ 42 (1980), pp.482-500).

The view of J. Weiss that the "catholic" statements in 1 Cor are post-Pauline glosses will be referred to below (see n.210).

⁵Der erste Korintherbrief (KEK) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1910). pp.XL-XLIII; idem: The History of Primitive Christianity, I, ET (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1937), pp.323-41. His suggested division is:

(1) The severe letter referred to in 5:9:2 Cor 6:14-7:1; 1 Cor 10:1-23; 6:12-20; 11:2-34; 16:7(?),8,20;

(2) Paul's response to the Corinthians' letter: 7-9; 10:24-11:1; 12:1-16:6; 16:7(?),15-19(?);

(3) Paul's response to the news brought by "Chloe's people": 1:1-9; 1:10-16:11; 16:10-14(?),22-24.

⁶Introduction au Nouveau Testament (Editions Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1923-26), IV.2, pp.38-86. His suggested division is:

- (1) The severe letter: 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; 1 Cor 6:12-20; 10:1-22.
- (2) Paul's response to the Corinthians' letter: 5:1-6:11; 7:1-8:13; 10:23-14:40; 15; 16:1-9,12;
- (3) His response to further news of the church: 1:10-4:21; 9; 16:10-11.

Goguel is undecided as to whether 16:15-18 belongs to the second or third letter, and thinks that 1:1-9 and 16:13-14, 19-24 could belong to any of the letters.

⁷The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, ET (The Epworth Press, London, 1962), pp.xiii-xiv. The two letters he reconstructs are:

- (1) 1-8; 10:23-11:1; 16:1-4,10-14;
- (2) 9:1-10:22; 11:2-15:58; 16:5-9,15-24.

⁸Gnosticism in Corinth: An Investigation of the Letters to the Corinthians, ET (The Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1971), pp.87-101. The two letters which make up 1 Cor are:

- (1) 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; 1 Cor 6:12-20; 9:24-10:22; 11:2-34; 15; 16:13-24;
- (2) 1:1-6:11; 7:1-9:23; 10:23-11:1; 12:1-14:40; 16:1-12.

Schmithals' reconstruction is followed by R. Jewett, who disputes some of the reasoning on which it is based, however (Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Conflict Settings (AGSU X) (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1971), pp.23-27).

⁹"Der 1.Korintherbrief als Briefsammlung", ZNW 60 (1969), pp.219-43. His suggested division is:

- (1) The letter referred to in 5:9, which was a response to information provided by Stephanas: 1:1-9; 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; 6:1-11; 11:2-34;15; 16:13-24;
- (2) Paul's reply to the Corinthians' response to the first letter: 9:1-18,24-27; 10:1-22; 6:12-20; 5:1-13;
- (3) Paul's reply to the Corinthians' letter: 7-8; 9:19-23; 10:23-11:1;12:1-31a; 14:1c-40; 12:31b-13:13; 16:1-12;
- (4) Paul's response to the news brought by Chloe's people: 1:10-4:21.

¹⁰Paulus, pp.203-13. The two letters he reconstructs are:

- (1) 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; 1 Cor 5:1-8; 9:24-10:22; 11:2-34; 15; 16:13-24;
- (2) 1:1-4:21; 5:9-9:23; 10:23-11:1; 12-14; 16:1-12.

¹¹"Die Korintherbriefe als Briefsammlung", ZNW 64 (1973), pp.263-88. The nine letters suggested are:

- (1) 1 Cor 11:2-34;
- (2) 1 Cor 6:1-11; 2 Cor 6:14-7:1; 1 Cor 6:12-20; 9:24-10:22; 15; 16:13-24 (the "Vorbrief");
- (3) 1 Cor 5:7-8; 9:19-22; 10:23-11:1; 12:1-31a; 14:1c-40; 12:31b-13:13; 16:1-12 (the "Antwortbrief");
- (4) 1 Cor 1:1-4:21;
- (5) 2 Cor 2:14-6:2 (the "Zwischenbrief");
- (6) 1 Cor 9:1-18; 2 Cor 6:3-13; 7:2-4;
- (7) 2 Cor 10:1-13:13 (the "Tränenbrief");
- (8) 2 Cor 9:1-15 (the "Kollektenbrief");
- (9) 2 Cor 1:1-2:13; 7:5-8:24 (the "Freudenbrief").

¹²La Première Epître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens (CNT (2ième série)) (Delachaux & Niestlé, Neuchâtel/Paris, 1979), pp. 19-21. He proposes four letters:

- (1) The Vorbrief, which was a response to news brought by Stephanas: 6:1-11; 15; 16:13-24;
- (2) A response to fresh information: 5; 9:24-10:22;
- (3) The reply to the Corinthians' letter: 7-8; 9:1-18(?); 9:19-23; 10:23-11:1; 12-14; 16:1-12;
- (4) A response to news from Chloe's people: 1-4.

Senft is undecided as to whether 6:12-20 and 11:2-34 belong to the first or the second letter.

¹³See, for example, Kümmel: Introduction, pp.276-78; C.K. Barrett: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (BNTC) (A. & C. Black Ltd., London, 1971), pp.12-17; ; H. Conzelmann: 1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, ET (Hermeneia) (The Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1975), pp.2-4; J.C. Hurd, Jr.: The Origin of 1 Corinthians (SPCK, London, 1965), pp.43-47, 141-42.

¹⁴See pp.152-5 above.

¹⁵art. cit., p.235. He is followed by Schmithals (art. cit., p.266) and Senft (p.18).

¹⁶"The Apostolic Parousia".

¹⁷Along with Rom 15:14-33; Phm 21f; 1 Th 2:17-3:13; 2 Cor 12:14-13:13; Gal 4:12-20; and Phil 2:19-24.

¹⁸The Form and Function of the Body of the Greek Letter: A Study of the Letter-Body in the non-literary Papyri and in Paul the Apostle (SBLDS 2) (Scholars Press, Missoula, 1972), esp. pp.46, 68, 88f.

¹⁹See, for example, Schmithals: art. cit., p.280f.

²⁰Weiss argued that both 9:1-18 and 13 have been inserted by a redactor (pp.231-32, 309-11), and ch.9 (esp. vv.1-18) is commonly regarded as an interpolation (so Héring, p.xiii; Schenk: art.cit., pp.238ff; Schmithals: art. cit., p.270; Senft, p.18).

²¹Weiss, p.278; Schmithals: Gnosticism, pp.90-91; Schenk: art. cit., pp.226-29; Senft, p.18.

²²Schenk: art. cit., p.236; Senft, p.18.

²³Weiss, p.118; Schenk: art. cit., p.235f.

²⁴Weiss, pp.212-13; Schmithals: Gnosticism, pp.92-93; Senft, p.18.

²⁵The latter are clearly social divisions, to do with social status and wealth (see esp. G. Theissen: "Soziale Integration und sakramentales Handeln: Eine Analyse von 1 Cor.XI:17-34", NovT 16 (1974), pp.179-206 (now in Soziologie, pp.290-317; ET in Social Setting, pp. 145-74), and have little or no correlation with the ἐπίδες of 1:10-12. To rephrase Paul (15:39): οὐ πᾶν σχίσμα τὸ αὐτὸ σχίσμα!

²⁶See Barrett, pp.15-16, 390f; J. Moffatt: The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (MNTC) (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London, 1938), pp.273-74.

²⁷See, for example, C.K. Barrett: "Things Sacrificed to Idols", *NTS* 11 (1964-65), pp.138-53 (now in *idem: Essays on Paul* (SPCK, London, 1982), pp.40-59); G.D. Fee: "Εἰδωλόθυτα Once Again: An Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 8-10", *Biblica* 61 (1980), pp.172-97; Hurd: *Origin* pp.126-49; W.A. Meeks: "'And Rose Up to Play': Midrash and Paraenesis in 1 Corinthians 10:1-22", *JSNT* 16 (1982), pp.64-78.

²⁸Exegesis thus tends to call into question the attempt to detach ch.9 from its present location, for it has clear terminological and thematic links with chs.8 and 10, and it contributes to the total argument by providing a paradigmatic treatment of the use of freedom and ἐξουσία which can be seen as aimed at the misuse of these ideas on the part of the "strong". See Barrett, pp.16, 199f; F.W. Grosheide: *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (NLC) (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, London, 1953), p.200f; L.L. Morris: *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians: An Introduction and Commentary* (TNTC) (The Tyndale Press, London, 1958), p.131; D.L. Dungan: *The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul: The Use of the Synoptic Tradition in the Regulation of Early Church Life* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1971), pp.4-6; R.A. Horsley: "Consciousness and Freedom among the Corinthians: *CBQ 40 (1978), pp.574-89 (esp. p.587); C. Maurer: "Grund und Grenze apostolischer Freiheit: Exegetische-theologische Studie zu 1.Korinther 9", in *Antwort: Karl Barth zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 10.Mai 1956* (Evangelische Verlag, Zollikon-Zürich, 1956), pp.630-41.

Schenk (*art. cit.*, pp.238-39) admits that chs. 8 and 9 are linked by the theme of ἐξουσία but argues that this is due to the redactor's appending of ch.9 to the discussion of ἐξουσία at the end of ch.8. However, the case for an editorial interpolation would have to be very strong, and based on quite different kinds of evidence, before such clear thematic connections can plausibly be attributed to an editor rather than to the author.

²⁹*Introduction*, p.278.

³⁰"Greek Rhetoric and Pauline Argumentation", in W.R. Schoedel and R.L. Wilken (eds.): *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition: In Honorem Robert M. Grant* (Théologie Historique 54) (Editions Beauchesne, Paris, 1979), pp.177-88.

³¹p.177.

³²pp.182-88.

³³K.E. Bailey argues that *1 Cor* consists of five essays: (1) The Cross: 1:5-4:16; (2) Sex: 4:17-7:40, (3) Christians and Pagans: 8:1-11:1; (4) Men and Women in Worship: 11:2-14:40; (5) The Resurrection: 15:1-58 ("Structure", pp.153-54).

³⁴p.22.

³⁵Cp. Bruce, p.25; Moffatt, p.xxv.

³⁶The more elaborate partition-theories become, the more pressing becomes the question of how so many separate letters were conveyed to Corinth. It cannot simply be assumed that Paul would have been able to call upon the services of a reliable courier whenever he wished to send a letter to Corinth.

³⁷See p.154 above (esp. n.15).

*1 Corinthians 8-10"

³⁸ibid. (esp. n.16).

³⁹p.155 above.

⁴⁰The question of dating is bound up with the problem of Pauline chronology as a whole (on which see Chapter 2, n.22 (pp.264-5)). The following dates have been proposed for 1 Cor:

53 or 54: Barrett, p.5; Grosheide, p.13.

54 or 55: Kümmel: Introduction, p.279.

55: E.-B. Allo: Saint Paul: Première Epître aux Corinthiens (EB) (J. Gabalda & Cie., Paris, 1956), pp.LXXXVI-IX; Bruce, p.25; Conzelmann, p.4 n.5; A. Robertson and A. Plummer: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (ICC) (T. & T. Clark Ltd., Edinburgh, 1911), pp.xxvii-xxxiii; J.A.T. Robinson: Redating the New Testament (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1976), pp. 48,54.

55 or 56: Wendland, p.2.

55-57: Moffatt, p.xv.

57: D. Guthrie: New Testament Introduction (3rd revised edition) (The Tyndale Press, London, 1970), pp.441-43.

⁴¹See pp.50-1, 64-8.

⁴²See the quotation from Brockhaus on p.3 above.

⁴³Cp. Goppelt: Apostolic, p.187:

1 Corinthians in no way represents an authoritative ideal of the Pauline constitution, but corresponds to the strong pneumatic movement found during the initial period in Corinth and more generally to a transitory stage in the Pauline constitution.

R.E. Brown, (Priest and Bishop: Biblical Reflections (Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1971), pp.71-72) suggests that, in view of the length of time he had spent in Corinth, Paul decided to try the experiment of leaving the church without formal local leadership. However, the experiment was a failure, and so Paul may have introduced such leadership on his return visit to Corinth.

⁴⁴So, for example, Lemaire: Ministères, p.88; J. Rohde: Urchristliche und frühchristliche Ämter: Eine Untersuchung zur frühchristlichen Amtsentwicklung im Neuen Testament und bei den apostolischen Vätern (Evangelische Verlaganstalt, Berlin, 1976), p.56; Roloff: Apostolat, p.134.

⁴⁵Acts 18:11,18. Suhl (Paulus, pp.111-18) adduces several arguments to support the evidence of Acts.

⁴⁶See 1:10-13; 3:1-4,16-21; 4:7-8,14,18-21; 5:1-13; 6:1-10, 18-19; 8:9-13; 10:1-22; 11:17-34; 12:1-3,14-26; 13:1-13; 14:20,33b-38; 15:1-2,12-19,33-34.

⁴⁷Contrast 1 Th 3:6-10 with 1 Cor 4:18-21; 9:3-6.

⁴⁸Note especially 11:18-22; 12:14-26; 13:1-7.

⁴⁹See pp.160-3, 166 above.

⁵⁰E.E. Ellis maintains that although . . . at a future time some Corinthians emerge as Paul's opponents, in this letter they appear to be only somewhat confused children. . . . (Prophecy, p.46). This claim overlooks the extent to which error and opposition to Paul are evident within the church (see nn.46, 47 above).

⁵¹Note the rather vague ἀκούεται of 5:1 and ἀκούω of 11:18.

⁵²That these words are a quotation of a Corinthian saying is maintained by Barrett, p.154; Bruce, p.66; W.F. Orr and J.A. Walther: 1 Corinthians (AB) (Doubleday & Co. Inc., New York, 1976), pp.205-06; J. Ruef: Paul's First Letter to Corinth (SCM Pelican Commentaries) (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1977), p.53; Robertson and Plummer, pp.xxv, 131; Hurd: Origin, p.163.

⁵³On these words as a Corinthian slogan, see Barrett, p.144; Bruce, p.62; Conzelmann, p.108; Grosheide, pp.143-44; Héring, p.45f; Morris, p.99; Orr and Walther, p.199; Robertson and Plummer, p.121; p.48; Weiss, p.157; Hurd: Origin, pp.67,86.

⁵⁴Barrett, p.173; Bruce, p.73; Conzelmann, p.131; Héring, p.56f; Weiss, p.192; Hurd: Origin, p.68f.

⁵⁵Barrett, p.247; Bruce, p.120; Lietzmann, p.53; Moffatt, p.148; Hurd: Origin, p.90f.

⁵⁶περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν could be either masculine or neuter. For a discussion of this verse see p.368 below.

⁵⁷See Hurd: Origin, p.73. In addition to the commentators referred to in n.2 there, see also Barrett, p.385; Bruce, p.157; Orr and Walther, p.355; Ruef, p.180.

⁵⁸See Hurd: Origin, p.74 (add Barrett, p.391; Orr and Walther: loc. cit.; Ruef: loc. cit.).

⁵⁹The issue raised in 1:10-12 clearly underlies this whole section: see 1:31; 2:5; 3:3-15,21-22; 4:6,15. On the unity of the section see G. Sellin: "Das »Geheimnis« der Weisheit und das Rätsel der »Christuspartei« (zu 1 Kor 1-4)", ZNW 73 (1982), pp.69-96 (at pp.72-73).

⁶⁰The view that sees 1:10-12 as evidence for the existence of separate parties in the church--a view that has been held in various forms from F.C. Baur ("Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde, der Gegensatz des petrinischen und paulinischen Christentums in der ältesten Kirche, der Apostel Petrus in Rom", Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie 4 (1831), pp.61-206 (now in idem: Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben (ed. K. Scholder) (Friedrich Frommann Verlag, Stuttgart, 1963), I, pp.1-146) to the present day--goes beyond the evidence by treating the divisions involved as more acute and entrenched than they appear, and by giving insufficient weight to the fact that Paul addresses the church as one entity throughout the letter. In this regard, Kümmel argues that the

Rede von „Parteien“ in Korinth ist . . . unzweckmässig, weil trotz der Gruppenbildung keine Auflösung der Gemeinde und keine Zerstörung der einheitlichen Gemeindeversammlung stattgefunden hat, so dass Paulus immer die ganze Gemeinde anreden kann. Die

Voraussetzung ist daher falsch, dass es sich bei den Streitigkeiten in Korinth um die Bildung geschlossener, deutlich gegeneinander abgegrenzter Gruppen gehandelt habe. . . . (p.167)

⁶¹Héring, p.6; Weiss, pp.XXXVI-VIII; Goguel: Introduction IV, 2, pp.113-25. Other references in Baumann: Mitte, p.53 n.44.

⁶²The fact that the words are not found in 1 Clem 47:1-3 does not show that they are a scribal addition to the text of 1 Cor. It may be that Clement is alluding to 1 Cor 3:22, or that he himself interpreted this fourth slogan as Paul's rejoinder to the three Corinthian slogans. See C.K. Barrett: "Christianity at Corinth", BJRL 46 (1963-64), pp.269-97 (at p.273) (Essays, p.5); Conzelmann, p.33 n.24.

⁶³For references see Hurd: Origin, p.103f, to which Baumann (Mitte, pp.49-55) is now to be added.

⁶⁴J. Munck (Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1959), p.142 n.2) argues that if this fourth slogan had been intended as Paul's rejoinder to the preceding three it would have to read ἅλλ' ἐγὼ Χριστοῦ. Cp. also Allo, p.9; Barrett, p.45; Conzelmann, p.33; Wendland, p.15.

⁶⁵Baumann: Mitte, p.51.

⁶⁶Weiss, pp.17-18; Baumann: Mitte, p.52; Hurd: Origin, p.104.

⁶⁷Hurd: loc. cit.

⁶⁸This is conceded by Baumann (Mitte, p.52):
Freilich braucht die Betonung der Zugehörigkeit zu einem bestimmten Lehrer eine besondere Zugehörigkeit zu Christus nicht auszuschliessen.
He goes on to observe that
Paulus deckt auf, dass mindestens de facto in Korinth durch die Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Menschen die grundlegende und ausschliessliche Zugehörigkeit zu Christus bedroht ist. . . . (ibid.).

However, this is Paul's perception of the implications of these slogans, not the Corinthians' intention in adopting them. It is therefore difficult to understand why Baumann believes that the fourth slogan would have to be interpreted as claiming an 'exklusives Christusbekenntnis' (p.51).

⁶⁹There is a very widespread tendency to understand the words in this way, however. So, for example, despite the care with which he makes necessary logical distinctions in his analysis of this passage, Weiss still tends to understand the fourth slogan as a claim to possess the "whole Christ" (pp.XXXVII,16).

⁷⁰Cp. Barrett, p.45; Schmithals: Gnosticism, pp.201-02.

⁷¹Reference should also be made here to 3:21-23, which has been held to support the view that there was no Christ-group in the church (for references see Hurd: Origin, p.105 (to which Baumann: Mitte, p.52 is now to be added). Yet the fact that Paul denounces pride in human leaders (μηδεὶς καυχᾶσθω ἐν ἀνθρώποις) does not mean that this is the only problem posed by the slogans of 1:12, and the following section of

our discussion will present arguments to show that Paul does also address the problem of a claim to a superior knowledge of Christ independent of human teachers. Moreover, the words ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ (3:23), far from conceding the claim made by the Christ-group and thus showing that no such group can have existed (as claimed by Weiss, pp.XXXVIII, 92; Baumann: Mitte, p.51), actually constitute a direct rebuttal of any claim to an exclusive relationship to Christ, since the ὑμεῖς involved is the whole church, not any group within it.

⁷²Hurd (Origin, p.104 n.2) shows that μεμείρισται in 1:13 cannot mean "assigned to one group" (as some interpreters have claimed), but means "divided up".

⁷³The form and contents of chapters 5-16 do not indicate the presence of four distinct parties with distinguishable positions in the church: see N.A. Dahl: "Paul and the Church at Corinth according to 1 Corinthians 1:10-4:21", in W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule, and R.R. Niebuhr (eds.): Christian History and Interpretation: Studies presented to John Knox (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1967), pp.313-35 (at p.315) (now in idem: Studies in Paul: Theology for the Early Christian Mission(Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, 1977), pp.40-61 (at p.42)); Hurd: Origin, p.96; Jewett: Anthropological Terms, p.32; Munck: Paul, p.139f.

⁷⁴As noted by Weiss, pp.XXIXf, XXXVf; S. Arai: "Die Gegner des Paulus im 1 Korintherbrief und das Problem der Gnosis", NTS 19 (1972-73), pp.430-37 (at p.431); Dahl: Studies, pp.45-46; Funk: Language, p.288 n.49, and others.

⁷⁵So Barrett, p.368; Bruce, p.150; Conzelmann, p.279; Héring, p.173; Weiss, p.367 n.3.

⁷⁶The intention of the assertion ἀγνοοῦσαν γὰρ θεοῦ τινες ἔχουσιν is not to characterise them as unbelievers, but to indicate that their profession of faith has not issued in those fruits that accompany genuine knowledge of God (in particular, the shunning of immorality: hence μὴ ἀμαρτάνετε). No matter what they say (cp. the slogan Paul quotes in 8:1a), what they do shows that something is seriously amiss. The statement may also indicate that their denial of the resurrection amounts to an ignorance of the God of whom the Gospel speaks, the God who raises the dead (so Moffatt, p.256f; Orr and Walther, p.339; Wendland, p.131f).

⁷⁷Otherwise these verses would have to be regarded as extraneous to the theme and purpose of the discussion as a whole.

⁷⁸Cp. Hemphill: Charisma, pp.52-62; R.A. Horsley: "Pneumatikos vs. Psychikos: Distinctions of Spiritual Status among the Corinthians", HTR 69 (1976), pp.269-88; B.A. Pearson: The Pneumatikos-Psychikos Terminology in 1 Corinthians: A Study in the Theology of the Corinthian Opponents of Paul and its Relation to Gnosticism (SBLDS 12) (The Scholars Press, Missoula, 1973).

⁷⁹πνευματικῶς is used 15 times in 1 Cor (2:13,15; 3:1; 9:11, 10:3,4; 12:1; 14:1,37; 15:44,46) and only 9 times in the rest of the Pauline corpus (3 times in Rom; once in Gal; 3 times in Eph; and twice in Col), while, apart from 1 Cor 2:14, πνευματικῶς is used only once in the NT (Rev 11:8).

⁸⁰So Horsley: art. cit., p.269; Pearson: Pneumatikos, p.4f. Grudem (Prophecy, pp.157-61) denies this, arguing that the frequency of this terminology is due only to the fact that it is natural for Paul to use it in his attempt to correct the Corinthians' confusions and errors with respect to the Spirit, and that for him to have used in one sense a term that the Corinthians used in another sense would only make for serious confusion. These arguments are unsatisfactory. (1) If the Corinthians were 'so concerned about the activity of the Spirit' (p.157), it is more than likely that they talked about it! It is also probable that the terminology they used--and πνευματικός is an obvious word to use in discussing the activity of the Spirit--gave expression to their false concepts about the Spirit. There is thus a prima facie case for expecting Paul to correct their ways of speaking about the Spirit as well as their ways of thinking about his presence and activity. (2) The belief that this terminology was current in Corinth is reinforced by the use in 1 Cor of similar dualistic terminology that is infrequent elsewhere in the Pauline corpus (see p.311f below) and that implies an elitist mentality on the part of some of the Corinthians--a mentality which finds expression in the fourth slogan in 1:12! (3) It will not do to deny that Paul would adopt the strategy of persuasive redefinition of terminology that is acceptable in itself but that is being used in an unacceptable manner, on the grounds that one

could hardly expect that the ordinary Corinthian Christian who heard the epistle would have grasped a semantic dispute carried on at such a subtle level. (p.159).

Grudem's argument here is unsatisfactory because (i) there is a great deal in 1 Cor that presupposes an ability on the part of the Corinthians (or at least the teachers among them) to grasp some quite subtle theological argument; (ii) the alternative to using Corinthian vocabulary in a way that redefined it and gave it an acceptable meaning is to surrender important parts of the Christian vocabulary to those who use it in a twisted sense; and (iii) Paul clearly engages in such persuasive redefinition of terms elsewhere in his writings (Col being a prime example).

⁸¹See esp. Pearson: Pneumatikos, pp.23ff; Horsley: "Pneumatikos", pp.274-79.

⁸²Reading τὸν Χριστὸν (p⁴⁶ D G K Ψ, etc.), rather than τὸν κύριον (A B C P, etc.) or τὸν θεόν (A 81, etc.). The former reading is attested in both the earliest Greek ms. and a wide variety of early versions and patristic witnesses: it is the lectio difficilior (sensing the difficulty of the proposition that the wilderness generation tested the Messiah, scribes either conformed the text to the LXX account (Num 21:5-6), thus substituting τὸν θεόν) or preferred the more ambiguous τὸν κύριον); and it is consonant with v.4, with its reference to the presence of ὁ Χριστός in the wilderness. See Metzger: Commentary, p.560, Conzelmann, p.164 n.8.

⁸³The statistics are as follows (with the figure for the use in 1 Cor first in each case, followed by the total for the Pauline corpus in brackets: τέλειος 3 (8); νήπιος 6 (10); ψυχικός 4 (4); σαρκικός 3 (6); σοφός 11 (16); μωρός 4 (6); ἰσχυρός 4 (5); δυνατός 1 (12); ἀσθενής 11 (15).

These figures clearly show that, with the sole exception of δυνατός all these terms have a very strong connection with the Corinthian situation.

⁸⁴So, for example, Funk: Language, pp.296-99, 305; R.A. Horsley: "'How can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?': Spiritual Elitism in Corinth", NovT 20 (1978), pp.203-31 (at pp.205ff); idem: "Wisdom of Words and Words of Wisdom in Corinth", CBQ 39 (1977), 224-239 (at p.233); Pearson: Pneumatikos, pp.4-5, 27-28, 31,41.

⁸⁵Sellin: "Geheimnis".

⁸⁶P. Vielhauer: "Paulus und die Kephaspartei in Korinth", NTS 21 (1974-75), pp.341-52.

⁸⁷Schmithals: Gnosticism, p.202.

⁸⁸A useful survey of the various views that have been held is provided in E. Fascher: Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther, Erster Teil (Kapitel 1-7) (THNT) (Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, Berlin, 1975), pp.90-92.

⁸⁹'The second epistle must not be interpreted in terms of the situation presupposed by the first.' (Barrett: Essays, p.64.) Cp. also Baumann: Mitte, p.7; Vielhauer: "Kephaspartei", p.342.

⁹⁰Studies, p.207. This definition is quoted with approval by Barrett (p.45) and Bruce (p.33), both of whom acknowledge that it is arrived at by a process of elimination (Barrett: Essays, p.5; Bruce: ibid.).

⁹¹This may be illustrated by reference to other aspects of Manson's interpretation. His claim that the problem concerning glossolalia stemmed from the attempt of the Cephass-party to impose a Palestinian form of piety at Corinth (Studies, pp. 203-05) has found very little support, and indicates the degree of subjectivity and uncertainty involved in the attempt to reconstruct distinct positions for each of the Paul-, Apollos- and Cephas-groups.

⁹²In addition to the statistics given in n.79 above, it should be noted that $\pi\nu\epsilon\theta\mu\alpha$ is used more frequently (40 times) in 1 Cor than in any other Pauline writing.

⁹³G. Friedrich ("Die Kirche Gottes zu Korinth", in Auf das Wort, pp.132-46 (at p.132)) claims that the Corinthian pneumatics identified Christ with the $\pi\nu\epsilon\theta\mu\alpha$, but this goes beyond the evidence available to us.

⁹⁴See pp.368-79 below.

⁹⁵The Spirit is referred to as the $\pi\nu\epsilon\theta\mu\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\theta$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ 6 times (2:11, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3) (an expression that is found only 5 or 6 times in the rest of the Pauline corpus: Rom 8:9,14; 2 Cor 3:3; Eph 3:16; 4:30; Phil 3:3(?)), and the $\pi\nu\epsilon\theta\mu\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\delta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\theta$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (2:11) (an expression that does not occur elsewhere in Paul. Note also the emphasis in the expression $\tau\omicron\upsilon\theta$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\omicron\upsilon\acute{\theta}$ $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (6:19). See also pp.374ff on the connection between the Spirit and God in ch.12.

⁹⁶So, for example, Goppelt: Apostolic, p.100; Käsemann: "Ministry", pp.66-67; E. Schweizer: TDNT VI, pp.416, 420f.

⁹⁷ γινώσκω is used 10 times in 1 Cor (1:5; 8:1,7,10,11; 12:8; 13:2,8; 14:6) and 13 times in the remainder of the Pauline corpus, while 16 out of the 50 uses of γινώσκειν in the Pauline corpus are in 1 Cor. Apart from its use in 15:34, ἀγνοῖα is used only once in the NT (1 Pet 2:15), while 4 out of the 15 occurrences of the cognate verb ἀγνοεῖν in the Pauline corpus are in 1 Cor (10:11; 12:1; 14:38 (twice)).

Seventeen out of the 28 uses of σοφία in the Pauline corpus are in 1 Cor (15 times in 1:17-2:13; once each in 3:19; 12:8), while 11 out of the 16 uses of σοφός are in 1 Cor (1:19,20,25,26,27; 3:10,18 (twice), 19,20; 6:5).

⁹⁸ It is generally agreed that this is a Corinthian slogan (see Hurd: Origin, pp.67-68, 120-22; Barrett, pp.144, 239; Bruce, p.62; Conzelmann, p.108; Héring, p.45f; Morris, p.99; Senft, p.136; Weiss, p.157; Wendland, p.46). It is possible that Paul had used it in the context of preaching freedom from the law through Christ, and that the Corinthian pneumatics had used it in a rather different sense from that which it had when Paul introduced it to Corinth: so Grosheide, p.144; Lietzmann, p.27; Weiss, p.157; Hurd: Origin, pp.278-79.

ἐξουσία is another word that figures prominently in the letter as a result of Paul's debate with the pneumatics. Of the 27 uses in the Pauline corpus, 10 are in 1 Cor (7:37; 8:9; 9:4,5,6,12,18; 11:10; 15:24). Grosheide (p.144 n.14) observes that ἐξουσιάζειν occurs 3 times in 1 Cor (6:12; 7:4 (twice)) and nowhere else in Paul.

⁹⁹ See especially A.C. Thiselton: "Realised Eschatology at Corinth", NTS 24 (1977-78), pp.510-26.

¹⁰⁰ Cp. 6:2-3, where judgment by the saints is indicated as future.

¹⁰¹ So Hurley: Man and Woman, p.141; *idem*: "Did Paul Require Veils or the Silence of Woman? A Consideration of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 and 1 Cor. 14:33b-36" WTJ 35 (1973), pp.190-220 (at pp.201,209) A.T. Lincoln: Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with special reference to his Eschatology (SNTSMS 43) (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981) p.34f.

¹⁰² Accordingly, both libertinism (6:12-20) and asceticism (7:1b) are possible. See esp. Lincoln: Paradise, pp.21-54.

¹⁰³ Despite the widespread view that interprets 15:12 in the light of 2 Tim 2:18, and therefore maintains that the Corinthian pneumatics were asserting that no future resurrection was to be expected, both v.12 (which reports the erroneous view as the assertion that ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, not that the resurrection of the dead οὐκέτι ἔστιν) and Paul's whole argument indicate that the issue is the reality of the resurrection of the dead, and not just its futurity. Cp. Hurd: Origin, pp.195-200; D.J. Doughty: "The Presence and Future of Salvation in Corinth", ZNW 66 (1975), pp.61-90 (esp. pp.75ff); Lincoln: Paradise, pp.35-39.

¹⁰⁴ p.311 f above.

¹⁰⁵ Note 1:29,31; 3:21; 4:6-7,18-19; 5:2,6; 8:1; 10:12; 12:21; 13:1-4; 4:37.

¹⁰⁶ Apart from the 6 occurrences in 1 Cor (4:6,18,19; 5:2; 8:1; 13:4), φυσιοῦν is used only once in the Pauline corpus (Col 2:18). καυχᾶσθαι is more prominent in Rom (6 times) and 2 Cor (20 times) than in 1 Cor, but it is still a significant indicator of the Corinthian problems (1:29,31; 3:21; 4:7; 13:3). Note also the use of καύχημα in 5:6.

¹⁰⁷ Gnosticism, p.151.

¹⁰⁸ The two principal issues are those of exegetical method and of definition. In regard to the former, Schmithals consistently interprets concepts that are compatible with a Gnostic understanding as though they were already Gnostic in intention, and interprets in a Gnostic sense beliefs and practices that are more satisfactorily explained without reference to Gnosticism. This immediately raises the second issue, which concerns the existence of Gnosticism in the first century. What makes an idea "Gnostic"? Can Gnosticism be said to have existed prior to the second century? In the interests of greater precision, and in an attempt to overcome the tendency for the debate about Gnosticism to be little more than a dispute stemming from different definitions of the term, the Messina Colloquium proposed that distinctions be made between "gnosis" ('knowledge of the divine mysteries reserved for an elite') and "Gnosticism" (the second century systems involving 'the idea of a divine spark in man, deriving from the divine realm, fallen into this world of fate, birth and death, and needing to be awakened by the divine counterpart of the self in order to be fully reintegrated'), and between pre-Gnosticism (the use of various themes and motifs prior to the second century Gnostic systems that were to become prominent in those systems) and proto-Gnosticism (the essence of the second century systems occurring prior to the second century) (U. Bianchi (ed.): Le Origine dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966 (Studies in the History of Religions XII) (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1967), pp.XX-XXXII). In the light of these proposals, Schmithals' study can be seen as an attempt to interpret certain indications of a pre-Gnostic outlook as already Gnostic, and the proper question about Gnosticism and Corinth is to what extent 1 Cor gives evidence of a proto-Gnosticism in the church.

The clearest and most balanced studies that take up this issue (and in the process provide a helpful response to Schmithals) are those by R. McL. Wilson: Gnosis and the New Testament (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1968) (esp. pp.1-30); "How Gnostic were the Corinthians?", NTS 19 (1972-73), pp.65-74; "Gnosis, Gnosticism and the New Testament" in Bianchi: Origine, pp.511-26.

¹⁰⁹ The Tests of Life: A Study of the First Epistle of St. John (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1914), p.28.

This verdict is quoted with approval by Wilson (Gnosis, p.52; "How Gnostic", p.74) and Bruce (p.21).

¹¹⁰ So, for example, Moffatt, p.11f; Senft, p.35; Funk: Language, p.290.

¹¹¹ See esp. Schmithals: Gnosticism, pp.256-57, 398-99.

¹¹² '... i.12-17 hat ... der Empfang der Taufe durch den jeweiligen Lehrer konstitutive Bedeutung für die Zugehörigkeit zu der betreffenden Partei.' (Vielhauer: "Kephaspartei", p.344).

¹¹³The contrast between Apollos' rhetorical skills (Acts 18:24-25) and Paul's rather unimpressive preaching style (2 Cor 10:10) was undoubtedly a significant factor in the emergence of the problems to do with σοφία (1:17-3:23). See Barrett: Essays, pp.8, 11f. There were probably other marked differences in their respective styles and approaches, reflecting the differences in their backgrounds.

¹¹⁴There has been considerable debate over the question of whether Peter had visited Corinth: see O. Cullmann: Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr: A Historical and Theological Study, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1962), pp.55-57. The issues are complex, especially because the whole question of the character of earliest Christianity, defined so controversially by F.C. Baur, lies in the background.

While certainty seems unattainable, it is probable that after a period of Jerusalem-based missionary work in Palestine, Peter was engaged in a mission in the Diaspora (see esp. Cullman: Peter, pp.42-57; M. Hengel: Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1979), pp.92-98, 124). Did Peter visit Corinth in the course of his travels in the Diaspora (as maintained, for example, by Lake: Earlier Epistles, pp.112-117; G. Edmundson: The Church in Rome in the First Century: An Examination of Various Controverted Questions relating to its History, Chronology, Literature and Traditions (1913 Bampton Lectures) (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1913), pp.78-82; C.K. Barrett: "Cephas and Corinth", in O. Betz, M. Hengel and P. Schmidt (eds.) Abraham Unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch über die Bibel. Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag (AGSU V) (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1963), pp.1-12 (now in Essays, pp.28-39); Vielhauer: "Kephaspartei", p.344; F.F. Bruce: Men and Movements in the Primitive Church: Studies in Early Non-Pauline Christianity (The Paternoster Press, Exeter, 1979), pp.39-40; R.E. Brown, K.P. Donfried and J. Reumann (eds.): Peter in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars (Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1974), pp.32-36)? The only evidence that permits an answer to this question is that provided by 1 Cor itself, since other evidence for a Petrine mission in the Diaspora does not prove that a visit to Corinth was involved, and later evidence (such as that provided in 1 Clem or by Dionysius of Rome) may itself be based on the references to Peter in 1 Cor.

The most natural interpretation of the references to Peter in 1 Cor is that he had been in Corinth. The analogy between the third slogan in 1:12 and the preceding two, and the connection implied between the slogans and baptism, both suggest that Peter had baptised converts in Corinth. The most likely reason for making special mention of Peter in 9:5, rather than referring simply to οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι (which would obviously include Peter), is that the Corinthians had had a visit from Peter and his wife. 15:11 clearly implies the missionary activity in Corinth of apostles other than Paul, and Peter is the only one for whom there is any evidence at all.

¹¹⁵Paul 'was a Jew of the diaspora with a rabbinical training from Jerusalem and a revolutionary attitude to the Torah. He had been followed by Apollos, a cultured and rhetorically skilled Jew from Egypt, "Hellenistic" both in his Judaism and his Christianity. Lastly Cephas . . . had made a deep impression on at least some of the Christians in Corinth; and he was a Galilean, presumably more conservative and cautious in his attitude to the Torah when not urged from above to act otherwise, and having vivid personal memories from the years together with the Lord some twenty years previously.' (Holmberg: Paul, p.45).

¹¹⁶ So, for example, the Corinthian concern with σοφία has been related to Greek philosophy and rhetoric (Munck: Paul, pp.148-67; Héring, pp.7-14, Moffatt, pp.12-13; Morris, p.42), to a Jewish Gnostic Sophia-myth, resulting from the cross-fertilisation of Jewish חכמה-speculation and Gnostic Sophia-mythology in pre-Christian Hellenistic Judaism (U. Wilckens: TDNT VII, pp.519-22), and to the wisdom-thought of the OT and the outlook of late Jewish apocalyptic (Ellis: Prophecy, pp.45-62).

¹¹⁷ So Munck: Paul, pp.135, 148-50; Héring, p.xi; Robertson and Plummer, p.xvi; Weiss, p.XVI.

¹¹⁸ 6:9-10 catalogues sins that were regarded by the Jews as characteristic of the Gentiles, and then 6:11 adds καὶ ταῦτά τινες ᾔτε. 8:7 suggests that the "weak" were converts from paganism (Barrett, p.194; Bruce, p.80; Grosheide, p.194; Robertson and Plummer, p.169).

¹¹⁹ On his assumptions and terminology, see D. Daube: The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism (The Athlone Press, London, 1956), pp.127, 336-41, 352-65, 394-400. On his methods of argument and scriptural exegesis, see Ellis: Prophecy, pp.213-16; W. Wuellner: "Haggadic Homily Genre in 1 Corinthians 1-3", JBL 89 (1970), pp.199-204.

¹²⁰ He quotes or alludes to Scripture frequently throughout the letter (esp. 1:29,31; 2:9,16; 3:19,20; 5:13; 6:16; 9:9; 10:7,26; 14:21; 15:32,45,54-55). Moreover, he not only refers to biblical incidents in a way which indicates that he can assume the Corinthians' familiarity with them (5:7; 10:1ff), but also appears to be responding to the biblical exegesis of his Corinthian opponents (14:21-22 (on which see J.P.M. Sweet: "A Sign for Unbelievers: Paul's Attitude to Glossolalia", NTS 13 (1966-67), pp.240-57); 15:45-49 (on which see Pearson: Pneumatikos, pp.24-26)).

¹²¹ On this see Hurd: Origin, pp.138-41.

¹²² Note also the argument of J.M. Ford that the Corinthians were familiar with Jewish terminology and practice in relation to marriage and tithing: "'Hast Thou Tithed Thy Meal?' and 'Is Thy Child Kosher?' (1 Cor.x.27ff and 1 Cor.vii.14)", JTS (n.s.) 17 (1966), pp.71-79; "Levirate Marriage in St. Paul (1 Cor VII)", NTS 10 (1963-64), pp.361-65; "The Meaning of 'Virgin'", NTS 12 (1965-66), pp.293-99.

¹²³ The ἡμῶν must include all of the Corinthians, otherwise Paul's argument would lose its force and non-Jewish believers would be justified in regarding the argument and the paraenesis which is based on it as inapplicable to themselves.

¹²⁴ So, for example, J.M. Ford: "The First Epistle to the Corinthians or the First Epistle to the Hebrews?", CBQ 28 (1966), pp.402-26; B. Reicke: Diakonia, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier (A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, Uppsala, 1951), p.271.

¹²⁵ Despite the impression that may be given by Gal 3:28 and Col 3:11, it is clear that Paul does not regard a person's conversion as involving the cessation of his Jewishness or non-Jewishness--see Rom 11:1,13; 15:27; 2 Cor 11:22; Gal 2:3,11-15; Phil 3:5; Col 4:11.

¹²⁶Cp. Morris, p.18f; Lake: Earlier Epistles, pp.107, 233. Note also the general comment of W.D. Davies ("Paul", p.19):

We have no letters of Paul to Jews or to Jewish Christians but only to largely Gentile churches. But these Christian communities were probably composed of Jews and of Gentiles who had been attracted to Judaism through the synagogue.'

This understanding of the composition of the Corinthian church finds support in an article by N. Walter ("Christusglaube und heidnische Religiosität in paulinischen Gemeinden", NTS 25 (1978-79), pp.422-42), in which he argues that the discussion in 1 Cor 10 about involvement in idolatrous ceremonies is to be understood in terms of the continuing influence of pagan religious concepts and practices on converted "God-fearers" (pp.425-36).

¹²⁷See 1:22-24; 7:18-19; 9:19-22; 10:18-20, 32.

¹²⁸The account in Acts 18 (whose substantial accuracy there is reason to dispute: Haenchen: Acts, pp.537-41) indicates that even when Paul announced to the Jews his intention of turning εἰς τὰ ἔθνη (v.6), he did not move out of the synagogue orbit to concentrate on winning pagans, but moved his base to the home of Titius Justus adjacent to the synagogue in order to reach the Gentile synagogue-adherents (so Lake and Cadbury: Beginnings, IV, p.225; Bruce: Acts, p.345).

According to Acts 18:27-28, church and synagogue were the focal points of Apollos' Corinthian ministry, indicating that his evangelistic activity was directed at the members of the synagogue community. Gal 2:7-9 shows that Peter's mission was directed to the Jews.

None of this should be taken to imply that the Gospel was withheld from pagans as a matter of policy, but it does indicate that all three preachers would have focused their evangelistic preaching on the synagogue and its adherents.

¹²⁹See esp. the articles by J.M. Ford (nn.122, 124 above).

¹³⁰See esp. the articles by R.A. Horsley (nn.28, 78, 84; and "Gnosis in Corinth: 1 Corinthians 8:1-6", NTS 27 (1980-81), pp.32-51).

¹³¹Banks: Paul's Idea, p.46; Filson: "Significance", p.110; Gnllka: Philemonbrief, pp.27f, 32; Klauck: Hausgemeinde, p.39f; Lake and Cadbury: Beginnings, IV, p.225; Meeks: Urban, p.76; Riesner: Gemeindebau, p.43; Schmithals: Gnosticism, pp.103 n.34, 202 n.124; Schreiber: Die Gemeinde, pp.130-34; B. Winter: "The Lord's Supper at Corinth: An Alternative Reconstruction", RTR 37 (1978), pp.73-82 (at p.81).

¹³²The most extended discussion known to me is that by Klauck (Hausgemeinde, pp.30-41), but this relies only on showing that there were several Corinthians who owned homes and on the reference in Rom 16:23 to Gaius as host of the whole church.

¹³³Filson: "Significance", p.110.

¹³⁴It can hardly be doubted that the Gaius of 1 Cor 1:14 is to be identified with the Gaius of Rom 16:23: Barrett, p.47; Bruce, p.34; Lietzmann, p.8; Robertson and Plummer, p.14; Weiss, p.21.

¹³⁵This has been taken to mean that Gaius offered hospitality to Christians travelling through Corinth (Black, p.184; Cranfield, II, p.807; Käsemann, p.405), but there is reason to believe that it must also refer to the fact that the church met in his house: in Paul, ἐκκλησία usually refers to the local congregation (Banks: Paul's Idea, pp.42-50; Hainz: Ekklesia, pp.229-39, 250-55; H. Merklein: "Die Ekklesia Gottes: Der Kirchenbegriff bei Paulus und in Jerusalem", BZ (N.F.) 23 (1979), pp.48-70 (at pp.51-55)), and his only other use of the expression ὅλη ἡ ἐκκλησία (1 Cor 14:23) clearly refers to the local congregation (see p.328 below).

¹³⁶It is more likely that Chloe herself was a believer than that Paul referred to the Corinthians who had visited him in Ephesus and brought him news of the church by the name of their non-Christian mistress or patrona instead of by their own names, the name by which they would be known in the church. It is also more likely that she lived in Corinth than that she lived in Ephesus and was yet known by name to the Corinthians (Senft, p.33; Weiss, p.15; Wendland, p.14).

¹³⁷Crispus (1:14) is probably to be identified with the ἀρχι-συνάγωγος of Acts 18:8, whose household joined him in receiving Paul's message. Since he was baptised by Paul, there is thus a fourth household that is to be linked with Paul. The Erastus of Rom 16:23 is also likely to have been head of a Christian household (see Theissen: Social Setting, pp.75-83; Klauck: Hausgemeinde, pp.32-33).

¹³⁸Weiss (p.XVII) refers to the house church in these terms:
 . . . eine christliche Familie etwa mit Freunden und
 Nachbarn in besondern Zusammenkünften eine ecclesiola
 darstellt. . . .

¹³⁹Inns were notorious as centres of vice, and inn-keepers were commonly thought to practise magic: see Mathews: Hospitality, pp.306-11; R. MacMullen: Roman Social Relations, 50 BC to AD 284 (Yale University Press, New Haven/London, 1974), p.4.

¹⁴⁰Mathews: Hospitality, pp.166-89; D.W. Riddle: "Early Christian Hospitality: A Factor in Gospel Transmission", JBL 57 (1938), pp.141-54; G. Stählin: TDNT V, pp.20-23. Note the exhortations to practise hospitality in Rom 12:13; Heb 13:2; 1 Pet 4:9.

¹⁴¹Paul seems to have met up with them in the course of finding an opportunity to practise his trade (Haenchen: Acts, pp.534, 538), perhaps because they belonged to the same Jewish craft guild (S.Applebaum: CRINT I.1, p.482f). It is possible that various workshops were located next to the synagogue in Corinth, so that Paul's seeking out the synagogue, finding work and accommodation, and joining forces with Prisca and Aquila were all inter-connected (Hengel: "Synagogeninschrift", p.171f). It is likely that Prisca and Aquila were believers before Paul met them, as there is no reference to their conversion or baptism either in Acts 18 or in 1 Cor 1:14-16.

¹⁴²This verse may only be intended to mean that Paul used Titius Justus' home as a preaching base while continuing to live with Prisca and Aquila; however, the Western text's substitution of μεταβὰς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀκούλας for μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν points to a change of residence as well. This may have been so: Haenchen: Acts, p.535 n.2.

E.J. Goodspeed ("Gaius Titius Justus", JBL 69 (1950), pp.382-83) has suggested that the Gaius of 1 Cor 1:14 and Rom 16:23 is to be identified with Titius Justus, who is thus referred to by his nomen and cognomen in Acts and by his praenomen in Paul. If correct, this would mean that Paul's reference in Rom 16:23 to Gaius as his host strengthens the possibility that Acts 18:7 indicates a change of residence.

¹⁴³In addition to the possibility that households were converted during Apollos' ministry (note 3:5), it is likely that he found accommodation in a Christian home throughout his stay.

¹⁴⁴On the synagogue hospice see G. Stählin: TDNT V, p.18; W. Schrage: TDNT VII, p.826; S. Safrai: CRINT I.2, pp.908,943.

¹⁴⁵Klauck: Hausgemeinde, p.40; Theissen: Social Setting, p.55f.

¹⁴⁶J.H. Moulton and W.F. Howard: A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Volume II: Accidence (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1919-29), p.475; M.J. Harris: NIDNTT III, p.1194; Bruce: Acts, p.75,

¹⁴⁷L. Cerfaux: La Théologie de l'Eglise suivant Saint Paul (Les Editions Du Cerf, Paris,²1948), pp. 69-88; Hainz: Ekklesia, pp.75, 229-32.

¹⁴⁸M. Wilcox: The Semitisms of Acts (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965), p.95.

¹⁴⁹See BDB: s.v.

¹⁵⁰BGD s.v. αὐτός, 4b; ἐπί, 1aζ.

¹⁵¹ἐρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό occurs twice (Psa 47:5; Sus 140), and in both ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό has the sense of physical proximity.

¹⁵²The cognate expression ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις occurs once (Justin: Apol.I, 67) as a reference to the church meeting. This very infrequent occurrence of the expression tends to undermine Lietzmann's claim that 'συνέρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό ist altchristlicher Terminus Technicus für die Gemeindeversammlung. . . .' (p.56).

¹⁵³Cp. Allo, p.272; Robertson and Plummer, pp.240, 317.

¹⁵⁴Cp. Allo, p.367 ('supposant un cas extrême'); Senft, p.179.

¹⁵⁵So Banks: Paul's Idea, p.46; Gnllka: Philemonbrief, p.27; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.346.

¹⁵⁶See Klauck: Hausgemeinde, pp.26-30, 41-51; Stuhlmacher: Philemon, p.72.

¹⁵⁷On Jerusalem, see Filson: "Significance", p.106; Hill: Sociology, pp.228-33, 245f; Rordorf: "Gottesdiensträume", pp.113ff.

The evidence of Acts 20:20 is supported by the indication in 1 Cor 16 that the Christian community in Ephesus contained Aquila and Prisca's house church (v.19) along with other believers (the ἀδελφοὶ πάντες of v.20)--see Barrett, p.396; Robertson and Plummer, p.398f.

¹⁵⁸Klauck: Hausgemeinde, pp.26-30; P. Minear: The Obedience of Faith: The Purposes of Paul in the Epistle to the Romans (SBT (2nd series) 19) (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1971), passim. Banks (Paul's Idea, pp.46-48) denies that all the groups referred to constituted house churches.

¹⁵⁹On the evidence of Col 4:9,17, Philemon's house church (Phm 1-2) can be located at Colossae, while Col suggests that the church as a whole was larger than this one house church (note, for example, the plurals in the Haustafel, which suggests a number of Christian households). (On the authenticity of Col, see Kümmel: Introduction, pp.340-46, R.P. Martin: Colossians and Philemon (NCB) (Oliphants, London, 1974), pp.32-40; P.T. O'Brien: Colossians, Philemon (WBC) (Word Books, Waco, 1982), pp.xli-xlix.)

¹⁶⁰Nymphas' (or Nympha's) house church is obviously only part of the larger Christian community in Laodicea (ἡ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησία, v.16).

¹⁶¹See pp.562-7 below.

¹⁶²See Harnack: Mission, II, pp.147-468.

¹⁶³On this see Judge: Social Pattern, pp.30-39.

¹⁶⁴Banks: Paul's Idea, pp.49-50. Stuhlmacher (Philemon, p.72) says that a house church would have involved 'zwischen ca. zehn und höchstens vierzig Personen', and a similar figure is given by Gnülka: Philemonbrief, p.27; Klauck: Hausgemeinde, p.17f.

¹⁶⁵On the basis of the factors mentioned in the text, Suhl claims that there may have been up to a hundred members in the church at this time (Paulus, pp.115-16).

¹⁶⁶Such as Tyrannus' σχολή (Acts 19:9).

¹⁶⁷See pp.89-90 above.

¹⁶⁸Banks: Paul's Idea, p.115.

¹⁶⁹pp.92 above.

¹⁷⁰Note 1 Th 4:9-10.

¹⁷¹Johnstone: Religion, p.121; Mott: Organisation, p.54.

¹⁷²"Kephaspartei", p.351.

¹⁷³art. cit., p.343.

¹⁷⁴Since it is clear that Paul himself was not responsible for the formation of the group that claimed him as their leader, it is gratuitous to suppose that either Apollos or Peter was responsible for the groups which professed loyalty to them. Moreover, just as there is some doubt that the Paul-group accurately represented Paul's own views, it cannot be supposed that the followers of either Apollos or Peter were in line with the views of the one they claimed as leader. It is likely that both Apollos and Peter would have been as displeased with the state

of affairs as Paul was. (So Allo, p.81; Héring, p.5; Lietzmann, p.7; Moffatt, p.9; Brown et al: Peter, p.33; Dahl: Studies, p.50; Holmberg: Paul, p.45.) Furthermore, the claim that the Cephas-group had caused the factionalism by asserting Petrine primacy, and that this is what underlies Paul's discussion in 3:4-4:6 in particular (so Vielhauer: "Kephaspartei", pp.348-51) is not very persuasive. (i) Paul's claim that he laid the foundation is unlikely to be a polemical response to the assertion of Petrine primacy along the lines of Matt 16:18, since it is parallel to his claim that he planted, while Apollos watered (3:16). There is no more reason to regard 3:11 as a rebuttal of specific claims made on behalf of Peter than there is to regard 3:6 as a refutation of an assertion of Apollos' primacy. (ii) The conjunction of agricultural and building metaphors (3:6-10) is traditional (Conzelmann, p.75), so there is no reason to see the transition from the first to the second as occasioned by claims being made on Peter's behalf. (iii) A third metaphor is added in ch.4, where Paul claims that he "fathered" the church (v.15). Paul uses all three metaphors (planter, foundation-layer, father) to indicate that as church-founder he retains a continuing responsibility for the church, and this is maintained in response to the problem of the factionalism in the church, not to the claims of any one group. (iv) Vielhauer's interpretation also reads a great deal into what Paul does not say, regarding his failure to mention anyone by name in 3:10-17 (as he had referred to Apollos in 3:4-9) as suggestive of a struggle between himself and Peter (or those who were making claims on Peter's behalf). However, Paul's failure to refer to Peter in chs.3-4 in the way he refers to Apollos may only mean that, whereas he has had personal contact with Apollos (16:12) and knows his views on the Corinthian situation, he has had no contact with Peter, and so judges it to be more courteous to remain silent about him, since he has no firsthand knowledge of his views about the situation.

¹⁷⁵ Studies, pp.44-52.

¹⁷⁶ See pp.407-9 below.

¹⁷⁷ This presupposes that the Vorbrief was sent to Corinth after both Apollos and Cephas had been there, so that groups identifying with them (as well as a group which had no particular connection with any of the three preachers) were already in existence before Paul wrote the letter referred to in 5:9. Although certainty in this matter is unattainable, Hurd provides a strong case for seeing the sending of Vorbrief as having occurred just prior to the church's letter to which 1 Cor responds (Origin, pp.50-58).

¹⁷⁸ So Schreiber: Gemeinde, pp.147-54.

¹⁷⁹ Dahl gives a clear account of the relation between the disputes indicated in 1:10-12 and the explicit and implicit criticisms of Paul contained in the letter (Studies, pp.45-55). However, he is inclined to underestimate the extent to which these criticisms reflect the comparisons and contrasts drawn between Paul, Apollos and Peter by their supporters (4:6b).

¹⁸⁰ See W.C. Robinson, Jr.: "Word and Power (1 Corinthians 1:17-2:5)", in J.McD. Richards (ed.): Soli Deo Gloria: New Testament Studies in Honor of William Childs Robinson (John Knox Press, Richmond, 1968), pp.68-82 (at p.75).

¹⁸¹Kümmel, p.167; idem: Introduction, p.274.

¹⁸²See pp.309-11.

¹⁸³Dahl: Studies, p.52.

¹⁸⁴Apart from the first one, the other slogans are all to be understood as declarations of independence from Paul. (Dahl: Studies, p.49). While this is correct as far as it goes, Dahl does not give sufficient consideration to the implications of the diversity of backgrounds, attitudes and problems involved in the commitments expressed in the last three slogans in 1:12. The situation involves more than just an unwillingness to depend on Paul.

¹⁸⁵pp.334, 336 above.

¹⁸⁶Wendland, p.1.

¹⁸⁷See Gutierrez: Paternité, pp.119-211; Holmberg: Paul, pp.79-81; Ollrog: Paulus, pp.178-82; Roloff: Apostolat, pp.116-20; G. Schrenk: TDNT V, pp.1005-6.

On this passage in particular, see Gutierrez: Paternité, pp.119-97; M. Saillard: "C'est Moi qui, par l'Evangile, Vous ai Enfantés dans le Christ Jésus (1 Co 4,15)", RSR 56 (1958), pp.5-41.

The unity of this passage is disputed by Bailey ("Structure"), who argues that 4:17 begins a new section, so that 4:18-21 belongs with 5:1ff, not with 4:14-16. As his arguments have a direct bearing on much of our discussion, it is necessary to consider them in some detail.

Bailey's arguments for seeing a major division at 4:17 ("Structure", pp.160-63), which he regards as looking forward rather than backward, are as follows.

1. The use of "therefore" in succeeding verses (οὖν in v.16: διὰ τοῦτο in v.17) is awkward unless v.17 is seen as the beginning of a new section.

However, this is by no means unparalleled: note Phil 2:28,29; Eph 5:15,17; 6:13,14.

2. The idea of "reminding" is found at the beginning of two the other essays which make up the letter (11:2; 15:1).

This assumes the validity of Bailey's division of the letter; and the reminding in question is Timothy's, not Paul's.

3. Paul's ὁδοί are traditions, and this concept is found at the beginning of each of the essays.

4. No extant ancient ms. began a new section at 5:1, while there is evidence in some mss. for a break at 4:16/17.

5. The visits of both Timothy (v.17) and Paul (v.19) are related to the need to deal with the immoral man referred to in 5:1.

However, there is nothing in the text to indicate such a purpose for Timothy's visit (beyond the mere fact of the juxtaposition of the two passages); and Paul's projected visit is expected to be a relatively long one (16:5-7), and will have many different functions (e.g. 11:34b)--but is not likely to involve a confrontation with the immoral man, as Paul expects the church to discipline him before he comes (5:2-5,13).

6. vv.17-21 are connected with 5:1ff by the use of φουσιον in 4:18 and 5:2.

The word is also used in 4:6, and the connection between vv.6 and 18 is just as plausible as that between 4:18 and 5:2.

7. The Kingdom of God (4:20) is often mentioned by Paul in connection with the consequences of sin (esp. sexual immorality).

But v.20 may equally well be (and, in view of the explicit terminological connection, is perhaps better understood as) a reference to the Corinthian claims in v.8.

8. $\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ in Paul usually looks forward rather than backward, either by introducing a new thought, unrelated to what precedes (Rom 15:9; 1 Cor 11:30; 2 Cor 4:1; 12:10; Eph 1:15; Col 1:19; 2 Th 2:11), or by building on the preceding statements, but moving to a new idea (Rom 1:26; 4:16; 5:12; 13:16; 1 Cor 11:10; 2 Cor 4:1; 7:13; Eph 5:17; 6:13; 1 Th 3:5,7).

Inspection of these passages suggests that Bailey's claim cannot stand. In every case the use of $\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ builds a bridge between what precedes it and what follows it, so that the latter is in some sense a consequence of the former.

9. There is a marked change of tone between v.14 and vv.18-21, consistent with the transition to a new section of the argument.

However, the change of tone is due to the fact that v.14 addresses all, while vv.18-21 refer to some.

Bailey's case is therefore not a very strong one, and he has overlooked the important connection between v.14 (which describes the Corinthians as $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{\alpha}$), and v.17 (which refers to Timothy as $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$. . .) (see p.362 below), as well as that between Paul's example (v.16) and his $\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (v.17) (see p.349 below).

We may continue to regard 4:14-21 as a unity.

¹⁸⁸In 1 Th 2:11-12 Paul says he behaved like a father; here he claims to be a father (Conzelmann, p.91; Gutierrez: Paternité, p.119). The change of emphasis is no doubt due to the nature of the church situation in Corinth, because of which he must assert his authority as church-founder.

The same image is found in 2 Cor 12:14 (referring to the relationship between Paul and the church), and in 1 Cor 4:17; Phil 2:22; and Phm 10 (referring to the relationship between Paul and certain individual converts).

The background to this imagery is to be sought in the OT and Jewish thought (Gutierrez: Paternité, pp.120-25; Saillard: "C'est Moi", pp.10-18; F. Büchsel: TDNT I, p.666; K.H. Rengstorff: TDNT I, p.668 Schrenk: TDNT V, pp.1005-6 (for the rabbinic background, see Strack-Billerbeck III, pp.339-41)), and not in the mysteries--Paul "begets" through preaching the Gospel, not through baptising.

¹⁸⁹Schreiber: Gemeinde, p.100.

¹⁹⁰See Holmberg: Paul, 84-88; B. Gerhardsson: Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity (ASNU XXII) (C.W.K. Gleerup, Lund, 1961), pp.291-94, 302-23; R. Schnackenburg: The Church in the New Testament, ET (Burns & Oates, London, 1965), pp.27-30.

¹⁹¹See von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.50. Neither is it to be explained solely in terms of his Pharisaic training in the beth Hillel, in which it was customary to "make easy" (לַיָּסָר) rather than to "make hard" (לְהַקְשִׁיךְ) (Gerhardsson: Memory, p.309), because (here as elsewhere) his conduct is shaped primarily by his apostolic vocation.

¹⁹²See R. Schnackenburg: "Christian Adulthood according to the Apostle Paul", CBQ 25 (1963), pp.354-70.

- ¹⁹³ Holmberg: Paul, p.189.
- ¹⁹⁴ 1:10,11,26; 2:1; 3:1; 4:6; 7:24,29; 10:1; 11:33; 12:1; 14:6,20,26,39; 15:1,31,50,58; 16:15,20.
- ¹⁹⁵ 'His 'children' are at the same time also and always his 'brethren' . . .' (von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.49). Cp. Gutierrez: Paternité, pp.168-72; Jaubert: "Les Epîtres", pp.29-31.
- ¹⁹⁶ See von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, pp.46-52.
- ¹⁹⁷ Although this reading has been defended (Metzger: Commentary, p.566; Grudem: Prophecy, p.50 n.101), the reading of D* F G (ὅτι κυρίου ἐστίν) is perhaps to be preferred (so Barrett, p.333; Bruce, p.136; Lietzmann, p.75; Weiss, p.343).
- ¹⁹⁸ So Barrett, p.333; Grosheide, p.344; Héring, p.155; Lietzmann, p.75; Morris, p.202; Robertson and Plummer, p.327; Grudem: Prophecy, p.51.
- ¹⁹⁹ So Moffatt, p.230.
- ²⁰⁰ Barrett, p.333f; Bruce, p.136; Héring, p.155; Grudem: Prophecy, p.52.
- ²⁰¹ E. Käsemann: "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament", in idem: New Testament Questions of Today, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1969), pp.66-81 (at p.68).
- ²⁰² See especially K. Berger: "Zu den sogenannten Sätze heiligen Rechts", NTS 17 (1970-71), pp.10-40.
- ²⁰³ 'Even the apostle is, as Paul is always emphasizing, only one charismatic among many, though he may be the most important.' (Käsemann: "Ministry", p.81).
- ²⁰⁴ See Grudem: Prophecy, pp.50-52.
- ²⁰⁵ Wendland, p.117.
- ²⁰⁶ Note especially 4:5; 5:2,9-11; 6:18; 10:24-30; 11:33-34; 14:20,27-31; 16:1-2.
- ²⁰⁷ τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων probably refers back to vv.2-16 (so Barrett, p.260; Bruce, p.108; Héring, p.112; Robertson and Plummer, p.238), rather than to vv.18-34 (so Moffatt, p.157; Morris, p.157) or to the whole of 11:18-14:38 (Allo, p.269f).
- ²⁰⁸ BGD defines παραγγέλλειν as meaning "to give orders, command, instruct, direct" (cp. also O. Schmitz: TDNT V, pp.761-65), and διατάσσεσθαι as "to order, command" (cp. also G. Delling: TDNT VIII, pp.34-35).
- ²⁰⁹ As Drane (Paul, pp.61-71) suggests.
- ²¹⁰ It is what we have already seen in 1 Th (note esp. 4:1-2). Weiss (p.XLI) regards 4:17 and 7:17 (along with 1:2; 11:16; and 14:33-36) as glosses inserted by the editor of the Pauline corpus to give a

catholic significance to this letter. However, it is clear from 1 Th and 2 Th that Paul had a strongly catholic outlook: he saw the traditions he delivered to his converts as having a more than local significance, and by informing his churches about each other, sought to give them a sense of belonging to a movement that transcended ethnic and geographical boundaries (1 Th 1:6-9; 2:14; 4:1-2; 2 Th 1:4; 2:15). There is therefore no reason to regard these "catholic" passages in 1 Cor as non-Pauline.

²¹¹Dunn: Jesus, p.279.

²¹²Bjerkelund: Parakalô, pp.141-42, 146; Dahl: Studies, p.46; Betz: Nachfolge, p.154.

²¹³Barrett, p.115; Robertson and Plummer, p.90; Weiss, p.117; Gutierrez: Paternité, p.178; Ollrog: Paulus, p.180.

²¹⁴De Boer: Imitation, p.214. Cp. Moffatt, pp.146-47.

²¹⁵Barrett, p.116; Lietzmann, p.21; Senft, p.70; Weiss, p.118. Schulz (Nachfolgen, p.309) claims that Timothy's mission has no real connection with the Corinthians' imitation of Paul, but his arguments for detaching the thought of v.17 from that of v.16 are not very convincing.

²¹⁶Because of this connection between their imitation of Paul and Timothy's reminder of his ὁδοί B. Sanders' claim that what Paul wants them to imitate is his concern for the unity of the church ("Imitating Paul: 1 Cor 4:16", HTR 74 (1981), pp.353-63 (esp. pp.360ff)) seems to restrict the scope of the appeal too narrowly.

²¹⁷So, for example, Héring, p.32; Robertson and Plummer, pp.90ff; Senft, p.70; Wendland, p.37; Betz: Nachfolge, pp.155-59; De Boer: Imitation, p.146; Tinsley: Imitation, p.139.

²¹⁸See Michaelis: TDNT V, pp.50ff, 84ff on the connection between this use of ὁδοί and the biblical metaphor of life as a "walk".

²¹⁹Paul's Jewish heritage is clearly reflected here. He is not just a preacher of the Gospel, but is also a teacher who formulates ἡρώδης which show his converts how to "walk": so Lietzmann, p.22; Moffatt, p.51; Ruef, p.36.

²²⁰So (with varying degrees of emphasis) Barrett, p.117; Bruce p.52; Conzelmann, p.92; Héring, p.32; Moffatt, p.51; Senft, p.71; Wendland, p.37; Weiss, p.119f; Gerhardsson: Memory, pp.294, 304f; Gutierrez: Paternité, pp.173-77; Michaelis: TDNT V, p.88.

²²¹Cp. 4:17: πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκω.

²²²TDNT IV, pp.667-73; TDNT V, p.87f.

²²³Imitation, esp. pp.209-11.

²²⁴Imitation, pp.147-52.

²²⁵Note the strong connection in rabbinic thought between the teacher's words and his life, through both of which his students learn the Torah. See Gerhardsson: Memory, pp.185-87, 193-94.

²²⁶Barrett, p.245; Bruce, p.101; Conzelmann, p.179; Grosheide, p.245; Orr and Walther, p.257; Ruef, pp.105-6; Senft, p.139; Weiss, p.267; Wendland, p.76; Betz: Nachfolge, pp.160-61; De Boer: Imitation, pp.155-56.

²²⁷Bruce, p.102; Conzelmann, p.180; Grosheide, p.246; Lietzmann, p.53; Robertson and Plummer, pp.255-26; Weiss, p.267; Betz: Nachfolge, pp.160-68; Schulz: Nachfolgen, pp.285-86.

²²⁸Contra Stanley ("Become Imitators", p.874), the point is not that the Corinthians can imitate Christ only indirectly, by imitating Paul. Since Paul's imitation of Christ does not depend on his having been acquainted with Jesus in his ministry, the Corinthians are in a position to imitate Christ in the same sense that Paul does.

²²⁹De Boer's claim (Imitation, pp.160-61) that the addition of καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστός is intended only to accentuate the thought of the imitation of Paul unduly minimises the significance of the words.

²³⁰ἐπεμψα should probably not be read as an epistolary aorist (Allo, p.78; Bruce, p.51; Conzelmann, p.92 n.19; Lietzmann, p.21f; Weiss, p.118). The statement indicates that Timothy has already left for Corinth.

²³¹Note the contrast in this regard between Timothy and Apollos. White Timothy can simply be sent, Apollos can only be exhorted (παρεκάλεσα) to go (16:12)--and chooses not to (the δὲ εὐκαιρήσῃ suggests that the θέλημα in question was Apollos', not God's: so Allo, p.462; Lietzmann, p.89; Morris, p.243; Robertson and Plummer, p.392; Wendland, p.141; Holmberg: Paul, p.68; Ollrog: Paulus, p.41 n.186).

²³²Cp. Phil 2:22; 1 Tim 1:2,18; 2 Tim 1:2; 2:1.

²³³Barrett, p.116; Bruce, p.51f; Conzelmann, p.92 n.19; Héring, p.32; Robertson and Plummer, p.90; Senft, p.70; Weiss, p.120; Ollrog: Paulus, p.20 n.66.

²³⁴De Boer: Imitation, p.145. For the rabbinic use of "child" as a designation of the student, see Strack-Billerbeck III, pp.339, 341.

²³⁵Hainz: Ekklesia, p.96.

²³⁶See pp. 236-7 above.

²³⁷, . . . five years after the founding of the Corinthian church, we find Paul in his correspondence having to act almost as if he were its bishop. . . .' (Brown: Priest, p.71 (his italics)). While this statement presupposes a view of the episcopal role that is more akin to Ignatius than anything found in the NT, it does recognise the extent to which Paul exercised a strong and directive leadership in the church by means of his letter.

²³⁸So von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.66; Dunn: Jesus, p.285; Greeven: "Propheten", p.39; Küng: The Church, p.403; Schweizer: Church Order, 7k (p.101); and many others.

²³⁹See pp.3-8, 37-55 above.

²⁴⁰See pp.185-202 above.

²⁴¹See pp.237-44 above.

²⁴²See pp.304-5 above.

²⁴³See pp.205-6 above.

²⁴⁴See pp.324-31 (esp. p.327) above.

²⁴⁵In addition to the commentaries, important discussions of this passage are to be found in the following: J. Cambier: "La Chair et l'Esprit en 1 Cor.V.5", NTS 15 (1968-69), pp.221-32; T. Forkman: The Limits of the Religious Community: Expulsion from the Religious Community within the Qumran Sect, within Rabbinic Judaism, and within Primitive Christianity, ET (Coniectanea Biblica: NT Series 5) (C.W.K. Gleerup, Lund, 1972), pp.140ff; Käsemann: "Sentences", pp.70-71; G.H.W. Lampe: "Church Discipline and the Interpretation of the Epistles to the Corinthians", in W.R. Farmer, C.F.D. Moule and R.R. Niebuhr (eds.): Christian History and Interpretation: Studies presented to John Knox (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1967), pp.337-61; C.J. Roetzel: Judgment in the Community: A Study of the Relationship between Eschatology and Ecclesiology in Paul (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1972), pp.115ff.

²⁴⁶Barrett, p.127; Roetzel: Judgment, p.115.

²⁴⁷Whatever else v.5 means, the action referred to in such stark terms involves expulsion from the church: Barrett, p.126f; Bruce, p.55; Grosheide, p.124; Héring, p.35; Moffatt, p.56; Robertson and Plummer, p.99; Ruef, p.40; Weiss, p.129; von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.134 n.50.

²⁴⁸Barrett, p.124; Forkman: Limits, p.142 n.145; Schweizer: Church Order, 23e (p.192).

²⁴⁹Conzelmann, p.97; Käsemann: "Sentences", p.70f; Roetzel: Judgment, p.118.

²⁵⁰Or (under normal circumstances) the prerogative of the prophets in the church: Greeven: "Propheten", p.36. Käsemann ("Sentences", p.70f) argues that Paul is here functioning in a prophetic role; but see the refutation of this claim by U.B. Müller: Prophetie und Predigt im Neuen Testament: Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur urchristliche Prophetie (StNT 10) (Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh, 1975), pp.181-84.

²⁵¹Conzelmann, p.97.

²⁵²Wendland, p.40; Cambier: "La Chair", p.236; von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.49f.

²⁵³Contra Allo, p.122, the assembly referred to is that of the church as a whole, not that of the προῖσταμενοι.

²⁵⁴Cp. Barrett's comment on the meaning of Paul's being present "in Spirit":

He will make his contribution, as the Corinthians reflect on what they remember of his convictions, character, and ways, and on what they know of his mind in the present matter. (p.124).

²⁵⁵Cp. Holmberg: Paul, pp.188-89.

²⁵⁶In addition to the commentaries, important discussions of this passage can be found in the following: M. Delcor: "The Courts of the Church of Corinth and the Courts of Qumran:", in J. Murphy-O'Connor (ed.): Paul and Qumran: Studies in New Testament Exegesis (Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1968), pp.69-84; E. Dinkler: "Zum Problem der Ethik bei Paulus: Rechtsvernahme und Rechtsverzicht (1.Kor.6, 1-11)", ZThK 49 (1952), pp.167-200; P. Richardson: "Judgment in Sexual Matters in 1 Corinthians 6:1-11", NovT 25 (1983), pp.37-58; Roetzel: Judgment, pp. 125-32; A. Stein: "Wo trugen die korinthischen Christen ihre Rechtshändel aus?", ZNW 59 (1968), pp.86-90; L. Vischer: Die Auslegungsgeschichte von 1 Kor 6,1-11: Rechtsverzicht und Schlichtung (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1955).

²⁵⁷In 4:14 he says that he writes οὐκ ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς;
here he says, πρὸς ἐντροπὴν ὑμῖν λέγω (v.5).

²⁵⁸Hurd (Origin, p.86) argues that only one such incident was involved. Although the use of ἀποστερεῖν in v.8 suggests that the disputes involved concerned property or finance, Richardson ("Judgment") argues that it related to a sexual offence.

²⁵⁹'There are . . . two distinct points: (a) Christian cases should be tried by Christian courts. . . . (b) There should be no cases. . . .' (Manson: Studies, p.199). Cp. Barrett, p.135; Dinkler: "Problem", pp.174-75.

²⁶⁰This was the practice among the Jews, who had their own courts for the settling of disputes within the community (Strack-Billerbeck III, p.362f; Fischer: Auslegungsgeschichte, p.8f; Dinkler: "Problem", p.176), and also in many religious societies (Allo, pp.133, 140; Moffatt, pp.62ff; Vischer: Auslegungsgeschichte, p.9).

²⁶¹Note the fourfold use of ἀδελφός in vv.5-8. Cp. the emphasis on the church as a family in 1 Th (pp.187-8 above).

²⁶²There may well be a certain amount of deliberate irony in reminding a church in which the claim to be ruling already was current (4:8) that their failure to settle this dispute was all the more lamentable in view of their eschatological destiny: see Roetzel: Judgment, pp.127-28.

²⁶³Contra Delcor: "Courts"; Conzelmann, p.105.

²⁶⁴This may be both an ironical allusion to the preoccupation with σοφία evident in the church (1:17-3:23) (so Lietzmann, p.26; Ruef, p.46) and a comparison with the Jewish procedure in which disputes were settled by a פוסק (Strack-Billerbeck III, p.365; Allo, p.135; Barrett, p.138; Weiss, p.150; Vischer: Auslegungsgeschichte, p.15).

²⁶⁵The aorist διακρίναι may suggest that no permanent function is envisaged for the σοφός (Morris, p.95).

²⁶⁶Robertson and Plummer, p.111.

²⁶⁷There has been considerable debate as to whether 11:17-34 and ch.14 refer to two different kinds of church meeting or to two different

sections of the same meeting. In view of the fact that Paul uses the same expressions in both passages (συνέρχεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ (11:18; cp. 14:19,26,28,33-34); συνέρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (11:22; 14:23)) it is more natural to conclude that both passages refer to the same event.

It has recently been argued (Klauck: Hausgemeinde, p.37f; D.E.Smith: "Meals and Morality in Paul and his World", in K.H. Richards (ed.): SBL Seminar Papers 1981 (Scholars Press, Chico, 1981), pp.319-39 (esp. pp.325-27)) that, on the analogy of the symposium, the church meetings began with a δειπνον and then continued into a "service of the Word" in which all were able to contribute (14:26).

²⁶⁸ B.W. Winter (The Oikos Conflict in the Lord's Supper: A Contextual Study in 1 Cor. 11:17-34 (Unpublished M.Th. thesis, Graduate School of Theology, Association of Theological Schools of South-East Asia, n.d.), pp.39-40, 58-9) has argued that the problems in the communal meal stem from the fact that the heads of Christian households provide food and drink for their dependants, but not for those who do not belong to such a household, so that the divisions occurring in the meal are not between the well-to-do and the poor as such, but between those who have the support of a Christian patron and those who do not.

²⁶⁹ The obvious connection between 14:26 and 12:7-11 means that the ἑκάστος of 14:26 must be taken seriously (against Conzelmann, p.244; Héring, p.154; Lietzmann, p.73; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.93 n.1).

²⁷⁰ οἱ ἄλλοι refers to all those present at the meeting (Barrett, p.328; Bruce, p.134; Lietzmann, p.74; Wendland, p.114; Grudem: Prophecy, pp.60-62), not just to the other prophets (as maintained by Conzelmann, p.245; Grosheide, p.338; Moffatt, p.228; Robertson and Plummer, p.322; Weiss, p.340; Hemphill: Charisma, pp.150-51).

²⁷¹ For the use of these terms as part of the early Christian hospitality-vocabulary, see Mathews: Hospitality, pp.166-74.

²⁷² See Acts 15:3; 20:38; 21:5; Rom 15:24; 2 Cor 1:16; Tit 3:13; 3 Jn 6.

²⁷³ Contra Héring, p.184.

²⁷⁴ Contra Robertson and Plummer, p.388.

²⁷⁵ BGD: s.v. ("help on one's journey with food, money, by arranging for companions, means of travel, etc."); Weiss, p.383; Holmberg: Paul, p.89; Mathews: Hospitality, pp.230-34 (he denies that money would have been involved); Cranfield: Romans II, p.769 n.4; Dodd: Romans, pp.228-29.

²⁷⁶ See pp.185-206 above.

²⁷⁷ See pp.354- 5 (with n.238) above.

²⁷⁸
p.301.

²⁷⁹ M.M. Bourke: "Reflections on Church Order in the New Testament", CBQ 30 (1968), pp.493-511 (at p.502). This remark is directed against Käsemann's claim ("Ministry", p.86) that

we may assert without hesitation that the Pauline community had had no presbytery during the Apostle's lifetime. Otherwise the silence on the subject in every Pauline epistle is quite incomprehensible. It seems quite out of the question that, had it been available, the Apostle would not have had recourse to such a court in his fight against the Gnostics and in defence of his own authority.

²⁸⁰Note especially the fact that 5:14ff is addressed to the whole church, despite the reference to a leadership-group in vv. 12-13 (see pp.193, 210f above).

²⁸¹L. Audet: "L'Organisation des Communautés Chrétiennes selon les grandes Epîtres pauliniennes", SR 2 (1972), pp.235-50 (at p.237).

²⁸²Holmberg: Paul, p.117.

²⁸³Cp. Hemphill: Charisma, p.160.

²⁸⁴See pp.221-232 above.

²⁸⁵Theissen: "Soziale Schichtung in der korinthischen Gemeinde: Ein Beitrag zur Soziologie des hellenistischen Unchristentums", ZNW 65 (1974), pp.232-72 (at p.259)/Social Setting, p.97.

²⁸⁶See esp. Theissen: "Soziale Integration"/Social Setting, pp.145-74.

²⁸⁷Holmberg: Paul, p.114.

²⁸⁸Dunn, Jesus, p.285.

²⁸⁹Dunn: Jesus, p.290.

²⁹⁰See pp.10-11, 20, 50-51, 62, 64, 70 above.

²⁹¹See pp.10-11 above.

²⁹²See pp.62, 70 above.

²⁹³See pp.50-51.

²⁹⁴See pp.301-38 above.

²⁹⁵See pp.309-14, 315-8 above.

²⁹⁶See pp.309-11, 315 above.

²⁹⁷Contra Schmithals: Gnosticism, p.171. See esp. Hurd: Origin, pp.71-73.

²⁹⁸So Bruce, p.116f; Ruef, p.126; Weiss, p.294; Hurd: Origin, p.194 n.1; Schmithals: Gnosticism, pp.171-72; G. Eichholz: "Was heisst charismatische Gemeinde? 1.Korinther 12", Theologische Existenz Heute (N.F.) 77 (1980), pp.4-27 (at p.8); T. Holtz: "Das Kennzeichen des Geistes (1 Kor.XII 1-3)", NTS 18 (1971-72), pp.365-76 (at pp.368-69).

²⁹⁹So Conzelmann, p.204; Grosheide, p.278; Héring, p.122f; Moffatt, p.177; Orr and Walther, p.276; Robertson and Plummer, p.259; Senft, p.155; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.150; Dunn: Jesus, p.208 n.46; Pearson: Pneumatikos, p.50; Chevallier: Esprit, p.148; D.J. Doughty: "The Priority of XAPIΣ", NTS 19 (1972-73), pp.163-80 (at p.176 n.4).

³⁰⁰Note that Paul refers to both the πνευματικά in 14:1 and the πνευματικὸς in 14:37.

³⁰¹See Hemphill: Charisma, pp.66-68.

³⁰²Käseman ("Ministry", p.66) claims that it referred to 'all the powers of miracle and ecstasy'--a view which finds some support in the fact that both miracles and ecstatic speech are included in the three lists in ch.12 (vv.9-10, 28, 29-30), and in the fact that both are mentioned in 13:1-2. However, as the next part of our discussion shows, the emphasis in Paul's discussion in these chapters is clearly on speaking, which suggests that he is responding to a Corinthian preoccupation with ecstatic speech.

³⁰³It is significant that 34 out of the 60 uses of λαλεῖν in the Pauline corpus are found in 1 Cor, with 28 of them in chs.12-14.

³⁰⁴Greeven: "Propheten", p.3 n.6; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.151.

³⁰⁵The parallel with v.5 indicates that prophecy is not the most valuable of the πνευματικά but an alternative to them, and that the πνευματικά refers to glossolalia.

³⁰⁶Bruce, p.117; Lietzmann, p.62; Ruef, p.124; Weiss, p.294.

³⁰⁷See n.96 above. See also Pearson: Pneumatikos, pp.44-47.

³⁰⁸See Muller: Prophetie, pp.29-31; Pearson: Pneumatikos, pp.44,47.

³⁰⁹Prophecy and glossolalia are distinguished in terms of their orientation (vv.2-4), their intelligibility (vv.6-13), their relation to the mind (vv.14-19), and their impact on non-Christians (vv.20-25).

On ch.14 as involving a modification of the Corinthian view of ecstatic speech, see Dunn: Jesus, pp.242-43.

³¹⁰So D.W.B. Robinson: "Charismata versus Pneumatika: Paul's Method of Discussion", RTR 31 (1972), pp.49-55 (at p.51).

³¹¹Robinson: ibid.

³¹²So, for example, Schmithals: Gnosticism, p.175; G. Dautzenberg; "Botschaft und Bedeutung der urchristlichen Prophetie nach dem ersten Korintherbrief (2:6-16; 12-14)", in J. Panagopoulos (ed.): Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today (NovT Suppl XLV) (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1977), pp.131-61 (at p.134).

³¹³Schmithals: Gnosticism, p.190.

³¹⁴Chevallier: Esprit, p.162; D.L. Baker: "The Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 12-14", EQ 46 (1974), pp.224-34 (at pp.226-27).

³¹⁵Cp. Dunn: Jesus, p.207f.

³¹⁶Grudem (Prophecy, pp.162-64) argues that the verse refers only to the Corinthians being 'under strong compulsion to attend idol temples' (p.164). However, this interpretation leaves the verse without any discernible function in Paul's argument.

³¹⁷Allo, p.320; Orr and Walther, pp.277-78; Dunn: Jesus, p.234; Holtz: "Kennzeichen", pp.372-73.

Pace Conzelmann, p.206; Lietzmann, pp.60-61; Weiss, pp.294-96, Paul is not drawing an analogy between their pagan past and their present experience of the Spirit.

³¹⁸Senft, p.156; Brockhaus: Charisma, pp.156-58; Pearson: Pneumatikos, p.49.

³¹⁹For examples, see Dunn: Jesus, pp.304-5. It is the contrast between this and the presence of the Spirit that rules out the possibility that Paul intends v.2 to draw an analogy between pagan ecstasy and Christian experience of the Spirit,

³²⁰It is the presupposition of Paul's argument in ch.14 that the Spirit does not overwhelm a person in this way. In particular, the regulation of the conduct of prophets and glossolalists in the church meeting (vv.27-32) assumes that inspiration is under volitional control. See Chevallier: Esprit, pp.149-50; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.158.

³²¹Although v.3a may be an echo of Paul's own anti-Christian past (J.M. Bassler: "1 Cor 12:3--Curse and Confession in Context", JBL 101 (1982), pp.415-21 (at p.421)), it does not imply that such an utterance had been made in the church meeting, either as an expression of a Gnostic Christology (Schmithals: Gnosticism, pp.124-30; Eichholz: "Was heisst", pp.12-13; Dunn: Jesus, p.234f--against this see Conzelmann, p.204 n.10; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.158f; K. Maly: "1 Kor 12,1-3, eine Regel zur Unterscheidung der Geister?", BZ 10 (1966), pp.82-95 (at p.91f); B.A. Pearson: "Did the Gnostics Curse Jesus?", JBL 86 (1967), pp.301-5) or of pneumatic liberty (R. Scroggs: "The Exaltation of the Spirit by Some Early Christians", JBL 84 (1965), pp.359-73 (at p.366)), or as a result of unbridled ecstasy (Weiss, pp.294-97). Paul's statement is too aphoristic to serve as a response to the extremes of error that such an utterance would represent (Allo, p.321; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.159; Maly: "Regel", p.92). In the context of the discussion as a whole, it seems clear that the statement is hypothetical (Bruce, p.118; Conzelmann, p.204; Grosheide, p.281; Ruef, p.126; Senft, p.156; Wendland, p.93; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.159; Holtz: "Kennzeichen", p.375; Hurd: Origin, p.193; Maly: "Regel", p.92; Pearson: Pneumatikos, p.50; Sweet: "Sign", p.241). To Schmithals' claim (Gnosticism, p.124 n.13) that such a statement would represent the 'height of banality', it must be replied that Paul is dealing with people whose views are plumbing the depths of naiveté and error. That the statement implies criticism of their views is signalled by the οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἄγνοεῖν of v.1, which does not indicate that Paul is about to give instruction on matters about which they were uninformed, but that 'he is in fact reminding them of what they should have known and were in danger of forgetting. . . .' (Barrett, p.220 (commenting on 10:1, but referring also to 12:1)).

³²²So Allo, p.322; Bruce, p.118; Robertson and Plummer, p.261; Senft, p.156; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.160; Hemphill: Charisma, pp.69-72; Maly: "Regel", p.95; Pearson: Pneumatikos, p.50; Sweet: "Sign", p.241.

³²³ Although not all the details of Hurd's reconstruction can be accepted, he is clearly correct in maintaining that the Corinthians had not asked for information or clarification; their inquiry was a defence of their position. (Origin, p.194).

³²⁴ There is thus some point in Brockhaus' claim that the *eigentliche Ort der Charismen ist weder die Gemeindeverfassung noch die Ethik . . . , sondern das paulinische Verständnis des Geistes. . . .* (Charisma, p.239; cp. pp.203-37).

³²⁵ Note especially the celebrated article by H. Chadwick ("All Things to All Men" (1 Cor.ix.22)", NTS ¹ (1954-55), pp.261-75 (esp. p.268f)).

³²⁶ Note the plural in the expressions διακρίσεις πνευμάτων (12:10) and ζηλωταὶ πνευμάτων (14:12), and the emphasis on the fact that it is τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα that is behind the many different gifts (vv.8-11).

³²⁷ Eichholz: "Was heisst", p.9.

³²⁸ See Dunn: Jesus, p.261f; Baptism, pp.109-13, 129ff.

³²⁹ See Dunn: Jesus, pp.261-65.

³³⁰ Christus ist für Paulus der Grund, auf dem die Gemeinde ruht, die Mitte, nach der sich alles zu richten hat, das Band, das alle verbindet, und das Ziel, dem Gemeinde zustrebt. Nirgendwo tritt das so klar und deutlich hervor wie im 1. Korintherbrief. . . . (G. Friedrich: "Christus, Einheit und Norm der Christen: Das Grundmotiv des 1 Korintherbriefs", KuD 9 (1963), pp.235-58 (at p.238) (now in Auf das Wort, pp.147-70). Cp. also Allo, p.XXIX.

³³¹ So Friedrich: "Christus", p.239f; Allo, p.5; Morris, p.38; Robertson and Plummer, p.8. The number of references to Christ in this passage becomes even more striking when it is compared with the other introductory thanksgivings in the Pauline corpus. Although 1:4-9 is by no means the longest of these thanksgivings, its total of 6 references to Christ is significantly larger than that for any of the others (Rom 1:8-15 (2 references to Christ); 2 Cor 1:3-11 (3); Phil 1:3-11 (4); Col 1:3-14 (5); 1 Th 1:2-5; 2:13; 3:9-13 (4); 2 Th 1:3-4; 2:13-14 (2); Phm 4-6 (2)).

³³² The genitive is probably objective: so Barrett, 37f; Conzelmann, p.27; Grosheide, p.28f; Robertson and Plummer, p.6; H. Strathmann: TDNT IV, p.504.

³³³ See n.95 above.

³³⁴ Perhaps reflecting the terminology of the Corinthian πνευματικοί (cp. Robinson: "Charismata", pp.51-52).

³³⁵ Robinson: "Charismata", p.54.

³³⁶ Hemphill: Charisma, pp.65, 97-160.

³³⁷Conzelmann, p.217; Héring, p.134; Weiss, pp.309-11; Schmithals: Gnosticism, p.95 n.23; J.T. Sanders: "First Corinthians 13: Its Interpretation since the First World War", Int 20 (1966), pp.159-87 (esp. pp.181ff).

³³⁸See esp. Brockhaus: Charisma, pp.175-85.

³³⁹Hemphill: Charisma, pp.114ff.

³⁴⁰οὐκ ἐστὶν δὲ is logical rather than temporal: Conzelmann, p.230; Grosheide, p.312; Lietzmann, p.66; Moffatt, p.203; Robertson and Plummer, p.300; Weiss, p.321; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.183 n.197; Hemphill: Charisma, p.119.

³⁴¹On this verse see (in addition to Dunn (n.328)) M. Barth: "A Chapter on the Church--The Body of Christ: Interpretation of 1 Corinthians", Int 12 (1958), pp.131-56 (at p.152); E.R. Rogers: "ΕΠΟΤΙΣΘΗΜΕΝ Again", NTS 29 (1983), pp.139-42.

³⁴²Both 12:7 (Conzelmann, p.208; Wendland, p.94; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.163) and ch.13 (Brockhaus: Charisma, p.185; Hemphill: Charisma, p.120; Holtz: "Kennzeichen", p.367) anticipate the introduction of the οἰκοδομή -criterion in ch.14.

³⁴³See p.71 above, with the quotation from Baumann.

³⁴⁴The literature on this subject is very extensive. Some of the more comprehensive or important studies are: Brockhaus: Charisma; H.H. Charles: The Charismatic Life in the Apostolic Church (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1958); Chevallier: Esprit, pp.139-71; Grau: Begriff; Hasenhüttl: Charisma; Hemphill: Charisma; Käsemann: "Ministry"; R.A.N. Kydd: Charismata to 320 A.D.: A Study of the Overt Pneumatic Experience of the Early Church (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, St. Andrews, 1973); Dunn: Jesus, pp.199-30; Schürmann: "Gnadengaben".

³⁴⁵1 Cor 1:7 is the earliest recorded use by Paul of a word that was to become distinctively his. It has virtually no pre-Pauline history of any significance--it is found twice in Philo (Leg.All. III, 78); 3 times as a textual variant in the Greek Bible (instead of ἑλεος in Theodotion's version of Psa 30:22; instead of χάρις in Sir 3:33 (S); and instead of χρίσμα in Sir 38:30 (B)); not at all in Josephus; and very seldom in other Greek writings prior to the NT (see Grau: Begriff, pp. 13-20; Charles: Charismatic, pp.4-15; Hasenhüttl: Charisma, pp.104-8; Conzelmann: TDNT IX, p.402-3). It is used 16 times in the Pauline corpus; once more in the NT (1 Pet 4:10); and only a few times in early Christian writings outside the NT (1 Clem 38:1; Did 1:5; Ign. Eph 17:2; Pol 2:2; Justin: Dial 88:1; Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. V, 6,1). See Grau: Charisma, pp.95-121.

³⁴⁶See Dunn: Jesus, pp.202-3.

³⁴⁷So Conzelmann, p.208; Brockhaus: Charisma, pp.190-92; Charles: Charismatic, p.97; Chevallier: Esprit, pp.155-56, 167; Doughty: "Priority", pp.178-79; F. Hahn: "Charisma und Amt: Die Diskussion über das kirchliche Amt im Lichte des neutestamentlichen Charismenlehre", ZThK 76 (1979), pp.419-49 (at p.424); Hemphill: Charisma, pp.75-76; Käsemann: "Ministry", pp. 66-67; Robinson: "Charismata", p.53.

In line with this understanding of the use of χάρισμα, 12:31a

cannot be understood as a quotation of a Corinthian slogan, and ζηλοῦτε must be interpreted as imperative, not indicative (so Allo, p.344; Barrett, p.296; Bruce, p.123; Orr and Walther, p.288; Robertson and Plummer, p.282; Weiss, p.309; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.176 n.162; Kydd: Charismata, p.82; against G. Iber: "Zum Verständnis von 1 Cor 12,31", ZNW 54 (1963), pp.43-52 (followed by Conzelmann, p.215 n.52; Dunn: Jesus, p.266 n.37; Chevallier: Esprit, pp.158 n.2, 163)). However, in view of the similarity between 12:31a and 14:1b (on which see n.353 below), this exhortation is perhaps to be seen as a deliberate amendment by Paul of the Corinthian slogan quoted in 14:1. His intention here would have been the same as that in 12:4; viz, to indicate that there are many other ways, in addition to the πνευματικά in which God reveals His presence, power and beneficence. Cp. p.379f below.

Brockhaus (Charisma, pp.130-42) argues that there is no specific or necessary connection between χάρισμα and χάρις in Pauline usage, so that the use of χάρισμα in 12:4 does not by itself point to grace, but his argument has been effectively challenged by H. von Lips (Glaube - Gemeinde - Amt: Zum Verständnis der Ordination in den Pastoralbriefen (FRLANT 122) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1979), 185-90).

³⁴⁸Cp. for example the statement by Käsemann quoted on p.6 above.

³⁴⁹12:4,9,28,30,31 (3 of these are in the expression χαρίσματα ἱαμάτων).

³⁵⁰See p.373 above.

³⁵¹Note (i) the use of "grace"-words--χάρις (referring to his apostolic ministry: 3:10; 15:10): χάρισμα (7:7); and χαρίζεσθαι (τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρισθέντα ὑμῖν, 2:12); (ii) the use of διδόναι (3:5,10; 15:57); and (iii) the use of the "divine passive" (6:11,20; 7:18-24; 13:12; 15:22,42-44,51-52).

³⁵²So, for example, Bultmann: Theology I, pp. 154, 291; Conzelmann, p.207: idem: TDNT IX, pp.204-5; Dunn: Jesus, p.208; Grau: Begriff, p.180; Schürmann: "Gnadengaben", p.239f.

A variation of this approach is found in Ellis, who argues that χάρισμα can be used of any or all of the gifts . . . while πνευματικόν appears to be restricted to gifts of inspired perception, verbal proclamation and/or its interpretation. ("Spiritual Gifts in the Pauline Community", NTS 20 (1973-74), pp. 128-44 (at p.129)/Prophecy, p.24).

³⁵³Dunn (Jesus, p.208, with n147) argues that the use of πνευματικά in 14:1 shows that it cannot be a Corinthian term with which Paul is dissatisfied, so that χαρίσματα is not to be seen as a Pauline substitute for it. However, Chevallier (Esprit, pp.161-63) has shown that ζηλοῦτε τὰ πνευματικά is derived from the Corinthian pneumatiks (p.162), and has argued that it is precisely because of the argument of ch.13 that Paul is now able to pick up Corinthian terminology (p.163). He has just indicated the limited worth of ecstatic speech (13:1-3,8-13) and criticised the manner in which the πνευματικοί are behaving in connection with it (13:4-7). So Chevallier argues that the δέ after ζηλοῦτε is to be understood as ordinal, not concessive, so that Paul's point in v.1 is 'l'agapè d'abord, et puis les pneumatika.' (p.163; his italics). Love as Paul has defined it will provide the necessary controls over the way glossolalia is valued and exercised.

Moreover, since the exact parallelism of the wording shows that the $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ of v.1 must have the same sense as that of v.5--namely, adversive rather than intensive (Robinson: "Charismata", p.51--Héring (p.145) and Weiss (p.321) notice the difficulty inherent in interpreting them in different senses, but attribute the problem to the redactor who inserted ch.13 between chs.12 and 14)--v.1 is distinguishing the $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ from prophecy, rather than (as most commentators assume) relating them as genus to species. So either $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ is the Pauline term for glossolalia (cp.14:1 and 14:5)--which Dunn clearly does not accept (Jesus, p.208f)--or 14:1 is using Corinthian terminology within a Pauline framework.

³⁵⁴Both terms are used here in a quite general sense: see Black: Romans, p.41; Cranfield: Romans I, p.79; Brockhaus: Charisma, pp.130-31; Chevallier: Esprit, pp.143-44.

³⁵⁵Chevallier (Esprit, p.154) rightly draws attention to the fact that $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ are often related to God rather than to Christ (note especially 2 Cor 3:6; 5:18; 6:4), and that v.11 applies $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ to the Spirit rather than to God. He therefore says that

on peut légitimement se demander si le terme de charismata est lié plus étroitement à l'esprit que $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ne l'est à Kyrios et $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ à Dieu. (*ibid.*)

³⁵⁶Cp. pp.50-51 above.

³⁵⁷Allo, p.322; Barrett, p.283; Conzelmann, p.207; Grosheide, p.282; Kümmel, p.187; Robertson and Plummer, p.262f; H. Schlier: TDNT I, p.185.

³⁵⁸So Chevallier: Esprit, p.150 n.2. Both meanings are held to be included by Héring, p.125; Senft, p.157 n.1; Weiss, p.297; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.161 n.96; Dunn: Jesus, p.209 n.50.

³⁵⁹There is widespread agreement, based on the differences between the lists, that they are not intended to be exhaustive, but are illustrative of the wide range of $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ and functions within the church. It needs to be recognised, however, that both their form and contents are conditioned by the Corinthian situation. As to form, it is widely recognised that the placing of glossolalia at the end of each list is intended as a criticism of the pneumatics' scale of values. As to content, the addition of $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\psi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ in v.28 is generally recognised as intended to broaden the Corinthians' concept of the Spirit's activity and gifts, but it is not so widely recognised that vv.8-10 do not so much give a selection of typical $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ as begin to qualify the pneumatics' views by amending and adding to the list of gifts they prize. On the basis of the number of hapaxes and uncommon expressions in vv.4-11, Ellis (Prophecy, p.24 n.9) suggests that the section is a traditional piece which Paul has used; but a better explanation of these features is that they are due to the views to which Paul is responding.

³⁶⁰This also provides a criterion by which $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ can be ranked, so that some, by virtue of their greater contribution to the edification of the church, can be regarded as $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\alpha$ (12:31a).

361 One obvious implication of this fact is that it is not possible to draw up a complete list of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ --the number of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ is limited only by what the Spirit is willing to give. In this connection it should be noted that 1:7 cannot be interpreted as meaning that the Corinthian church has every $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ (pace Conzelmann, p.27f (who recognises that he is going against the force of the grammar!); Morris, p.37; Weiss, p.9; Brockhaus: Charisma, p.135)--see esp. Lightfoot: Notes, pp.148-49; cp. also Barrett, p.38. For Paul the Zahl der Charismen ist grundsätzlich unbegrenzt. (Hasenhüttl: Charisma, p.129).

362 Recognition of this fact provides a solution to the problem Dunn grapples with--that $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ are particular expressions of God's grace, and yet are proving destructive of community and are found in pagan settings (see pp.50-51 above, with nn.72 and 74). It is only the orientation of particular abilities to the service of Christ and the church that demonstrates that their source is the grace and Spirit of God.

363 A separation between $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ and talent is insisted on by, for example, Dunn: Jesus, p.255f; Eichholz: "Was heisst", pp.16-18; Grau: Begriff, pp.165-69; Greeven: "Geistesgaben", pp. 119-20; Hasenhüttl: Charisma, pp.114-117.

364 Schweizer: Church Order, 22c (p.182). Cp. also 22f (p.185): For [Paul] a 'natural' ministry of an administrative kind is, like leadership in organizing, or brotherly help, just as much charism as is a 'supernatural' ministry such as glossolalia, because the degree of singularity has nothing whatever to do with the question whether in a particular ministry Jesus is confessed as Lord and the Church is built up. Just as there is a 'natural' gift for organization, which could also prove its worth in a Gentile state, so there is also 'natural' ecstasy. . . . Both can be accepted for service by God's Spirit, and so become charismatic ministries. This approach contrasts with that of Dunn, for example, who, because of his assimilation of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ to the $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$, concludes that for Paul every charisma was supernatural. The character of transcendent otherness lies at the heart of the Pauline concept of charisma. (Jesus. p.255; his italics.)

365, . . . in Wahrheit ist es nicht bloss der Geist, der die Menschen zu seinem Organ macht--es spricht auch die natürliche Veranlagung mit.' (Weiss, p.XXVI).

Underlying this separation of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ from natural talent there is implicit a certain view of the relation between grace and nature. The following quotation from Luther is of relevance in this connection: Grace does not entirely change nature but uses nature as it finds it. So if somebody is kind when converted through faith he becomes a gentle preacher like Master Hausmann. If he is by nature irascible and severe, like Cordatus, he preaches after this fashion. On the other hand, if he is fitted by nature with some slyness, intelligence, and power of reason, like Philip, he uses these qualities for the benefit of mankind. (Luther's Works, Volume 54 (Table Talk) (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1967, p.24.)

³⁶⁶Dunn: Jesus, p.254. A similar view is expressed by, for example, Eichholz: "Was heisst", p.16; Grau: Begriff, p.47f; Greeven: "Geistesgaben", p.119f; Schweizer: Church Order, 21g.

In view of the way the category of "event" is so prominent in the interpretation of Paul (grace as event (Bultmann: Theology I, pp.288-92); the event of the Spirit (Schweizer: Church Order, 7m (p.102)); χάρισμα as event), and yet so unsatisfactory as an interpretative category (against Bultmann on grace as event, see Doughty: "Priority", p.174f; against Schweizer on the event of the Spirit, see pp.87-8. above), it is difficult not to detect the encroachment of a certain kind of existentialist thought here.

³⁶⁷Dunn (Jesus, p.209) translates διακονίαι here as "acts of service", but its use elsewhere strongly suggests that it refers to "ministries", to linear functions rather than individual actions (cp. Rom 11:13; 1 Cor 16:15; 2 Cor 3:7-9; 4:1; 5:18; 6:3; etc.).

³⁶⁸It is significant that Paul speaks of individuals as "having" (ἔχειν) the gifts (12:30; 13:2), which most naturally suggests a linear, rather than a punctual phenomenon--see esp. Hemphill: Charisma, p.78.

³⁶⁹Charisma, pp.190-91.

³⁷⁰H.N. Ridderbos: Paul: An Outline of His Theology, ET (Wm.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, 1975), p.445. Cp. also: Tout ministère par lequel le Christ édifie l'Eglise et qui est sa manifestation dans l'Eglise, tout service qui assure et manifeste la vie du corps du Christ, toute aptitude, même banalement humaine, que le Seigneur de l'Eglise mobilise et qui rend celle-ci capable de remplir sa mission, est charisme. . . . (Senft, p.164).

³⁷¹Cp. pp.44-45, 47-54, 56-57, 59-61 above.

On the relation between 1 Cor and Rom 12 with regard to Paul's understanding of χάρισμα see especially Brockhaus: Charisma, pp.193-202; Hemphill: Charisma, pp.164-95.

³⁷²This is especially clear in ch.14; note the repeated use of ἐκκλησία (vv.4,5,12,19,23,28,33-35 (the distinction between ἐν οἴκῳ and ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ is particularly significant in this connection)); the use of συνέρχεσθαι (vv.23,26); and the activities referred to (all of them belonging in the setting of the church meeting: εὐλογεῖν v.16; εὐχαριστεῖν, vv.16-17; προσεύχεσθαι, vv.14-15; ψάλλειν v.15; and saying ᾠήν, v.16).

³⁷³'Die Intention besteht natürlich nicht darin, die Korinther zu belehren, wie eine Gemeinde strukturiert zu sein hat oder wie eine paulinische Gemeinde verfasst sein müsse, sondern Vorgegebenes und Gewordenes zu ordnen. Nicht um die Verfassung ihrer Gemeinde geht es, sondern um ihre Verfasstheit. . . . Die Argumentation des Apostels im 12.Kapitel hat eindeutig die Wiederherstellung der verlorengegangenen Einheit und Einmütigkeit zum Ziel.' (J. Gnllka: "Geistliches Amt und Gemeinde nach Paulus", Kairos (N.F.) 11 (1969), pp.95-104 (at p.97)). Cp. Holmberg: Paul, p.122.

³⁷⁴Eichholz: "Was heisst", p.27.

³⁷⁵Robertson and Plummer, p.274; Senft, pp.162-63; Wendland, p.97; Brockhaus: Charisma, pp.152-53, 172-73; Dunn: Jesus, p.263; E. Schweizer: TDNT VII, p.1069.

³⁷⁶, . . . Paul says only that not all Christians have all gifts, not that each can have only one gift.' (Conzelmann, p.235 (referring to 12:29-30); his italics.)

³⁷⁷Charles: Charismatic Life, p.301f.

³⁷⁸Dunn: Jesus, p.281; Grudem: Prophecy, pp.231-39; Merklein: Amt, p.308.

³⁷⁹Dunn: Jesus, p.284; W. Schrage: "Einige Beobachtungen zur Lehre im Neuen Testament", EvTh 42 (1982), pp.233-51 (at p.240).

³⁸⁰von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.64.

³⁸¹pp.87-8 , 90-91 above.

³⁸²pp.57 (n.94), 87 , 90-91, 93-94 above.

³⁸³See Grau: Begriff, pp.235-37.

³⁸⁴Ridderbos: Paul, p.445.

³⁸⁵See, for example, Robertson and Plummer, p.281; Holmberg: Paul, p.121; Schurmann: "Gnadengaben", pp.259-60; Schweizer: Church Order, 71 (p.101f), 22c (p.182).

³⁸⁶The possibility that the triad is derived from traditions stemming from the church at Antioch (Lemaire: Ministères, pp.58-61, 84; Merklein: Amt, pp.250-60) does not imply that Paul used it simply because it was traditional, so that it has no direct relation to the Corinthian situation (as maintained, for example, by J. Herten ("Charisma--Signal einer Gemeindeftheologie des Paulus", in J. Hainz (ed.): Kirche im Werden: Studien zum Thema Amt und Gemeinde im Neuen Testament (Verlag Friedrich Schöningh, Munich/Paderborn/Vienna, 1976), pp.57-89 (at p.68)).

³⁸⁷See especially Dunn: Jesus, pp.262f, 272-75; Hainz: Ekklesia, pp.84-88; Merklein: "Ekklesia", pp.52-53.

There is no reason to regard the ἐκκλησία of 12:28 as a different entity from that referred to in chs.11 (vv.18,22) and 14 (vv.4,5,12,19, 23,28,35), or to distinguish it from the σῶμα Χριστοῦ referred to in the previous verse.

³⁸⁸See pp.341-54 above.

³⁸⁹The order stated may also imply that the apostle also functions as both prophet and teacher, and that the prophet functions as a teacher too--see Greeven: "Propheten", p.29; Schrage: "Beobachtungen", p.238 n.8. On Paul as both prophet and teacher, see, for example, Weiss, p.XXV; Wendland, p.98; Grau: Begriff, p.246f; Greeven: "Propheten", pp.11, 29; Roloff: Apostolat, pp.125-32; Schürmann: "Gnadengaben", p.246.

390, . . . leur mandat suppose que l'Eglise est déjà constituée et définie par le mandat des envoyés du Christ. Ceux-ci appartiennent aux fondations de l'Eglise. Leur autorité demeure avec celle de leur témoignage. Prophètes et docteurs, par contre, sont appelés à se perpétuer, car leur nécessité et leur compétence ne concerne pas la fondation de l'Eglise.' (J. Delorme: "Diversité et Unité des Ministères d'après le Nouveau Testament", in Le Ministère, pp.283-346 (at p.335).)

391, . . . die neben dem Apostelamt genannten Funktionen der Wortverkündigung im Röm 12,6-8 und 1 Kor 12.28ff. Dienste sind, die ursprünglich dem Funktionsbereich des apostolischen Amtes angehören und die, auch wenn sie abgelöst von der Person des Apostels in der Kirche ausgeübt werden, sich innerhalb der vom Apostelamt gesetzten Norm bewegen. Apostolische Lehre, Prophetie und Paraklese bleiben der Massstab, an dem sich die charismatischen Funktionen der Kirche zu orientieren haben, wollen sie nicht Gefahr laufen, ein »anderes Evangelium« zu verkündigen.' (Roloff: Apostolat, p.126; his italics.)

392 The same cannot be said of the apostle, of course. While the prophets and teachers are in the church as its members, the apostle is in the church as its founder-father, and is therefore before the church.

393 Cp. Heb 5:11-14.

394 See Holmberg: Paul, pp.122-23; Ridderbos: Paul, pp.442-46.

395 The most extensive and convincing statement of this position is that by Brockhaus (Charisma, pp.142-92, 203-20).

396 While it is possible for ministries to be either official or non-official in character, the Pauline understanding of $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ makes it impossible for any ministry to be non-charismatic. Thus the distinction between charismatic and institutional ministries (which goes back to Harnack) is impossible within Pauline thought. See Schweizer: Church Order, 22a-g (pp.181-87).

397 Merklein: Amt, p. 287.

398 ibid.

399 Hemphill: Charisma, pp.42-44.

400 Even if the claim that 16:22-24 marks the transition from the public reading of the letter in place of the homily to the eucharistic liturgy (so, for example, J.A.T. Robinson: "Traces of a Liturgical Sequence in 1 Cor 16:20-24", JTS (n.s.) 4 (1953), pp.38-41 (now in idem: Twelve New Testament Studies (SBT 34) (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1962), pp.154-57)) cannot be sustained (see the cautionary observations of C.F.D. Moule ("A Reconsideration of the Context of MARANATHA", NTS 6 (1959-60), pp.307-10) and note the arguments that the meal preceded the "service of the Word" (n.267 above)), vv.19-20 suffice to show that the letter was intended to be read out in the church meeting.

401 Note esp. 2 Cor 13:11-13; 1 Th 5:16-28. On the structure of the closing paraenesis of Paul's letters, see Roetzel: "Case Study", pp.367-72.

402 Cp. Conzelmann, p.297; Lietzmann, p.89; Weiss, p.385.

⁴⁰³ That the content of these two verses is not merely conventional general paraenesis is suggested by the fact that the key words are used only seldom by Paul. *Τρηγορεῖν* is used only in 1 Th 5:6,10; Col 4:2; *ἀνδρίζεσθαι* is used nowhere else by Paul, and *κραταιοῦσθαι* is used only in Eph 3:16. *Στήκειν* is more common (Rom 14:4; Gal 5:1; Phil 1:27; 4:1; 1 Th 3:8; 2 Th 2:14).

⁴⁰⁴ A Oepke: TDNT II, p.338. Cp. Barrett, p.393; Conzelmann, p.297; Héring, p.185; Robertson and Plummer, p.394; Ruef, p.185; Weiss, p.385.

⁴⁰⁵ See 3:12-15; 4:5; 5:5; 6:1-3,13-14; 13:8-13; 15:20-28,45-49.

⁴⁰⁶ Conzelmann, p.297; Héring, p.185; Orr and Walther, p.362; Weiss, p.385.

⁴⁰⁷ Moffatt, p.276.

⁴⁰⁸ Especially to Psa 26:14 (*ἀνδρίζου, καὶ κραταιούσθω ἡ καρδία σου, καὶ ὑπόμεινον τὸν κύριον*) and Psa 30:25 (*ἀνδρίζεσθε, καὶ κραταιούσθω ἡ καρδία σου, πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ κύριον*). Note also 2 Reg 10:12 (*ἀνδρίζου καὶ κραταιωθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν πόνων τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ...*).

The allusion to the passages in the Psalms is noted by Conzelmann, p.297 n.35 (where reference is also made to 1QM 15:7); Héring, p.185; Moffatt, p.276; Orr and Walther, p.362; Robertson and Plummer, p.393; Ruef, p.185.

⁴⁰⁹ The quotation from Psa 26:14 above is preceded by the words *ὑπόμεινον τὸν κύριον*, so that the attitudes and activities indicated by the two verbs which are found in 16:13 are closely linked in the Psalm with an expectancy that is directed towards God. For Christians this would inevitably have spoken of the hope which looked forward to the final intervention of God in the triumphant coming of Jesus.

⁴¹⁰ The study by T.Y. Mullins ("Petition as a Literary Form", NovT 5 (1962), pp.46-54) has been superseded by the much more comprehensive study by Bjerkelund (Parakalô). On the three uses of the formula in 1 Cor, see Bjerkelund: Parakalô, pp.141-46.

The use of the *παράκαλῶ* -formula in 16:15 is doubly important as an indicator of the significance of the passage if, as G.J. Bahr claims ("Subscriptions", p.37), it marks the commencement of the subscription appended by Paul in his own handwriting. This would indicate that what he has to say about Stephanas and his place in the church was very important to him.

⁴¹¹ Dahl: Studies, p.46 (drawing upon the work of Bjerkelund).

⁴¹² It is worth observing that each of the three uses of the *παράκαλῶ* -formula relates to one of the three constituent patterns of ministry that shape the church's life--1:10 has to do with the mutual relations of all the believers; 4:16 refers to the apostle's leadership of the church; and 16:15 introduces a reference to what appears to be some form of local leadership.

⁴¹³ Although denied by some commentators (Robertson and Plummer, p.396; Ruef, p.186), it is likely that Fortunatus and Achaicus were members of Stephanas' household (Lietzmann, p.89), whether they were his slaves (Grosheide, p.403; Héring, p.186 (only Achaicus); Moffatt,

p.278) or freedmen-clients (Allo, p.465; cp. Weiss, p.386). The view that they were not members of Stephanas' household rests largely upon the assumption that the three formed some kind of official delegation from the church, but this is doubtful (see below).

⁴¹⁴From the epistle as a whole it does not appear that the Corinthians would find this easy. . . . (Barrett, p.394).

⁴¹⁵Against K. Aland's reply (Did The Early Church Baptise Infants? ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1963), especially pp.88-90) to his earlier arguments (Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1960), especially pp.19-24), J. Jeremias argued that the expressions ὁ Στεφάνου οἶκος (1:16) and ἡ οἰκία Στεφάνου (16:15) bore significantly different meanings:

Secular Greek usage (e.g., the papyri) so far as I could ascertain shows different shades of meaning: οἶκος denotes the members of the household in its entirety, whilst οἰκία is used by preference when speaking of the reputation or social position of the family, of its internal or economic organisation, or in a wider sense, or all the kin. The change in word between 1 Cor. 1.16 (οἶκος) and 16.15 (οἰκία) fits in well with this: the first passage is concerned with the household in its entirety, the second with the family as a group of representative persons.' (The Origins of Infant Baptism: A further study in reply to Kurt Aland, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1963), p.14 n.2).

This distinction seems too subtle, however. It is not required or suggested by the text (and so most commentators regard the two expressions as equivalent in meaning), and it is not observed in the actual usage of the words in the NT (see n.417 below).

⁴¹⁶See especially the useful discussion in Klauck: Hausgemeinde, pp.15-20. Cp. also G. Delling: "Zur Taufe von „Häusern" im Urchristentum", NovT 7 (1964-65), pp.285-311 (esp. pp.286-93).

⁴¹⁷See the references in Elliott: Home, p.188 n.112.

⁴¹⁸In addition to the works referred to in n.416, see Gniska: Philemonbrief, p.18f; Judge: Pattern, pp.30-31; Meeks: Urban Christians, p.30; O. Michel: TDNT V, pp.119-21, 131.

⁴¹⁹P. Weigandt: "Zur sogenannten „Oikosformel'", NovT 6 (1963), pp.49-74 (at pp.62-63, 66-67).

⁴²⁰As claimed by Jeremias, following E. Stauffer (Infant Baptism, pp.19-24).

⁴²¹Weigandt: "Oikosformel", passim.

⁴²²So Barrett, p.394; Conzelmann, p.298 n.5; Orr and Walther, p.362; Aland: Infants? p.88 n.2.

⁴²³So Grosheide, p.403; Héring, p.186 (only Achaicus), Moffatt, p.278.

⁴²⁴In 2 Th 2:13 the reading ἀπαρχήν (B F G P 33 81 etc.) is preferred in the common text of the UBS (3rd edition) and the Nestle-Aland (26th edition) Greek Testaments (see Metzger: Commentary, p.636f) and is accepted by Bruce (p.190) and Milligan (p.106f). However,

although the attestation for the reading ἀπ' ἀρχῆς is not any stronger (being read by ᾱ D Ψ it syrP etc.), it is to be preferred on internal grounds. See especially Best, pp.312-4; Frame, pp.280-81; Marshall, p.207; Rigaux, pp.682, 683f.

⁴²⁵On Epaenetus, see Leenhardt, p.380; Michel, p.475; on Stephanas, see Brockhaus: Charisma, pp.111 n.83, 124; on both, see G. Delling: TDNT I, p.485.

⁴²⁶"Paul and his Co-workers" NTS 17 (1970-1), pp.437-52 (at p.450)/Prophecy, p.20.

⁴²⁷See Delling: TDNT I, p.484.

⁴²⁸In relation to Epaenetus, there is no evidence that enables us to determine anything about his activities.

⁴²⁹It has been claimed that Acts is simply unreliable at this point (Orr and Walther, pp.16,80-81); that "Achaia" really refers to Corinth (Barrett, p.393; Moffatt, p.278); that Athens was not included in the province of Achaia (a claim that was refuted at length by W.M. Ramsay (The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1915), pp.388-410); and that Stephanas and his colleagues were not resident in Corinth, but were travelling Christian workers (Schmithals: Gnosticism, p.101).

⁴³⁰Bearing, p.385f.

⁴³¹This inference is even more secure if it is true that Paul believed that baptisms could be performed by any believer (as claimed by Bruce, p.34; Conzelmann, p.36; Kümmel, p.168; Moffatt, p.12; Robertson and Plummer, p.15).

⁴³²See pp.167-69, 339-40 above. Cp. also Bowers: Studies, pp.82-86.

⁴³³Bowers, Studies, p.85.

⁴³⁴So, for example, πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον from Jerusalem to Illyricum does not claim that the Gospel has been heard in every place in that section of the Empire, but that the Gospel has been proclaimed and churches established in the major centres, so that a foundation has been laid for the eventual spread of the Gospel throughout the entire region. (On Rom 15:19ff see especially Bowers: Studies, pp.16-26,98-103.) In this connection, Ollrog has aptly termed Paul's mission a "Zentrumsmission" (Paulus, pp.125-29).

⁴³⁵Bowers: Studies, pp.70-72; Ollrog: Paulus, p.55 n.255.

⁴³⁶Ollrog: Paulus, p.120 n.49.

⁴³⁷Conzelmann, p.268 n.42; Héring, p.164f; Ruef, p.165 n.684.

⁴³⁸The genitive is epexegetical: the Spirit is the ἀπαρχή (so Cranfield, I, p.418; Käsemann, p.229; Michel, p.270), which is equivalent to saying that the Spirit is the ἀρραβών (Barrett, p.167; Black, p.122; Cranfield, I, p.418; Käsemann, p.229; Leenhardt, p.227).

⁴³⁹ M. Bouttier claims that the concept is to be understood in the light of the apostle's missionary ministry (Rom 15:16), the sacrificial offering of the continents--Asia, Achaia-- to the Lord; Epaenetus or Stephanas are not only the first signs of this, but even now the reality. In their persons--pars pro toto--the Gentile nations are consecrated and offered to Christ. (Christianity according to Paul (SBT 49) (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1966), p.97 n.23.)

However, R. Murray observes that this is not the principal thrust of the concept:

It is not clear that the dominant stress is on the offering of Christians to God or Christ so much as on certain Christians being regarded as the beginnings of a glorious harvest for God made possible by Christ, to the completion of which the NT writers look forward with confidence. . . .
("New Wine in Old Wineskins XII. Firstfruits", ExpT 86 (1974-75), pp. 164-68 (at p.167); his italics.)

⁴⁴⁰ Ollrog: Paulus, p.120 n.49.

⁴⁴¹ ἔστιν in v.15b refers to the οἰκία, and not just to Stephanas, as the ἑταῶν αὐτοῦς which follows shows (Hainz: Ekklesia, p.98 n.7).

⁴⁴² Stephanas' 'was the first Christian household, and as such the foundation of the Church in those parts.' (Robertson and Plummer, p.395). What then of Epaenetus? In the absence of any other evidence about him than the reference in Rom 16:5, it is difficult to make any comparisons with Stephanas and his household. It is not impossible that it was the household of Epaenetus that was known in Ephesus as the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, but that when Epaenetus was in Rome (so that the Roman Christians knew only him but not his household) the title was applied to him as head of the household.

⁴⁴³ Moffatt, p.278; M. Albertz: "Die »Erstlinge« in der Botschaft des Neuen Testaments", EvTh 12 (1952-53), pp.151-55 (at p.155).

⁴⁴⁴ Note that Gaius was baptised by Paul (1:14) and later acted as host to both Paul and the meeting of the whole church in Corinth (Rom 16:23) (see nn.134, 135 above).

⁴⁴⁵ Elliott: Home, pp.188-89.

⁴⁴⁶ Ruef, p.186; Dahl: Studies, p.51; Jeremias: Origins, p.14.

⁴⁴⁷ 'The saints here are not those of xvi.1, since Stephanas has already begun his ministry to them, whereas the collection for the Jerusalem saints is only at this point being set in motion.' (Barrett, p.394).

⁴⁴⁸ Die Gegner des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief: Studien zur religiösen Propaganda in der Spätantike (WMANT 11) (Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen/Vluyn, 1964), pp.31-38.

⁴⁴⁹ p.38.

⁴⁵⁰ "Georgi's "Envoys" in 2 Cor 11:23", JBL 93 (1974), pp.88-96.

⁴⁵¹ Paulus, p.73.

⁴⁵²Paulus, p.100.

⁴⁵³Héring, p.186: 'social service'.

⁴⁵⁴Conzelmann, p.298; Héring, p.186; Lietzmann, p.89; Moffatt, p.278; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.100.

⁴⁵⁵Weiss, p.386.

⁴⁵⁶Grosheide, p.402; Dunn: Jesus, p.249.

⁴⁵⁷Klauck: Hausgemeinde, p.33.

⁴⁵⁸H.W. Beyer: TDNT II, p.87.

⁴⁵⁹See Rom 11:13; 15:31; 2 Cor 3:6-9; 4:1; 5:18; 6:3; 11:8. Cp. Ollrog: Paulus, pp.73-74.

⁴⁶⁰Although τοῖς ἁγίοις obviously includes the Corinthian Christians (cp.1:2), it is unlikely to refer only to them. If the scope of their ministry had been confined to believers in Corinth, an expression such as διακονία τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (cp. Rom 16:1) or something similar is more likely to have been used. The most likely way in which they were able to exercise a ministry to Christians other than members of the Corinthian church was through the provision of hospitality (and perhaps other kinds of support) to those who were travelling through Corinth.

⁴⁶¹On the use of this expression, and its classical precedents, see Barrett, p.393; Conzelmann, p.298 n.1; Moffatt, p.278; Weiss, p.386.

⁴⁶²'They were not appointed by Paul; they were not appointed by the church; in a spirit not of self-assertion but of service and humility they appointed themselves. In other words, they were appointed directly by God, who pointed out to them the opportunity of service and (we may suppose) equipped them to fulfil it.' (Barrett, p.394).

⁴⁶³G.G. Findlay: "St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians", EGT II (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1904), p.950.

⁴⁶⁴This is so whether τοῖς τοιοῦτοις means "these people" (i.e., Stephanas and his household), with the following words serving to generalise the exhortation (Hurd: Origin, p.49 n.4; BDF #304), or whether it means "such people", with the καί as epexegetical, and the following words serving to characterise the entire group (Weiss, p.386; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.99).

⁴⁶⁵Ollrog: Paulus, pp.71, 75.

⁴⁶⁶Ollrog; Paulus, pp.63-72, 75.

⁴⁶⁷See Chapter 2, n.351 (p.292 above).

⁴⁶⁸pp.212-17 above.

⁴⁶⁹pp.213-15 above.

⁴⁷⁰'Allowing for variations in nuance, the two terms appear to be equivalent expressions for a class of Christian workers. . . .' (Ellis: "Co-workers", p.441/Prophecy, p.7.)

⁴⁷¹Ollrog: Paulus, p.71.

⁴⁷²See p.237 above.

⁴⁷³Ollrog: Paulus, pp.66-67. It should be noted, however, that apart from its use here, Paul uses the term only in Rom 8:28 (with reference to God and His providential ordering of believers' lives) and 2 Cor 6:1 (with reference to his own ministry).

⁴⁷⁴The force of the prefix συν- if probably quite general here (Morris, p.245; Robertson and Plummer, p.396), and rather than pointing to cooperation with God (cp. 3:19; 1 Th 3:2 (on which see n.97 on p.271 above)) or with Paul, indicates the collaborative character of service in the mission and the churches.

⁴⁷⁵See n.410 above for the possibility that Paul wrote vv.15ff himself.

⁴⁷⁶On the identity of Fortunatus and Achaicus see n.413 above. On the possible identification of the Fortunatus mentioned here with the one mentioned in 1 Clem (Héring, p.186; Weiss, p.386), see Robertson and Plummer, p.396.

⁴⁷⁷"Paul and the Church at Corinth"/Studies, pp.40-61.

⁴⁷⁸p.323/Studies, p.50.

⁴⁷⁹ibid.

⁴⁸⁰p.324/Studies, p.50.

⁴⁸¹ibid./Studies, p.51.

⁴⁸²ibid.

⁴⁸³p.325/Studies, p.51f.

⁴⁸⁴That they were is assumed by, for example, Robertson and Plummer, pp.396-97; Ruef, p.186; Wendland, p.142; Hainz: Ekklesia, pp.100-1.

⁴⁸⁵See pp.332-33 above.

⁴⁸⁶'The tension between the written document and the oral report requires some explanation.' (p.323/Studies, p.50).

⁴⁸⁷Paulus, p.97.

⁴⁸⁸ibid.

⁴⁸⁹ibid.

⁴⁹⁰p.97f.

⁴⁹¹'Beide Male sind Mitarbeiter aus seinen Gemeinden zu Paulus gereist, um bei ihm zu bleiben. Dadurch gleichen sie einen Mangel aus, der ihren Gemeinden . . . anhaftet.' (p.98.)

⁴⁹²p.99.

⁴⁹³p.100.

⁴⁹⁴On Phil 2:25-30, see pp.576-7 below.

⁴⁹⁵See p. 576 below. Ollrog gives no justification for his assertion that Epaphroditus was intended to remain with Paul (Paulus, pp.80,98).

⁴⁹⁶Paulus, p.98.

⁴⁹⁷The way τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὑμῶν is linked with ἀνέπαυσαν must surely tell against any interpretation which does not see a direct connection between the refreshment of Paul's spirit and that of the Corinthians'--such as that offered by Bruce (p.161):
. . . at Ephesus they refreshed Paul's spirit as they were accustomed to refresh their fellow-Christians at home.

⁴⁹⁸See BDF #284(2); Moulton-Turner III, pp.189-91.

⁴⁹⁹ ⁴⁶p Ἄ A ψ etc read ὑμῶν, which does not affect the sense.

⁵⁰⁰Ollrog: Paulus, p.99. Cp. G. Delling: TDNT VI, p.306, where the expression is interpreted as meaning "what is missing in your action, what you still owe me".

The common interpretation of τὸ ὑμέτερον ὑστέρημα as "my lack of your company" (Allo, p.465; Conzelmann, p.299; Grosheide, p.403; Moffatt, p.278f; Morris, p.245; Orr and Walther, pp.362,364; Robertson and Plummer, p.396; Senft, p.219; Weiss, p.386; Wendland, p.142; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.101) simply disregards the emphatic position of the adjective.

⁵⁰¹Although BGD maintains that to fill up 'the ὑστέρημα of one person means to make up for his absence, represent him in his absence' (referring to this passage and Phil 2:30), the more natural interpretation (in view of the emphatic position of the possessive adjective, which is paralleled in Phil 2:30 (where the content of the ὑστέρημα is defined by the τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας which follows) but not in 1 Clem 38:2 (where the expression is αὐτοῦ τὸ ὑστέρημα) (this passage is interpreted in the above sense in the article on ἀναπληρῶ, but here it is given the sense 'supply his need')) is surely to understand ὑστέρημα as meaning 'lack, shortcoming as a defect which must be removed' (art. ὑστέρημα, 2).

⁵⁰²So the claim that the lack 'consists in the momentary spatial distance between the community itself and Paul' (U. Wilckens: TDNT VIII, p.599) does not do justice to the force of the expression.

⁵⁰³Thus agreeing with Dahl's claim that Stephanas was 'a chief advocate of writing a letter to Paul. . . .' (Studies, p.51).

⁵⁰⁴For references, see Hurd: Origin, p.49 n.5 (to which must now be added Barrett, p.4; Bruce, p.161; Ruef, p.185).

⁵⁰⁵Delling's comments on this verse point in this direction. In addition to the way he interprets the ὑστέρημα (see n.500 above), he also maintains that vv.17-18 refer to the 'settling of tensions' between Paul and the Corinthians (loc. cit.).

The interpretation we have proposed presupposes a rather different view of the church's letter from that suggested by Hurd, according to

which the "questions" raised were actually objections which stated and defended the Corinthians' position on each of the several topics,' (Origin, p.207).

The position they were defending, Hurd argues, was actually closer to the original teaching they had received from Paul than the position he now took, and their objections were aroused by the fact that he no longer held the views he once did (Origin, pp.273-88). There are some serious difficulties with Hurd's reconstruction of the course of events (see especially Drane: Paul, pp.97-98) which make his understanding of the contents and aim of the church's letter unlikely. Nevertheless, in view of the various divisions within the church and the tensions they created, and in view of the way Paul's own approach and style was a factor in the disputes that had emerged, it is not improbable that the letter contained more than a set of questions. In the course of presenting various matters on which they sought Paul's comment, the church may also have offered defences of certain views that were being maintained or raised objections to views that were not regarded favourably.

⁵⁰⁶ The exhortations to submit to and to recognise Stephanas and his colleagues (as well as others like them) suggest that they are to return to Corinth, and this makes it likely that they were the bearers of 1 Cor (references in Hurd: Origin, p.50 n.1, to which must now be added Ruef, p.186).

Despite the widespread assumption to the contrary, the passage gives no indication that Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus were an official delegation from the church. The use of παρουσία has been held to imply this (Robertson and Plummer, p.396; Hurd: Origin, p.49 n.3), on the grounds that its use in the Hellenistic period for the visit of a ruler (A. Oepke: TDNT V, pp.859-60) gave it an official ring. However, although the word is used in 15:23 of the triumphant final coming of Christ, it is also used in 2 Cor 7:6-7 of Titus' return from Corinth. There cannot be any "official" sense to the word in the latter context, for Titus is not coming to Paul as a delegate or messenger of anyone else; in fact, he is returning after having gone to Corinth as Paul's representative. Note Oepke's conclusion about Pauline use of the term:

Technical significance is not attached to the word. . . . (TDNT V, p.868).

The view that the church has sent these three as an official delegation involves the difficulty of a prima facie contradiction between the picture (entailed by this view) of the church as united in its decision to send a letter and a delegation to Paul and the quite different picture that emerges from 1:10-12 in particular, which portrays the church's membership as seriously divided in its loyalties to different leaders. It is therefore more likely that those who brought the letter to Paul had taken the initiative in persuading the church to send it, and that the church had not so much chosen them as its delegates as agreed to go along with their proposals.

If Stephanas and his associates undertook this journey at their own initiative rather than as the church's delegates, it is likely that they did so at their own expense. It also increases the likelihood that Fortunatus and Achaicus were members of Stephanas' household (cp.n.476 above).

⁵⁰⁷ Moffatt, p.279.

⁵⁰⁸ Allo, p.466; Robertson and Plummer, p.396f.

⁵⁰⁹Hainz: Ekklesia, p.101. In the light of the arguments outlined in n.506 above, it is inappropriate to regard the three visitors as 'eine Gesandtschaft', however.

⁵¹⁰Schreiber: Gemeinde, p.168.

⁵¹¹On which see G. Delling: TDNT VIII, pp.42-45.

⁵¹²Delling, TDNT VIII, pp. 41, 45.

⁵¹³Delling, TDNT VIII, p.45.

⁵¹⁴Noted by Moffatt, p.278; Morris, p.245; Robertson and Plummer, p.395.

⁵¹⁵Barrett, p.392 (translation); Robertson and Plummer, p.395; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.99. Conzelmann (p.298 n.7) follows Lietzmann (p.88, translation) in attaching καί to the verb, but this is much less likely than the view which connects it to the word which immediately follows it.

⁵¹⁶BGD: art. ὑποτάσσω, 1bβ.

⁵¹⁷Brockhaus: Charisma, p.112. Cp. Ollrog: Paulus, p.86.

⁵¹⁸Héring, p.185.

⁵¹⁹Dunn: Jesus, p.286 (his italics).

⁵²⁰Barrett, p.394.

⁵²¹Cp. Delling: TDNT VIII, p.44.

⁵²²Cp. Rom 12:10b (τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι); Phil 2:3b (τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντες ἑαυτῶν --note the connection between ὑποτάσσεσθαι and ὑπερέχειν in Rom 13:1); also Eph 5:21 (ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλους ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ).

⁵²³'The leaders and the congregation are related to each other in a context of love and cooperation, and stand in a relation of mutual, but not symmetric, dependence on each other.' (Holmberg: Paul, p.120, commenting on this passage.)

⁵²⁴'The apostle gives his approval to a kind of hierarchy of service in the church. Natural leadership is to be recognized, and this is to include more than casual acknowledgement. . . .' (Orr and Walther, p.363).

⁵²⁵Ruef, p.187. Cp. Robertson and Plummer, who give the following expanded paragraph of v.18b.

Such services as theirs ought to meet with a generous recognition. They have undertaken a long and perilous journey on your behalf, and they have brought great relief and refreshment to me as well as to you. (p.397)
Although it may well have been arduous and perilous by modern standards, would any of those involved have regarded the trip from Corinth to Ephesus and back in this way?

⁵²⁶Weiss, p.XXVI.

⁵²⁷Grosheide (p.403) appears to equate them with Paul's co-workers resident in other centres, but it is difficult to see how the Corinthians could submit to such people.

⁵²⁸Barrett, p.395; Bruce, p.161.

⁵²⁹Note the discussion on p.365 above of the possibility that many of those who should have been exercising leadership in the church were actually the source of many of its problems.

⁵³⁰See p.406 (n.464) above.

⁵³¹Brockhaus: Charisma, p.111.

⁵³²Indeed, the use of the title in Rom 16:5 suggests that this prestige was expected to apply throughout the Church, and not just in the province concerned.

⁵³³von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.67. Cp. Conzelmann, p.298 ('special esteem'); Ollrog: Paulus, p.79 n.95 ('eine Ehrenstellung').

⁵³⁴Schreiber: Gemeinde, p.42.

⁵³⁵A.E. Harvey: "Elders", JTS (n.s.) 25 (1974), pp.318-32 (esp. pp.326-32).

⁵³⁶"Elders: A Note", JTS (n.s.) 26 (1975), pp.403-5 (at p.405).

⁵³⁷Home, pp.190-91. This argument raises the question whether (as is commonly assumed) the appearance of elders in the Pastorals is necessarily a sign of non-Pauline origin.

⁵³⁸Urchristliche . . . Ämter, p.45.

⁵³⁹Social Setting, pp.69-119/"Schichtung".

⁵⁴⁰Throughout this essay Theissen does not distinguish social status and social class, which he appears to regard as equivalent concepts. There may be value in distinguishing the two, however, P. Garnsey, for example, follows Weber in relating status distinctions to inequalities of prestige and class distinctions to inequalities of wealth (Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1970), p.2 n.1). It is obvious that there is no necessary correlation between status and wealth, or between class and prestige, as the wealthy are not always esteemed, and those whom a society invests with dignitas are not always wealthy. However, E. Benoit ("Status", pp.79-80) argues that in every society it is normal that sooner or later wealth will lead to power, power will lead to wealth, and both will lead to prestige. He calls this process "status conversion", and says that because of it

there exists a real tendency for the different types of status [i.e., of wealth, power, or esteem] to reach a common level, i.e., for a man's position in the economic hierarchy to match his position in the political hierarchy and for the latter to accord with his position in the hierarchy of prestige, etc. This tendency may conveniently be called "status equilibration". . . . (p.80).

In view of this, Theissen's failure to distinguish status and class does not require any fundamental alteration in his basic conclusions. For a

fuller discussion of this issue, with useful references to other discussions, see Meeks: Urban Christians, pp.53-55.

⁵⁴¹Social Setting, pp.73-94/"Schichtung", pp.236-56.

⁵⁴²Social Setting, p.25/"Schichtung", p.257.

⁵⁴³ibid.

⁵⁴⁴Social Setting, p.87/"Schichtung", p.249.

⁵⁴⁵Social Setting, ibid./"Schichtung", p.250.

⁵⁴⁶Social Setting, p.91/"Schichtung", p.254.

⁵⁴⁷Social Setting, p.87/"Schichtung", p.249.

⁵⁴⁸Social Setting, p.88/"Schichtung", p.251.

⁵⁴⁹Social Setting, p.91/"Schichtung", p.253f.

⁵⁵⁰Social Setting, pp.87, 91/"Schichtung", pp.249, 253, 254.

⁵⁵¹Social Aspects, p.73 n.27.

⁵⁵²See pp.393-7 above.

⁵⁵³On which see Klauck: Hausgemeinde, p.33; Meeks: Urban Christians, p.57; Theissen: Social Setting, pp.73-75/"Schichtung", pp.236-37.

⁵⁵⁴On which see Klauck: Hausgemeinde, p.34; Meeks: Urban Christians, p.57; Theissen: Social Setting, p.89/"Schichtung", pp.251-52.
See also nn.134,135 above.

⁵⁵⁵Meeks: Urban Christians, pp.57f, 119. Cp. Theissen: Social Setting, p.102/"Schichtung", p.264:

If Paul makes it quite clear that the majority of Corinthian Christians come from the lower strata, it is all the more noteworthy that all of those baptized by him belonged to the upper strata: Crispus, Gaius, and Stephanas.'

⁵⁵⁶Ollrog: Paulus, p.42 n.191.

⁵⁵⁷Urban Christians, p.118f.

⁵⁵⁸Urban Christians, pp.58, 78, 119.

⁵⁵⁹Ecclesia, p.207.

⁵⁶⁰ibid.

⁵⁶¹p.208.

⁵⁶²This is not to deny the reality of importance of the involvement of the members of Stephanas' household in $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ and $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ and $\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$. However, as head of the household, Stephanas was ultimately responsible for the activity of its members and the use of its resources. So although his relatives and dependants (and perhaps his slaves) may have

been no less committed than he was to the service of the church, in the final analysis it must have been Stephanas himself who appeared as the sponsor and initiator of the services provided by his household.

⁵⁶³ See the discussion on pp.406 and 417 above, referring to Stephanas and his household as exemplars of those to whom the church should submit.

⁵⁶⁴ If this had been the point he intended to make, it could have been conveyed more simply and more clearly by calling upon all the Corinthians to be active in service, and by adding an exhortation like *ἵνα ὑποτάσσησθε ἀλλήλοις*.

⁵⁶⁵ See p.426 and nn.553 and 554 above.

⁵⁶⁶ See p.400 above.

⁵⁶⁷ Cp. the quotation from Theissen in n.555 above. In the case of the οἰκία Στεφάνου, it was the head of the household who was relatively well-to-do.

⁵⁶⁸ See pp.400-1 above.

⁵⁶⁹ Cp. the quotation from Ollrog (Paulus, p.120 n.49) on p.412 above.

⁵⁷⁰ This reinforces the impression, created by our discussion of the meaning of the expression ἀπαρχή in this context (see pp.400-3 above), that Paul's baptising activity was part of a deliberate church-planting strategy.

But if this is so, how are we to explain 1:16? After having asserted that he had baptised only Crispus and Gaius (1:14), Paul appears to recall suddenly that he had also baptised the household of Stephanas, and then to admit that he is rather vague about whether there were also others who had been baptised by him. This does not give the impression that his baptising activity was a significant and purposeful part of any strategy. However, this interpretation of the verse may not be accurate. The mention of the οἰκία Στεφάνου may be an after-thought, but not in the sense (as is often assumed) that it was an accidental omission that Paul rectifies at once. Rather, Paul's first instinct was to take it for granted that because Stephanas' household was the ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας (and thus by definition baptised by him) he did not need to mention them specifically. (Cp. the paraphrase suggested by L. Hertling: "Ich habe nur Crispus und Gaius getauft; denn dass ich das Haus des Stephanas getauft habe, ist selbstverständlich, das ist ja die ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας . . ." ("1 Kor 16,15 und 1 Clem 42", Biblica 20 (1939), pp.276-83 (at p.281)).) However, in view of the nature of the conflicts he was seeking to defuse, it now occurred to Paul that it was better to take nothing for granted, and so he added ἐβάπτισα δὲ καὶ τὸν Στεφάνου οἶκον in order to avert any possible misunderstandings.

The second half of the verse is usually interpreted as an admission that Paul cannot recall whether he had baptised others in addition to those he has named ("I can't remember if I baptised anyone else"), and thus as an indication that there was no special significance in the baptisms he performed. However, it can equally well be understood as a cautiously-worded denial that he had baptised any others. This appears

to be the view of C.F.D. Moule, who translates v.16b as "I do not know that I baptised anybody else besides." (Idiom-Book, p.161). His caution here was undoubtedly due to his awareness that there may have been somebody else whom (for some reason) he cannot recall (the fact that he names so few makes it unlikely that there were many others), and so he does not simply say οὐκ ἐβάπτισα τινὰ ἄλλον. Nevertheless, this does not invalidate the proposal that those named were baptised by Paul himself for a particular reason.

⁵⁷¹H. Gültow: "Soziale Gegebenheiten der altkirchlichen Mission", in H. Frohnes and U.W. Knorr (eds.): Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte, Band I: Die alte Kirche (Chr. Kaiser Verlag, Munich, 1974), pp.189-226 (at p.199). Cp. also:

From a practical point of view it was the conversion of households which made possible the rapid growth, mobility and extension of the Christian mission. The sustenance of itinerant missionaries, the hosting of strangers, the care of the needy, the assembling of worshippers, and the economic self-sufficiency of the movement were all made possible by a growing network of Christian households.
(Elliott: Home, p.198.)

⁵⁷²See p. 415 above.

⁵⁷³Brockhaus: Charisma, p.112.

⁵⁷⁴"Ministry", p.83. Cp. the discussion of this and similar statements by Käsemann and others on pp.60-61, 87, and 106f above.

⁵⁷⁵Jesus, pp.272, 291, 293.

⁵⁷⁶Hainz: Ekklesia, p.100.

⁵⁷⁷See pp.89-91, 92 above.

⁵⁷⁸Olsen: Process, p.271 (his italics).

⁵⁷⁹See p.417 above.

⁵⁸⁰See pp.89-91 above.

⁵⁸¹See pp. 319, 333, 337 above.

⁵⁸²The present tense of both verbs used in the exhortations is most naturally interpreted as having durative force.

⁵⁸³Olsen: Process, p.117.

⁵⁸⁴See p. 415 above.

⁵⁸⁵Jesus, p.286.

⁵⁸⁶Jesus, p.285.

⁵⁸⁷p.415

⁵⁸⁸See pp.362-66 above.

⁵⁸⁹See p. 397 above.

⁵⁹⁰Cp. our discussion on pp.415-17 above.

⁵⁹¹Paulus, p.86.

⁵⁹²ibid.

⁵⁹³See pp.84-110 above.

⁵⁹⁴Paulus, p.79 n.95.

⁵⁹⁵See p.413 above.

⁵⁹⁶See pp.415-17 above.

⁵⁹⁷See p.415f above.

⁵⁹⁸See pp.95-110 above.

⁵⁹⁹See p. 96 above.

⁶⁰⁰See pp.420- 1, 429 above.

⁶⁰¹On which see p.97 above.

⁶⁰²See p.421 above. Of course, it was not Stephanas alone, but his household, that received the designation ἀπαρχή but it applies especially to Stephanas as head of the household. Cp. n.442 above.

⁶⁰³On which see p.97 above.

⁶⁰⁴See p.421 above.

⁶⁰⁵See p. 98 above.

⁶⁰⁶See p.420 above.

⁶⁰⁷See p.430 above.

⁶⁰⁸See p.99 above on the influence within a group of those who have a high status outside it.

⁶⁰⁹See p.99 above.

⁶¹⁰On which see p.105 above.

⁶¹¹Benoit: "Status", p.78.

⁶¹²See pp.406, 417 above.

⁶¹³See pp.431-33 above.

⁶¹⁴See pp.430-31 above.

⁶¹⁵On which see pp.100-1 above.

⁶¹⁶See p.104 above.

⁶¹⁷Note the contrast with the selfish behaviour rebuked in 11:17ff.

⁶¹⁸See p.101 above.

⁶¹⁹On which see p.106 above.

⁶²⁰See p.105 above.

⁶²¹On the authorisation and endorsement of power, see p.105 above.

⁶²²See pp.20-25 above.

⁶²³See pp.377-83 above.

⁶²⁴p.418 above.

⁶²⁵Jesus, p.290.

⁶²⁶See pp.387-390 above.

⁶²⁷See p.24 above (with n.142).

⁶²⁸See p.433 above.

⁶²⁹On the question of the non-appearance of teachers in 1 Cor (apart from 12:28), see p.390 above.

⁶³⁰See pp.101-2 above.

⁶³¹12:28 concerns their priority as ministers of the Word by which the church lives, and does not necessarily imply that prophets and teachers will be leaders of the church, for while it is probable that leaders of churches would have exercised a "ministry of the Word", it does not follow that such gifts were the only component of leadership.

⁶³²See p.24 above (with n.142), and cp.p. 255 above.

⁶³³See p. 255 above.

⁶³⁴See pp.107-8 above.

⁶³⁵See pp.89-94 above.

⁶³⁶p.433 above.

⁶³⁷Cp. pp.43, 54 above.

⁶³⁸Charisma, p.24 n.106 (quoted on p.109 above).

⁶³⁹See pp.301-2 above.

⁶⁴⁰See especially pp.304-5 above.

⁶⁴¹See pp.237-44 above.

⁶⁴²See pp.335-8, 397-8 above.

⁶⁴³See pp.355-66 above.

⁶⁴⁴See p. 205 above.

⁶⁴⁵See pp. 324-31 above.

⁶⁴⁶See pp. 85-86, 89-90, and 329-30, 357 above,

⁶⁴⁷p. 301 above.

⁶⁴⁸See p. 338 above.

⁶⁴⁹Contrast this with the situation reflected in 1 Th (on which see pp. 157-60 above).

⁶⁵⁰Cp. pp. 167-84 and pp. 339-55 above.

⁶⁵¹The absence of any prayer-reports or prayer-requests like those in 1 Th is striking. Cp. pp. 171-73 above.

⁶⁵²See pp. 357-62 above.

⁶⁵³See pp. 393-8 above.

⁶⁵⁴See pp. 399-402 above.

⁶⁵⁵See those on p. 114 above.

CHAPTER IV

LOCAL LEADERSHIP IN THE CHURCH OF PHILIPPI

PHILIPPIANS: INTRODUCTION

As in the two preceding chapters, this Introduction will consider some important preliminary matters concerning the letter and the situation to which it was addressed before we begin a detailed examination of the material most directly relevant to our theme.

I. THE LETTER:

1. Its Unity:

The case for regarding Phil as a compilation of two or more Pauline¹ letters is much weightier than those we have considered in relation to 1 Th and 1 Cor, and has therefore attracted much greater support.² While it is not possible to enter into a detailed discussion of all the arguments here, the fact that some of the material we are to study in some detail is affected by these arguments means that we must give some consideration to the debate.³ The most convenient way of setting out the principal arguments briefly will be to organise our discussion around the four points elaborated at the beginning of Chapter II.⁴

(1) The first two points--concerning formal and material grounds for a compilation hypothesis--are best considered together in this instance, in view of the way both kinds of consideration are interconnected in most presentations of the case against the unity of Phil.

The principal reasons for doubting the unity of the letter are the abrupt and awkward transitions at 3:1 and 4:9, the first leading to a lengthy discussion that is markedly different in tone and content from all that precedes it, and the second followed by an expression of thanks for the Philippians' gift which seems strangely out of place at the end of the letter. Accordingly, it has been argued that 3:2ff and 4:10-20 are dis-

crete letter-fragments that have been inserted into their present position by an editor.⁵ We will consider each of these passages in turn.

(a) Chapter 3: Proponents of compilation hypotheses regard the break at 3:1 as so abrupt, and the transition to 3:1ff as so awkward, with the change of mood and content so marked, as to be incompatible with the assumption that Paul wrote the letter in its present form. Other scholars argue that such breaks in the train of thought are not unparalleled in Paul's letters⁶, and claim that this one is explicable as due to a break in dictation or the arrival of fresh news.⁷ It is further argued that while the differences between Chapter 3 and the remainder of the letter cannot be denied, there are some important thematic and conceptual links between them which should not be overlooked.

Those for whom later redactional activity is the most probable explanation of the present form of the letter find further support for their views in the claim that 2:19-30 and especially 3:1a belong to a letter-ending⁹, but this is doubtful: there is no adequate reason to regard 2:19-30 as part of a letter-ending¹⁰; τὸ λοιπὸν (3:1) does not necessarily signal the end of a letter¹¹; and χαίρετε must mean "rejoice" rather than "farewell" here¹², and was not used as a final wish in ancient letters or by Paul, who customarily uses χαρίζ. ¹³

(b) 4:10-20: Because it is thought to be most unlikely that Paul would have waited until the end of the letter to thank the Philippians for the gift they had sent with Epaphroditus, and that he would not have acknowledged the gift as soon as he received it, advocates of a compilation hypothesis regard 4:10-20 as a separate letter or letter-fragment that has been placed in its present position by a redactor.¹⁴ This view is supported by the claim that 4:4ff (or 4:8-9) constitutes a letter-ending.¹⁵ Upholders of the letter's unity have responded with the follow-

ing arguments.

First, Paul does not in fact wait until the end of Phil before thanking the church for its gift, for τῇ μνεΐᾳ ὑμῶν in 1:3 may well refer to the Philippians' remembrance of Paul (i.e., their gift)¹⁶, and while τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον in 1:5 is a general acknowledgment of their support, it almost certainly includes a reference to their financial support¹⁷ and may well refer to their recent gift in particular.¹⁸

Secondly, the period between Paul's receipt of the Philippians' gift and Epaphroditus' return to Philippi with Paul's letter may not have been very long.¹⁹

Thirdly, it is possible that 4:10ff comes at the end of the letter because it is in Paul's own hand, as his "receipt" for their gift.²⁰

Fourthly, the claim that 4:8-9 is a letter-ending has been rejected by H. Gamble on the grounds that the

wish of peace found in common form in 4:9 is elsewhere always penultimate; the grace-benediction is Paul's constant concluding formula.²¹

This brief review of the principal arguments concerning the place of ch.3 and 4:10-20 in the structure of Phil²² is sufficient to indicate that the case against the letter's unity is by no means unassailable. In fact, there are some important general considerations which tell against the validity of any literary dissection of the letter.

First, a number of scholars have shown that there is a deep conceptual and thematic unity underlying the structural and stylistic awkwardness of Phil.²³

Secondly, the introductory thanksgiving (1:3-11) has been shown to have a programmatic function in that it introduces the major themes and concerns that are dealt with in the remainder of the letter.²⁴

In addition, some important terminological and thematic parallels between this introductory section and 4:10ff have been noted²⁵, and it has been argued that these serve to create

an inclusion which binds the whole letter into one unit.²⁶

Thirdly, the disjointedness of the letter is not necessarily an indication that it is a composite.²⁷

If we regard Philippians as a fairly formal work, then clearly there are breaks in the structure and thought which are intolerable and are most readily explained by saying that it is a collection of fragments. But if this is an informal letter, in which the writer, while having important and definite things to say, allows his thought to hop and drift easily, we have no need to be surprised at even rather violent breaks and changes of subject. In other words if rough coherence of thought in the letter as a whole can be demonstrated, giving evidence of a mind occupied with a certain range of topics, this will weigh much more heavily in favour of the unity than disjointed literary structure will weigh against it.²⁸

This brief discussion of the formal and material grounds for the compilation hypotheses that have been advanced in relation to Phil suggests that the balance of probabilities lies in favour of the letter's unity.

(2) The third general point made in Chapter 2 concerned the assumptions about the activity of a redactor that are implicit in any compilation hypothesis. The motives of the redactor who is supposed to have created Phil out of two or more Pauline letters remain something of a puzzle.²⁹ Why was it felt necessary to combine the letters Paul wrote? It can hardly be that they were thought to be too short to survive independently, as the presence of Phm in the canon shows that brevity was no barrier to survival. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that any redactor whose work was motivated by a respect for the authority of the apostolic letters would have felt free to strip any of them of their prescripts or postscripts in the process of combining them, or to compose prescripts and editorial links himself. In addition, it needs to be asked again³⁰ how likely it is that a redactor would have dissected the

structurally and thematically unified originals reconstructed by the advocates of compilation hypotheses and produced such an obviously awkward and disjointed composite.

The effect of the compilation hypotheses is thus to attribute the structural deficiencies of Phil to an unknown redactor whose motives and abilities remain doubtful, rather than to the circumstances in which Paul dictated and despatched his letters³¹, and this is to solve one literary problem by introducing another. There is some justification for maintaining that what we know or may reasonably suppose about the circumstances in which Paul's letters were produced is sufficient to account for their lack of literary polish.

(3) The fourth point made in Chapter II was that the greater the number of compilation hypotheses advanced in relation to any one canonical letter, and the greater the variations between them, the more difficult it becomes to regard them as reflecting the objective characteristics of the letter rather than the subjective judgment of their proponents. The greater the lack of consensus about the number and limits of the putative originals, the greater the difficulty of accepting the validity of the literary dissection involved in such hypotheses. This lack of consensus is very evident in relation to the partitioning of Phil.

In view of all the arguments reviewed above, we conclude (in agreement with G. Wiles) that

none of the difficulties raised against accepting the epistle as a unity appear to be insurmountable, nor does the evidence seem sufficient to bear the burden of proof for dividing the letter.³²

2. Its Date and Provenance:

In order to establish when Phil was written, it is necessary to determine where it was written. As Phil indicates that Paul was in custody as he wrote³³, and as Acts indicates that Paul was under detention in both Caesarea (23:23-26:32) and Rome (28:16-31), both a

Caesarean provenance and a Roman provenance have been advocated.³⁴ The view that Paul endured a period of imprisonment during his lengthy stay in Ephesus (Acts 19)³⁵ has gained increasing acceptance, and many scholars now accept an Ephesian provenance for Phil (or one or more of the letter-fragments of which it is thought to be composed).³⁶ There has also been an attempt to show that the letter was written from Corinth.³⁷

Although the argument for a Corinthian origin for Phil has not attracted support³⁸, the fact that there is a significant degree of scholarly support for each of the other possibilities and the fact that the arguments are finely balanced has led Kümmel to conclude that

the question where Phil was written cannot be answered with any certainty.³⁹

This suggests that any decision on this issue will be somewhat tentative, and this will certainly be the case here, as it is not possible for us to enter into a detailed consideration of all the arguments for and against each of the possible provenances. For the purposes of this study, however, we need only to establish the chronological position of Phil relative to those of 1 Th and 1 Cor. Since Phil belongs to the same period of Paul's ministry as 1 Cor if it was written in Ephesus⁴⁰, but is later than 1 Cor by as little as two years or as much as ten years if it was written from Caesarea or Rome⁴¹, the requirements of our study will be satisfied if we can establish whether the case for an Ephesian provenance is more likely than that for either of the other two possibilities or less likely than they. The view taken here is that it is less likely than they, for the following reasons.

(1) The strength of the Ephesian hypothesis lies primarily in its ability to remove the difficulties involved in maintaining that the letter was written in either Caesarea or Rome, especially those to do with the amount of travelling between Philippi and the place of Paul's

imprisonment presupposed by Phil⁴² and with what Phil indicates about Paul's past and future visits to Philippi.⁴³ By placing Paul nearer to Philippi, and his imprisonment nearer to his initial visit, the Ephesian hypothesis means that these factors cease to be problematic.

However, neither of these difficulties is fatal to the Caesarean or Roman hypothesis⁴⁴, and the fact that the Ephesian hypothesis removes them can only tell in its favour if there is some independent evidence for an Ephesian imprisonment of Paul, as a Corinthian provenance would clear up both difficulties equally well. In fact, the Ephesian hypothesis is not without some difficulties of its own⁴⁵-- despite Schmithals' extravagant claim that no serious objection has been advanced to the Ephesian origin of Phil!⁴⁶

(2) The principal weakness of the Ephesian hypothesis is the fact that, despite the ingenious arguments of its advocates, there is no direct evidence for an Ephesian imprisonment of Paul.⁴⁷ The allusions in 1 Cor 15:30-32 and 2 Cor 1:8-9 to serious difficulties experienced by Paul during his stay in Ephesus are too general to permit the conclusion that some kind of imprisonment was involved. In view of the extent to which its narrative reflects apologetic intentions, the failure of Acts to mention an Ephesian imprisonment (and Paul's subsequent release) constitutes a serious difficulty for this view, notwithstanding the efforts of G.S. Duncan to account for Acts' silence on the matter.⁴⁸

In the light of these considerations, the Ephesian hypothesis must be regarded as less well-grounded than the other two, as these are able to rely upon direct NT evidence of a Pauline detention. On this basis it seems probable that Phil is to be dated after 1 Cor and is thus rightly considered after it. For the purposes of this study, no more precise conclusion than this is necessary.

II. THE CHURCH-SITUATION:

In contrast to 1 Cor, the contents of Phil are determined as much by Paul's situation as by the situation in the church. It is evident that Paul thought it important to inform the Philippians of his present situation, no doubt in response to the desire they conveyed through Epaphroditus for news of him.⁴⁹ So he recounts the unexpected benefits his imprisonment has brought about (1:12-18), his reflections about its outcome (1:19-26), his expectation of a return to Philippi (1:24-26; 2:24), his plans to send Timothy to them in the meantime (2:19-23), and the circumstances leading to the return of Epaphroditus (2:25-30). He also expresses his gratitude for the monetary gift they had sent with Epaphroditus (1:3-5; 2:25; 4:10-20), and for the continuing support that that gift represents (1:5,7; 4:14-16).

The letter also contains Paul's response to the situation in the Philippian church⁵⁰, especially to the signs of internal disharmony evident within it and to the external threats it faces.

(1) Paul's appeals for mutual consideration, humility, and unity (1:27; 2:1-4; 4:2-3) suggest that certain signs of disharmony and disunity are manifest. This aspect of the letter will be considered below.⁵¹

(2) The letter reflects Paul's awareness of certain external pressures confronting the church. These are of two kinds.

(a) The first is continuing local opposition to the church on the part of its non-Christian adversaries (1:28).⁵² In this, the Philippians are engaged in the same ἀγών which Paul experienced in Philippi (cp. 1 Th 2:2) and has continued to experience since then, most recently in his imprisonment (1:30). This ἀγών means contending both for the Gospel and against the opposition the Gospel arouses and the adversity that opposition entails.⁵³ The sufferings the Philippians are experienc-

ing (1:29) are unlikely to have been so intense as to include the martyrdom of any of their number⁵⁴ and do not appear to have been the result of official persecution.⁵⁵ However, they have created difficulties for the Philippians, particularly because the concept of suffering for Christ and the Gospel appears to have been one they found difficult to grasp⁵⁶, and because they found it difficult to maintain their unity and resolve and their joy and confidence in God in the face of these sufferings.⁵⁷

(b) The second external threat to the church of which Paul is aware is the activity of those he denounces in Ch.3. The interpretation of this chapter involves the vexed questions of the number and identity of the groups referred to, about which there is even less agreement among scholars than there is on the issues of the letter's integrity and provenance.⁵⁸ However, for the purposes of this study it is not necessary to reach a firm conclusion about these controverted matters; rather, our concern is to discover what Ch. 3 discloses about the situation in the church created by the activity of those Paul denounces.

Although the view that Paul refers here to the ἀντικείμενοι

Einbruch der Häresie in die Gemeinde, und zwar nicht bloss als einer drohenden Möglichkeit, sondern als einer bereits eingetretenen Tatsache⁵⁹

is not uncommon, the evidence seems rather to point to the following conclusions.

(i) Those against whom Paul issues such strong warnings and stern denunciations are not members of the Philippian church but outsiders⁶⁰, for he addresses the whole church (and not just a section of it) throughout and allies himself with the Philippians over against these outsiders (3:3,18-20).

(ii) They are not opposing the church, as are the ἀντικείμενοι of 1:28, but seeking to infiltrate and subvert it.⁶¹ The threat they

pose to the church arises from their persuasive propaganda⁶² and their attractive style⁶³, rather than from their hostility.

(iii) Nothing that Paul says in this chapter or elsewhere in the letter requires the view that any of these outsiders are currently active in Philippi. Paul's emphatic warning in 3:2 and his call for the Philippians to imitate him and his colleagues rather than the "enemies of the cross" (3:17-18) certainly presuppose that the false teachers about whom he is concerned will make their presence felt in Philippi, but the fact that he has often found it necessary to warn the believers about such people, who are many in number (3:18), suggests that their activity has been a recurring feature of his mission and the life of his churches. In the light of the preceding two points, this suggests that those concerned were travelling preachers, not residents of Philippi. The vehemence with which Paul denounces them need not suggest that they are already active in Philippi; it may simply reflect the frustration he feels at knowing that these people are continuing their evil work while he is confined to prison.

(iv) There is no indication in the letter that the views being propagated by these preachers have found acceptance in the church, or that the Philippians were seriously astray in their understanding of the Gospel and the Christian life.⁶⁴ As was the case in I Th⁶⁵, such a view is excluded by the tone and contents of the letter.

In the first place, Paul expresses very deep affection for the Philippians (1:8; 2:12; 4:1) in a way that is hardly compatible with their having embraced false teaching or having displayed a serious misunderstanding of Paul's teachings.

Secondly, Paul expresses his gratitude for their constant loyalty and support since the beginning (1:3-5; 2:12; 4:14-16).

Thirdly, he is clearly confident of their continuing affection and support (1:7,19,26; 2:24).

Fourthly, the predominant concern Paul has concerning the church's condition is that the Philippians should progress in the faith (1:26; cp. 1:9-11⁶⁶) and that his joy in them should be made complete (2:2). It is true that the church needs to be exhorted to restore harmony and to maintain unity (1:27 - 2:4; 4:2-3), and that Paul sees the need to call upon the believers to continue in obedience and integrity so that his ministry will not prove to have been in vain (2:12-16). However, these aspects of the paraenesis only imply that the Philippians are not without their shortcomings, not that they manifest a seriously defective understanding of the Christian life. The most that can be said is that some members of the church appear to have an outlook which is prospectively dangerous, and which makes them particularly vulnerable to the attractions of the propaganda and demeanour of the false teachers (3:12-16).⁶⁷

In the light of these four considerations, we conclude that the situation in Philippi is much nearer to that in Thessalonica than to that in Corinth. Paul sees the need for the church to stand firm (1:27; 4:1) and to go further (1:9,25), but issues no call to turn away from error.⁶⁸ He sees ample justification for continuing to delight in them, but none for distress over them.⁶⁹

With this brief sketch of the church-situation as a background, we can now begin a detailed examination of what Phil discloses about Paul's leadership, the ministries and responsibilities of all the members of the church, and especially local leadership in the church.

PHILIPPIANS: EXPOSITION:

Our study of Phil will follow the same pattern as the two preceding chapters, in that before we undertake a detailed consideration of what the letter discloses about local leadership in the Philippian church, we will first examine what it has to say about the context in which such leadership was exercised: viz., Paul's own leadership of the church on the one hand, and the responsibility and involvement of all the members in the functioning of the church on the other hand.

I. APOSTOLIC LEADERSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP:

Phil shows that Paul views the Philippians as both his partners and his charges. The apostle's relation to the church is depicted in the letter as involving both leadership and partnership.⁷⁰ This is implied at the very beginning of the letter, which is sent by Paul and Timothy as δούλοι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (1:1). The fact that Paul does not refer to himself as ἀπόστολος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, while it may well be an indication of the absence of any trouble in the relationship between Paul and the Philippians⁷¹, should not be over-emphasised, as this designation is also lacking in the prescripts of 1 Th, 2 Th, and Phm. The use of the designation δούλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ is an expression of both humility and authority.⁷² On the one hand, it denotes Paul's awareness of his equality with both Timothy and the Philippians, who are also δούλοι Χριστοῦ.⁷³ In the context of the letter as a whole, with its appeals for greater humility on the Philippians' part (2:3-4; cp. also 3:12-16) and especially the reference to μορφὴν δούλου λαβών (2:7)⁷⁴, this may be seen as an indication of Paul's intention to emphasise the importance of humility.⁷⁵ No diminution of Paul's sense of pastoral authority is implied by this self-designation, however⁷⁶, for the κύριος whose δούλος he is has committed a particular task to him which involves responsibility for the Philippians. So on the other hand, δούλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ (especially in the light of LXX usage, where

the prophets and other leaders in Israel are God's δοῦλοι) conveys a sense of the authority invested in Paul and Timothy as the agents and representatives of Christ.⁷⁷ Therefore, while this designation emphasises the bond that exists between Paul and Timothy, and between Paul and Timothy and the Philippians, equally slaves of the same Lord, it does not obscure the fact that there are distinctions of task and responsibility between them. While acknowledging his equality with the Philippians in this way, therefore, Paul still retains his sense of authority over them and responsibility for them.

What is implied in 1:1 is explicit in the remainder of the letter, and both aspects of Paul's relation to the church in Philippi need to be considered.

1. Partnership:

This dimension of Paul's relation to the Philippians is signified by the use of κοινωνία and its cognates, which is more prominent in Phil than in any of Paul's other letters.⁷⁸

In 1:5 Paul indicates that one prominent cause of his repeated thanksgivings to God is the fact of the Philippians' κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. This refers not to their common response to the Gospel and the consequent experience of the salvation it proclaims⁷⁹, but to their partnership in the mission⁸⁰ which has been committed to Paul. This κοινωνία -partnership⁸¹ has been characteristic of the relationship between Paul and the Philippians from the beginning (ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν). While it has undoubtedly taken many forms--including their continuing intercession for Paul, and their own evangelistic activity⁸²--Paul is alluding here especially to their sending of Epaphroditus with a monetary gift⁸³, which is the most recent expression of their support for and involvement in the mission.

In 1:7 Paul refers to all the Philippians as συγκοινωνοὺς μου τῆς χάριτος. Although a good case can be made for translating this

phrase as "my partners in grace"⁸⁴, the fact that the "grace" concerned is

the privilege of suffering for, defending, and establishing the Gospel⁵⁵,

and that Paul's apostolic vocation means that this privilege is his in a special sense, suggests that the alternative translation--"partners in my grace"-- is preferable. Paul's χάρις is his apostolic vocation and mission (see Rom 1:5; 12:3,6; 15:15; 1 Cor 3:10; Gal 2:9; also Eph 3:2,7,8⁸⁶)⁸⁷, and so κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον and συγκοινωνοί μου τῆς χάριτος are alternative ways of expressing the same truth. This "grace" includes the sufferings he undergoes for the sake of Christ and the Gospel⁸⁸, and now also his imprisonment and all that it has involved.⁸⁹ The Philippians have proved to be his partners in this grace, both by their continuing support from the beginning, which has now found fresh expression in the sending of Epaphroditus with their gift, and also by the fact that they too have been given the privilege of suffering for Christ as they contend for the Gospel against opposition (1:29⁹⁰), which is precisely the same ἄγών in which Paul has been engaged from the beginning of their relationship (1:30).

Epaphroditus' arrival with the Philippians' gift represents (but does not exhaust) this partnership in Paul's mission (εὐαγγέλιον) or in his χάρις. It is also described as their partnership in his θλίψις (συγκοινωνήσαντες μου τῇ θλίψει, 4:14), which refers to all the troubles that his detention has involved.⁹¹ This gift is a tangible expression of their partnership with Paul, but Paul is referring not only to the gift, but also to the attitude which lies behind it and which finds expression in other ways as well.⁹² This attitude has characterised the Philippians from the beginning, when they were the only church which ἐκοινωνήσεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήψεως (4.15).⁹³ The point of this expression seems to be to emphasise the fact that their partnership did

not involve one way traffic only, but

mutual assistance and reception of assistance. . . .⁹⁴

This brief review of Paul's use of *κοινωνία* and its cognates, has shown that while it refers especially to the coming of Epaphroditus with the Philippians' gift, it serves also to characterise the nature of the relationship of which that gift is but one expression. The extent to which the sense of partnership dominates Paul's perception of his relation to the Philippians is also highlighted by some notable contrasts between Phil and 1 Th and 1 Cor.

The nature of the situation Paul addressed in 1 Cor was such that he placed considerable importance on his role as the founder of the church, and on this basis wrote as a father to his children (as well as speaking as a brother to his brethren).⁹⁵ 1 Th, too, placed some emphasis on Paul's foundation of the church, although for quite different reasons from those which prevailed in 1 Cor, and likewise depicted Paul's relation to the Thessalonians as that of a father to his children.⁹⁶

In Phil, however, the foundation of the church is only alluded to in passing (1:5; 4:15), and Paul addresses the Philippians as his ἀδελφοί (1:12; 3:1,13,17; 4:1,8) and his ἀγαπητοί (2:12; 4:1), but not as his τέκνα.⁹⁷ The fact that Phil was written at a considerably greater distance from the foundation of the church concerned than was the case with 1 Cor and especially with 1 Th, and the fact that there was no dissent from Paul's leadership in Philippi in the way that there was in Corinth, may account to some extent for the absence of these features in Phil. However, in the context of the letter as a whole their absence can also be seen as a consequence of the nature of the relationship between Paul and the Philippians, in which their continuing initiative, support and stability have both made it more natural for Paul to see his relation to them in fraternal rather than paternal terms and

also focused attention on the expression of the relationship in the present rather than its establishment in the past. Those to whom he writes have shown themselves once again, as they have often in the past, to be his partners in the mission.

It has recently been claimed that one important model from which Paul's understanding and description of Christian relationships were derived was

consensual societas, a prevalent partnership contract of Roman law, where each of the partners contributed something to the association with a view towards a shared goal.⁹⁸

Sampley further argues that it is with the Philippians

that Paul most clearly and consistently claims that he has societas⁹⁹,

a conclusion based on the following features of Phil: (1) Paul's receipt for the Philippians' gift (4:10-20); (2) the use of κοινωνία to refer partnership of the societas kind; and (3) the prominence of societas-terminology, especially τὸ ἐν φρονεῖν/τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν.¹⁰⁰

Although Sampley's study contains some valid and useful insights, his characterisation of the relationship between Paul and the Philippians in terms of societas is of doubtful validity. In the first place, since societas was not the only kind of partnership or association practised in the Greco-Roman world and was not the only context in which receipts were issued or in which being "of the same mind" was regarded as important, the evidence from Phil that he relies upon is not sufficient to show that societas was the ruling concept in the partnership between Paul and the Philippians. Secondly, Sampley's use of this societas-model leads him to misconstrue the nature of this partnership. He claims that Paul carried out his mission on behalf of the partnership¹⁰¹ and as the Philippians' representative.¹⁰² However, Paul's commitment to the εὐαγγέλιον, as both message and mission, originated outside of and prior to his relationship with the Philippians

and meant that in addition to being his partners, they also remained his charges, as we will consider below. It is not to the Philippians that he will give account of his apostolic work, but to Christ, and his experience on the ἡμέρα Χριστοῦ will depend to some extent on their faithfulness to the Gospel they learned from him (2:16). Their partnership is not something self-sufficient or independent, but exists only within the context of Paul's apostolic calling and mission: the Philippians are συγκοινωνοί of his χάρις (1:7).

The prominence Phil gives to the partnership between Paul and the Philippians is best seen, therefore, as another indication of the collaborative, interdependent character of the Pauline mission. We have seen other indications of this in 1 Th and 1 Cor¹⁰³, but what becomes evident in the use of κοινωνία and its cognates in Phil differs in that it is a more explicit attestation of Paul's awareness of this characteristic of the mission, and also that it concerns a whole church rather than certain individuals. This is a reflection of the strong and stable relationship Paul has enjoyed with the Philippian church.

Strong though this sense of partnership is, Phil also makes it clear that there remains another significant dimension in Paul's relation to the church. While he acknowledges their partnership in the mission, Paul also retains a clear sense of responsibility for them. They are his partners; he is also their leader.

2. Leadership:

Paul's sense of pastoral responsibility and authority is clearly evident in Phil. Throughout the letter he instructs and exhorts the Philippians as one who has the right and responsibility to do so. His sense of responsibility towards them and his belief that they need his continuing guidance and direction are so strong that he concludes that, while death would be very much better for him, it is more necessary

for them that he should remain alive and active (1:24-26). Indeed, he knows that without their continuing faithfulness and progress in the faith his work will have been in vain (2:16), so that his pastoral supervision of the church is a necessary part of the faithful discharge of his mission and calling as an apostle. Moreover, he sees obedience as an important aspect of the Philippians' relation to him (2:12).

While it is true, of course, that Paul expects the Philippians to go on obeying God¹⁰⁴ and the Gospel¹⁰⁵, because he is the authorised bearer and proclaimer of the Gospel and the teacher of authoritative traditions which declare the will of God and show how His people are to please Him (cp. 1 Th 4:1-3,8), this obedience to God and the Gospel involves obedience to Paul. Paul receives this obedience in an instrumental rather than a personal capacity¹⁰⁶--he does not seek obedience to himself as such, but to the message he proclaims and the teachings he hands on.¹⁰⁷ Yet for Paul's churches there is an important sense in which Christian obedience involves obedience to Paul as apostle (and thus founder and leader of the church).

Thus, although Paul acknowledges and welcomes the Philippians' partnership, he also sees himself as bearing a continuing responsibility for them. As in 1 Th, there are external constraints--in 1 Th, the opposition of Satan (1 Th 2:18); here, Paul's δεσμοί--which mean that Paul must provide pastoral supervision and leadership from a distance, although he is confident that he will be able to visit Philippi in the near future (1:25-26; 2:24). As in 1 Th, Phil shows Paul exercising pastoral oversight of the church in his absence by means of his prayers, his example, his envoy, and his letter. However, there is a new factor in the situation in Phil that did not figure in 1 Th: Paul's imprisonment has raised the possibility of his death (1:19-26).¹⁰⁸ This is not the first or the only occasion on which Paul has been confronted by the possibility of sudden or premature death, as 1 Cor 15:30-32; 2 Cor 1:8-10;

11:23-27 show. Yet although Paul seems confident that his imprisonment will result in release rather than death, it is clear that this particular episode has made him consider the possibility that his churches will need to survive without him. As it happens, he is sure that this time has not yet come (1:24-26), but his reflections about the implications of his imprisonment have clearly involved a contemplation of that eventuality. We will consider this further below, after we have examined what Phil discloses about the means by which Paul leads the church in his absence from it.

(a) His Prayers:

As in 1 Th¹⁰⁹, so in Phil, prayer is seen to be an important vehicle by which Paul gives expression to his sense of responsibility for the church. The Philippians are constantly in his prayers (1:3-4), as he both thanks God for them (1:3-6) and intercedes for them (1:9-11).

In similar vein to those in 1 Th, Paul's prayers in Phil reflect both his sense of apostolic responsibility and his concept of the church's eschatological position. As to the latter, the horizons between which Paul's prayers range are the first day (1:5) and the final day, the ἡμέρα Χριστοῦ (1:6,10), the "already" of what God has begun and the "not yet" of what He can be trusted to complete. Although there is an implicit hortatory note in both, calling the Philippians to continue the faithfulness they have shown already and to progress towards what they have not yet become, both the thanksgiving in the light of the first day and the intercession in the light of the final day are primarily oriented to God, whose faithfulness is the guarantee of the Philippians' perseverance and perfection (1:6) and whose glory is the goal of both their living and Paul's praying (1:11¹¹⁰).

The sense of responsibility Paul feels towards the church is evident in the fact that he prays regularly for the Philippians, in the pastoral tone of his prayers, and in the way his prayer-report (1:3-6,

9-11) functions in the letter. It has a clear epistolary function, as it introduces some of the principal themes and concerns of the letter as a whole¹¹¹, a paradigmatic function, as it provides a model of Christian prayer¹¹², and a didactic and paraenetic function, as it gives a preliminary airing to some of the important issues that will be expounded more fully in the remainder of the letter.¹¹³ Both in offering his prayers to God and in reporting them to the Philippians Paul demonstrates his sense of responsibility for them.

Again, as was the case in 1 Th¹¹⁴, Phil shows that the apostle's prayers for the church are balanced by the church's prayers for the apostle. Paul can simply take it for granted that the church will be praying for him (1:19), for they are linked in

joyful partnership not only in the grace of active service, but in the grace of concerned intercession.¹¹⁵

As his affection and sense of responsibility for the Philippians are reflected in his prayers, so their affection and sense of partnership with him are reflected in theirs.

(b) His Example:

Although the situations to which 1 Th and 1 Cor were addressed were significantly different, both letters make it clear that Paul expected the members of each church to follow his example, to imitate him. In 1 Th, written only a short time after he had had to leave Thessalonica, it is clear that Paul regards his example as an important indication to the young Christians there of how to live the new way of life they have so recently begun and about which Paul has presumably been

unable to instruct them as comprehensively as he would have done if he had not had to leave so prematurely.¹¹⁶ Although 1 Cor was written some years after the foundation of the church in Corinth, and so a church which contained a significant number of members who did not know Paul personally, Paul still calls upon the believers to imitate him.¹¹⁷ Here it is not a case of finding guidance and assistance through memories that are still relatively fresh, but of being enabled through Timothy's visit and Paul's letter to follow Paul's example, since it is he as father of the church, and not any παιδαγωγοί, to whom his children should look for direction. In both 1 Th and 1 Cor the use of imitation-language shows that Paul sees himself as providing direction for his churches by means of both λόγος and τύπος together. There are both similarities and contrasts between what we discovered in 1 Th and 1 Cor and what emerges in Phil concerning the imitation of Paul's example.

Although 3:17 contains the only use of imitation-terminology in Phil, the idea of Paul's conduct as a paradigm of Christian living is present in two other passages in particular. In 1:29-30 Paul acknowledges that he and the Philippians are bound together by their "Schicksalsgemeinschaft" (cp. 1 Th 1:6). Their ἀγών is the same, not in the sense that all the circumstances and details are identical in each case, but because their commitment to the Gospel has brought suffering and opposition to them just as it has done to Paul.¹¹⁸ Underlying this acknowledgment of their identification with him, there is an implicit call for the Philippians to imitate Paul. In the context the twofold ἐν ἐμοί of v.30 has the effect of indicating that Paul's conduct has a paradigmatic character¹¹⁹ --what they know of Paul's own

response to suffering and opposition, both from their own memories of the church's early days (οἷον εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοί cp. 1 Th 2:2) and from more recent news (καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί) will show them how they should respond to the suffering they are experiencing (v. 29). They not only share the same ἁγών as Paul, but should also show the same steadfastness as Paul (1:27-28).¹²⁰ He not only exhorts them about what they should do, but also exemplifies it.

There are important verbal and conceptual links between this passage and 4:9, where there is a more explicit call for the Philippians to imitate Paul. The εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοί .. ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοί is echoed in the ἤκούσατε καὶ εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοί of this verse, where Paul summoned the church ἅ καὶ ἐμάθετε καὶ παρελάβετε καὶ ἤκούσατε καὶ εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοί, ταῦτα πράσσετε .¹²¹ It is probable that the terms preceding ἐν ἐμοί form two pairs and concern 'Überlieferung und Beispiel',¹²² and Paul's exhortation to the Philippians to practise them shows how firmly wedded he believed his teaching and his example to be.¹²³ This conviction may also account for the way ἐν ἐμοί (which, strictly speaking, is attached to εἶδετε) relates to all four verbs¹²⁴:

. . . Paul may have deliberately placed the ἐν ἐμοί . . . at the end of the list, not only for rhetorical effect, but to say as forcefully as possible that everything he knew and believed and taught was embodied in himself, so that those who learn, receive and hear could see what doctrine looked like in living form.¹²⁵

The particular background against which this call for the church to imitate Paul assumes a special significance is evident in 3:17 and its context. The conflict between the Gospel and the false teachings and distorted outlooks against which Paul is warning the Philippians involves a conflict between quite different kinds of conduct (N.B. περιπατεῖν in vv.17,18). This means that alternative models of conduct are available to the Philippians, and since their

identification with any one of them means an acceptance of the message from which it flows and which it embodies, Paul urges them to imitate him (συμμιμηταί μου γίνεσθε).¹²⁶ This call is therefore to be seen as a summons to remain loyal to the Gospel and to reject the false views which seek to win their allegiance. To imitate Paul is to live by the Gospel.

This again shows how deeply held was Paul's conviction that his own way of life should and did embody the message he proclaimed, that his λόγος and his τύπος were one.¹²⁷ This conviction is implicit in the extended account of his own attitudes and conduct which precedes this call for imitation (3:7-14). It is obvious that Paul detailed his own outlook because he expected the Philippians to adopt it (cp. v.15), and the τύπος of which v.17 speaks refers especially to vv.7-14.¹²⁸

This call for imitation also shows

die autoritative, normative Stellung des Apostels für seine Gemeinden.¹²⁹

Paul is not the only Christian whose way of life conforms to the Gospel: the Philippians are to consider (σκοπεῖτε) the example provided by others, such as Paul's colleagues¹³⁰ or those members of the church who are most obviously committed to Paul and his teachings.¹³¹ (Paul may well have had Timothy in mind as a representative of the former category and Epaphroditus as a representative of the latter.¹³²) Such people are both examples to the Philippians and imitators of Paul¹³³, and so if

there are those in the church who find it hard to imitate an absent Paul, they have a pattern nearer at hand in those . . . who have modelled their lives on him.¹³⁴

Yet it is clear from the appended καθὼς ἔχετε τύπον ἡμῶς that Paul himself¹³⁵ provides the definitive model.¹³⁶ Others serve as examples of authentically Christian conduct to the extent that they conform to

Paul's own $\tau\acute{o}\pi o\varsigma$.¹³⁷ This reflects both Paul's consciousness of the unique and continuing bond that binds his churches to him and his sense of responsibility for them: he is bound, as Christ's apostle and their founder and leader, to provide them with a clear example of authentic Christian living, and they are bound, by their loyalty to the Gospel which he teaches and embodies, to imitate him.

The Philippians' imitation of Paul's example assumes particular significance in the light of the suffering and opposition they must face (1:27-30) and of the false teachings and unbalanced views that threaten to undermine their continuing adherence to the Gospel (3:17). However, both the generality of 4:9 and what we have previously seen in 1 Th and 1 Cor show that, however much the situation confronting the Philippian church gave special point to Paul's call for their imitation of his example, such calls reflect an important ingredient in the relationship between apostle and church that remains valid in all circumstances. Indeed, the fact that such calls for the church's imitation of his example are still issued so long after the church's foundation, when there are no fresh memories of Paul's conduct that can be called upon, shows the extent to which Paul saw it as a central element of the apostle-church relationship and as an important vehicle by which he provided continuing direction and leadership for the church.

(c) His Envoy:

In 1:1 Paul acknowledges Timothy as equally with himself a $\delta o\lambda o\varsigma$ Χριστοῦ who joins with him in greeting the church.¹³⁸ In 2:19-23 he commends him as his trusted representative, whom he hopes (ἐλπίζω, vv.19,23) to send to Philippi in the near future.

Paul's description of Timothy serves two purposes. On the one hand, by rehearsing his "credentials", it shows the Philippians that Timothy's visit will have real value. He is commended for his genuine concern for them (v.20) and his selfless commitment to Christ

and the Gospel (v.21)--and in both respects he is noticeably superior to the others who are with Paul¹³⁹--as well as his δοκιμή, his proven worth as a Christian worker (v.22). A visit from such a person stands to bring real benefit to the church.

On the other hand, Paul's description of Timothy serves to emphasise the importance of his own relationship with the church. This becomes clear in a number of ways.

(1) Timothy is described as Paul's subordinate.¹⁴⁰ He is related to Paul ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον (v.22)¹⁴¹; he will be sent by Paul (vv.19,23), so that his visit will not stem from his own initiative but will be undertaken at Paul's behest¹⁴²; and his visit is to be a prelude to Paul's own visit to Philippi.

(2) Timothy is described also as Paul's representative. This is the most likely meaning of v.20a, where οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω ἰσόψυχον is best understood as "nobody (here) is so like me".¹⁴³ The particular point of comparison is what v.20b refers to: "nobody except Timothy has the same concern for you as I do."¹⁴⁴ However, ἰσόψυχος may also convey the sense of "confidant"¹⁴⁵, and the statement may legitimately be taken in a wider sense, indicating that Timothy knows Paul's mind so well that he can be trusted (by both Paul and the Philippians) to represent Paul reliably, conveying his outlook and reflecting his stance.

(3) The fact that Paul is willing to part with such a close and trusted colleague is both a measure of his concern for the Philippians and a reflection of the extent to which Timothy's mission will be an expression of Paul's own relationship to the church.

(4) The purpose of Timothy's projected visit focuses on Paul's relation to the Philippians.

The guidance of the Philippians was one object of Timothy's mission; St. Paul's comfort was another.¹⁴⁶

Paul is to be comforted as Timothy brings back news of the church (v.19),

and the church will be comforted¹⁴⁷ as Timothy reinforces the message Paul is conveying in the letter.¹⁴⁸ He is going to convey Paul's word to the church and bring back word of the church.

Timothy's mission is thus an expression of Paul's concern for the church, a vehicle for his oversight of the church, and a prelude to his own visit to the church (2:24): its purpose is defined completely in terms of the apostle's relation to the Philippians.¹⁴⁹

(d) His Letter:

By means of his letter the absent apostle is able to address the church prior to his anticipated visit to it. It brings him into the midst of the assembled believers to teach, exhort and admonish, to greet and to bless.¹⁵⁰

The letter is obviously an important means of personal contact between apostle and church. It permits him to convey greetings and news, and to express his affection and gratitude for the believers in Philippi. It is also an important means of pastoral oversight, for it enables him to address the church's needs and problems in his absence, and to convey whatever instruction or encouragement, rebukes or reminders, they need most. Both of these functions of the letter are very evident in Phil, in which Paul gives expression to his sense of fraternal partnership with, and pastoral responsibility for the Philippians.

The letter's function as a vehicle of pastoral care and oversight is indicated in 3:1, where Paul refers to his τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν, and says that it is ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές. It is difficult to determine whether τὰ αὐτά refers to some recurrent theme of the letter (in which case v.1b probably refers backwards to v.1a, and to 2:18,28-29, where the Philippians are urged to be joyful)¹⁵¹, or to a recurrent theme of Paul's previous communications with the Philippians

(in which case v.1b probably refers forward to the warnings of 3:2ff; cp. 3:18)¹⁵² or possibly to themes in the letter that are to be the subject of oral instruction by Timothy and Epaphroditus.¹⁵³ The first of these possibilities is perhaps the most likely¹⁵⁴, but whichever is preferred, the statement clearly shows how Paul regarded the letter as an important means of imparting strength and assurance (ἀσφαλές) to the Philippians. Rehearsing and applying the truths of the Gospel with pastoral intent--which is the character and purpose of his letter¹⁵⁵--is never irksome to Paul and always beneficial for the church.

As in 1 Th and 1 Cor, the absent apostle is seen in Phil exercising oversight of the church and providing it with support and direction by means of his prayers, his example, his envoy, and his letter. It is worth noting that two of these are also means by which the Philippians have expressed their sense of partnership with Paul in the mission: they have sent Epaphroditus as their envoy, and they continue to support Paul in prayer (2:25-30; 1:19).

3. Apostolic leadership and local leadership:

Although Paul continues to provide leadership for the church in his absence, exercising pastoral oversight and supplying guidance, direction and support by means of his prayers, example, envoy and letters, he expects to return to Philippi, and will then be able to exercise leadership in a direct, immediate manner. A similar situation prevailed as Paul wrote 1 Th: he was forced to be absent from the church, but longed to return. We considered the implications of both his "potential accessibility" and his absence for the emergence of local leadership in the Thessalonian church¹⁵⁶, and what was said there is applicable to the situation reflected in Phil.

What was true of Paul's "potential accessibility" with regard to the Thessalonians remains true for his relation to the Philippians:

although absent, he continues to exercise pastoral responsibility and oversight towards the church by means of his prayers, his example, his envoy and his letter. Despite the length of time that has elapsed since the foundation of the church, and despite the fact that the increasing demands of both the extensive and intensive dimensions of his mission¹⁵¹ mean that he cannot visit Philippi often, it is clear that he retains a strong sense of responsibility for the church and of accountability to Christ for his discharge of that responsibility (2:16). He therefore expects to continue to provide pastoral supervision and direction for the church, and this is no doubt the principal reason for his intention of returning to Philippi (1:25-26; 2:24).

Nevertheless it is more evident in Phil that it was in 1 Th (because of the much greater period between the foundation of the church and the writing of the letter) that the apostle's relationship to the church will normally be an indirect and mediated one, because his presence with the church will be the exception rather than the rule. The sending of envoys and letters is therefore not just a temporary expedient to bridge the gaps between frequent visits by Paul himself (as 1 Th may have implied), but is the normal mode by which he maintains contact with churches he can visit only occasionally.

Although he continues to exercise pastoral leadership and oversight in his absence, the fact that Paul is normally absent from the church means that there is greater scope for the emergence of local leadership than would have been the case had his leadership been exercised more directly and immediately. The apostle's "potential accessibility" and the fact that contact is maintained by means of envoys and letters mean that the church is not left without guidance, support and direction, but for the most part the church has to manage on its own--and it would seem natural for some form of local leadership to become established in such a situation.¹⁵⁸

What the letter indicates about local leadership within the Philippian church and about the relation between such leadership and the ministries and responsibility of the believers as a whole will be considered in the following two sections. Before examining the relevant material, we need to note that Phil raises the question of Paul's absence and its significance in a much deeper way than 1 Th does, for it refers explicitly to the possibility of his death. While it is clear that Paul expects to return to Philippi after his imprisonment ends¹⁵⁹, his discussion does include a contemplation of his removal from the scene by death (1:20ff). Although such a situation does not face the church yet, as the possibility that Paul will not always be able to serve his churches but will die before the Parousia becomes more apparent to both Paul and the churches, the importance of the means by which he exercises pastoral oversight of the churches in his absence from them is increased. Even after his death, Paul's letters, his example, and his trusted and experienced colleagues will continue to provide direction and support to the churches.¹⁶⁰ The absolute absence that would be created by his death is therefore not markedly different from the substantial absence that the demands of the mission entail, so far as Paul's leadership of the churches is concerned. The possibility of Paul's death also increases the importance of local leadership in the churches, for such leaders would inevitably bear a greater responsibility for the life of the churches. Yet in view of the extent to which Paul's leadership of the Philippian church was exercised in a mediated way, the difference between Paul's protracted absence as a result of the increasing demands of the mission and his perpetual absence as a result of his death would be more one of degree than of kind. So the importance of local leadership in the churches would be enhanced by Paul's death, but not created by it, for the normal conditions that prevailed in the mission meant that such

leadership is likely to have become important quite early in a church's life. This will need to be considered further when we examine what Phil discloses about local leadership in the church, but first we must explore what the letter has to say about the ministry and responsibility of the church as a whole.

II. CORPORATE SOLIDARITY AND MUTUAL HARMONY:

One of the prominent motifs in Phil is the emphasis on unity.¹⁶¹ This is implicit in the frequency of words compounded with συν-¹⁶² and especially in the frequent use of πάντες in reference to the Philippians.¹⁶³ This concern for unity is explicit in 1:27-2:4. The words with which this section begins (μόνον ἄξιως τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ πολιτεύεσθε) serve as a heading for the following paraenesis¹⁶⁴ and indicate that it is the character of the Philippians' life together as a Christian community that is Paul's principal concern. This is the most likely import of his use of πολιτεύεσθαι. Although some scholars claim that this verb is used synonymously with περιπατεῖν¹⁶⁵, the fact that its use here is the only one in the Pauline corpus suggests that it has a different nuance from the frequently-occurring περιπατεῖν. This was argued by R.R. Brewer¹⁶⁶, whose study of the verb led him to conclude that it signified conduct governed by a particular law of life.¹⁶⁷ More recently E.C. Miller, Jr. has developed Brewer's position by arguing that in the LXX and other Hellenistic Jewish literature πολιτεύεσθαι was used to mean "to live as a Jew", "to live by the Torah as a member of the covenant community".¹⁶⁸ Although this represents an important advance on Brewer's unlikely claim that 1:27 means "Continue to discharge your obligations as citizens and residents of Philippi faithfully and as a Christian should. . . ."¹⁶⁹, inspection of the passages cited by Miller shows that the meaning he proposes emerges not from the verb as such, but from the adverbial phrases and other modifiers (for

example, τῷ νόμῳ, θεῶ . νόμῳ ¹⁷⁰) that are attached to it. What πολιτεύεσθαι does signify (in distinction from περιπατεῖν) is the corporate, communal dimension of conduct ¹⁷¹, so that it could be translated in the passages Miller refers to as "to live as members of a community", and the modifiers then indicate what that community is and what defines its identity and ethos. This is also applicable in 1:27, where Paul is exhorting the Philippians about their life together in and as a community whose character and ethos is defined by the Gospel. ¹⁷²

The contents of the section which follows these introductory words in 1:27 make it clear that unity is one of the principal characteristics of a community whose life is shaped by the Gospel of Christ. Two different facets of the church's unity are dealt with: 1:27-30 refers to solidarity, the community united and resolute in the face of opposition from outside, while 2:1-4 refers to harmony, the community united in love and mutual service. We will consider each of these sections in turn.

1. Corporate Solidarity (1:27-30):

Paul's great desire concerning the church, and thus his first exhortation to it concerning that conduct which is worthy of the Gospel, has to do with its steadfastness: στήκετε ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι. This united and steadfast resolve ¹⁷³ is further defined by the two clauses which follow. On the one hand it means a united (μὴ ψυχῇ) struggle for the Gospel (συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου). This does not refer to a contest in which they are partnered by the Gospel ¹⁷⁴, but to one in which they fight together ¹⁷⁵ in the cause of the Gospel. ¹⁷⁶ This will mean an active commitment to evangelism, a task which will involve not simply proclaiming the Gospel but also explaining and defending it in the face of misunderstandings and objections. It will also mean maintaining and defending the Gospel in the face of false teaching which

distorts or denies its truth.

On the other hand, therefore, this steadfastness and unity means a steady resolve which refuses to be panicked or stampeded (μὴ πτυρόμενοι¹⁷⁷) by the activities of the ἀντικείμενοι who are opposed to the Gospel and thus to the church.¹⁷⁸ The struggle for the Gospel will always mean a struggle against opposition, for the Gospel always provokes some degree of hostility. This was so for the young church in Thessalonica (1 Th 1:6; 2:14-16; 3:3), and it is still so for the much older church in Philippi. This opposition has been sufficiently determined and hostile to cause the church to suffer (τὸ .. πᾶσχειν, v.29), and it is clear that the Philippians are not standing up under this pressure as well as they should. It is for this reason that Paul urges them to stand firm, but since their conduct as a community is to be determined by the Gospel (1:27a), it is not enough to call for unity and steadfastness against the attacks of their opponents; they must stand united in their commitment to the Gospel. To be cowed by the opposition they face is to default on their responsibility towards the Gospel.

In the light of their difficulties, Paul not only exhorts the Philippians to stand firm and united, but also interprets their situation in a way that provides them with considerable incentive to heed his call for steadfastness. He draws their attention to the parallel between their present situation and his own continuing ἀγών (v.30)¹⁷⁹, which serves not only to indicate that they are not alone in facing such opposition but also to remind them of his own example of steadfastness. He also tells them that their suffering is to be viewed both as a gracious gift and as something borne for the sake of Christ (v.29). They know that their faith in Christ is a gift of grace (ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη ... τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεῦειν); they are now to recognize that their sufferings are also to be seen as a gift of grace

(ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη ... τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν). Furthermore, these sufferings have been given as something to endure for the sake of Christ (τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν), which not only connects these sufferings with that steadfast loyalty to the Gospel of Christ which inevitably arouses opposition, and thus suffering¹⁸⁰, but also serves to remind them of the ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν of Christ's suffering and death which the Gospel declares.¹⁸¹ The statement is also an anticipation of what Paul is to say in ch.3 concerning knowing Christ as involving the κοινωνία [τῶν] παθημάτων αὐτοῦ(v.10).¹⁸²

A third incentive to steadfastness is provided in v.28b, which is best understood as elaborating the significance of the resolute adherence to the Gospel called for in vv.27-28a.¹⁸³ The elliptical character of Paul's statement has created difficulties for exegetes, but Hawthorne has recently proposed an attractive and plausible reconstruction involving two parallel clauses. He suggests that the text is an abbreviated form of the following statement: ἥτις ἐστὶ (μὲν) αὐτοῖς ἐνδειξις ἀπωλείας (ὑμῶν) (ἐστὶ) δὲ (ὑμῖν ἐνδειξις) σωτηρίας ὑμῶν and offers the following paraphrase of its meaning:

. . .although they [sc., your adversaries] see your loyalty to the truth as inevitably leading to your persecution and death (ἀπωλεία), you see it as leading through persecution to the salvation of your souls (σωτηρία).¹⁸⁴

This interpretation thus understands the first clause as a reference to the view of the Philippians held by the ἀντικείμενοι not to the Philippians' understanding of the destiny of the ἀντικείμενοι as it is generally taken. Whether this view is accepted or not, Hawthorne's proposal does need to be amended at one point. The second clause is not stating the view the Philippians do hold but the view Paul wants them to hold: steadfast and united commitment to the Gospel in the face of opposition is a sign of σωτηρία, an ἐνδειξις which is ἀπὸ θεοῦ. It is this which gives Paul's paraenesis both its urgency and its dignity, which make it concerned but not desperate and calm but

not indifferent. Its urgency stems from the knowledge that the church faces real difficulties and dangers, and that his instruction and exhortation is one vital means by which God acts to keep it faithful. Yet if his ministry is often the material cause of the churches' perseverance, God's gracious activity is its efficient cause: the God whose grace grants His people both faith and suffering can also be trusted to grant them steadfast endurance. It is this conviction that gives Paul's paraenesis its dignity, here as elsewhere in his letters. This sign of salvation is from God; but it is also given through the apostle, as his exhortation evokes it, and to the church's faithfulness, as the Philippians determine to display what God can be trusted to provide.

Paul's purpose in this section is to appeal for a corporate solidarity in the Gospel and in suffering, a steadfastness which is unyielding in the face of opposition. As this appeal was evidently occasioned by a tendency in the church to be unsettled by the sufferings that were being experienced, it is reinforced by an explanation of the significance of those sufferings. One further aspect of this appeal that deserves notice is the assumption implicit within it that the whole Christian community in Philippi bears the responsibility for the church's faithfulness to the Gospel. This means more than that each believer must be resolute in the face of persecution and opposition and that the members of the church must encourage and assist each other to stand firm, although both of these are clearly required. It also means that the church's united struggle for the Gospel, however much that will involve those with particular gifts of evangelism or teaching coming to the fore, requires the active commitment of all. Some may exercise a more prominent role as a result of their greater gifts and opportunities, but loyal adherence to the Gospel and bold advocacy of the Gospel is the responsibility of all.

2. Mutual Harmony (2:1-4):

Paul is concerned not only that the Philippians should display solidarity in their commitment to the Gospel and in their endurance of persecution, but also that they should maintain harmony in their relations with one another. Again, the natural implication of his exhortations is that his knowledge of the church situation, recently updated by Epaphroditus, leads him to view such an appeal as needed. This impression is confirmed by 4:2-3, where Paul calls upon Euodia and Syntyche to agree ἐν κυρίῳ, using the same phrase (τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν) which occurs in 2:2 as the heading of the section, indicating its theme in the way that στήκετε ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι does in the preceding section. Although some interpretators have argued that 2:1-4 is more a reflection of conditions in Paul's location than of those in the Philippian church and that the dispute referred to in 4:2-3 is the only one in the church¹⁸⁶, it is more likely that 4:2-3 addresses the most serious instance of a more widespread tendency within the church, to which 2:1-4 is addressed.¹⁸⁷ The probability that this section was occasioned by the actual conditions of the Philippian church stems not just from general considerations about the nature of Pauline paraenesis¹⁸⁸ but also from the following considerations. (1) Since 1:27-30 addressed the actual situation and needs of the church, it is unlikely that 2:1-4 was occasioned by conditions elsewhere than Philippi or that it is of only general applicability. (2) The appending of the profound Christological passage in 2:5-11 to the exhortations in 2: 1-4 is clearly intended to reinforce them and is more likely to have been occasioned by specific needs than by purely theoretical considerations. (3) As 2:12-13 clearly concerns the Philippians' response to Paul's paraenesis, it is highly probable that 2:1-11 is addressed to their actual needs and conditions.

We may therefore regard 2:1-4 as an indication of a certain tendency to disharmony in the church, the most serious and most public

instance of which is dealt with in 4:2-3.¹⁸⁹ However, while it is important not to deprive this section of any real or specific contact with the situation in the Philippian church, as is done by those whose views we have just considered, it is equally important not to over-interpret this material by regarding it as evidence for 'radical disunity' within the church.¹⁹⁰ Such a view is excluded for the following reasons. (1) Paul makes it clear that the Philippians are to complete his joy (2:2) by heeding his call for harmony; it is not a matter of relieving his distress (as would surely have been the case if there was widespread and radical disunity within the church). (2) That this expression is not simply a diplomatic way of referring to his distress at their condition is demonstrated by the way he addresses them in the remainder of the letter.¹⁹¹ Of particular relevance here are 1:9 and 2:12. In the former, Paul reports how he prays that their love (which undoubtedly includes their love for one another) may continue to increase--a prayer that presupposes and acknowledges that love is already evident in the church's life. In the latter, Paul acknowledges that the Philippians have always obeyed his teaching¹⁹², an acknowledgment that is incompatible with serious rifts within the church.

In view of all that has been said above, it seems clear that 2:1-4 does not indicate a serious problem in the Philippian church but an evident tendency to disharmony that must be resolved. This is one area in which there is room for progress in Philippi.¹⁹³

The harmony and unity for which Paul appeals concerns not what they believe but how they behave; it is not a matter of a right relation to the Gospel and its truth but of right relation to each other.¹⁹⁴ This is the force of τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν (2:2), which refers not to uniformity of opinion but to unanimity of disposition and purpose¹⁹⁵, so that Paul's appeal is for the Philippians

to seek the same goal with a like mind, establishing the given unity and maintaining a Christian disposition in all things. . . .¹⁹⁶

This is further defined in the following clauses as a unity based on love and humility (vv.2b-4). The unity of τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν means the unity of mutual love (τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην ἔχοντες), the unity of harmony and concord (σύμψυχοι, τὸ ἓν φρονοῦντες¹⁹⁷). Such unity, love, and harmony cannot flourish where rivalry (ἐριθεία) and vanity (κενοδοξία¹⁹⁸) prevail, but only where believers practise that selfless ταπεινοφροσύνη which remains oriented to the needs and concerns of others (vv.3-4). It is precisely this selfless, other-regarding humility which is seen in Jesus (vv.5-8) (and also in Paul himself (v.17), in Timothy (vv.20-21), and in Epaphroditus (vv.26,30)¹⁹⁹), and this outlook is an essential mark of a communal life ἐν Χριστῷ. Such humility is thus to characterise the mutual relations of believers (τῇ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἑαυτῶν, v.3), and to be evident in every member of the church, irrespective of his or her position or social status or abilities. Whatever the functional differentiations between believers, all alike are to give and receive love and humble service. These exhortations thus clearly exclude the emergence within the church of any hierarchical structures which include divisions of rank and privilege. To be loved and served is the right of all; to love and serve is the responsibility of all.

3. The Pastoral Purpose and Social Implications of Paul's Paraenesis:

In 1:27-2:4 Paul exhorts the Philippians to exhibit solidarity and harmony. The first is the form unity will take in the face of external opposition: confronted by the persistent hostility of the ἀντικείμενοι they are to maintain a steadfast commitment to the Gospel, counting their sufferings as a privilege (1:27-30). The second is the form unity takes in the face of internal discord: in place of the

tendency to rivalry and vanity, they are to maintain a unity of outlook and purpose that stems from mutual love and humility (2:1-4). Viewed from without, the church's unity will mean the side-by-side solidarity of the believers in their resolute loyalty to the Gospel; viewed from within, it will mean the face-to-face harmony of believers in their selfless commitment to one another.

There are some obvious and important connections between the corporate solidarity and mutual harmony for which Paul appeals. In the first place, constant exposure to persecution would have placed great strains upon the church. Some believers will prove to be bolder than others; some will be shown to be timid and more easily cowed than others. Such differences in ability to withstand pressure could so easily lead to tensions, misunderstandings, and even resentments between believers. So the activity of the ἀντικείμενοι may well have been a significant contributing factor in the emergence of signs of discord within the church. Secondly, internal harmony is a necessary precondition of the church's solidarity in the face of persecution.²⁰⁰ The Philippians will not succeed in standing firm ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι (1:27) unless they are able τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν (2:2); their commitment to the Gospel μὴ ψυχῇ is not possible unless they are σύμψυχοι. Thirdly (and most importantly), both corporate solidarity and mutual harmony are necessary ingredients of a community life that is worthy of the Gospel of Christ (1:27).²⁰¹ They are not only related to each other in the ways suggested above, but are also related as consequences of the Gospel for the nature of Christian community.

Although such appeals for solidarity and harmony are undoubtedly always timely and always appropriate²⁰², we have argued that this section of Phil represents a real pastoral engagement with the actual conditions and needs of the church. In addition to the general reasons for attributing a specific, situational character to Paul's paraenesis²⁰³,

what he says to the Philippians reflects both his recently updated knowledge of the church situation (an obvious consequence of Epaphroditus' arrival) and his clear sense of pastoral responsibility for the church.²⁰⁴ The paraenesis of 1:27-2:4 thus stems from an obvious pastoral concern and serves a clear pastoral purpose.

However, as we argued in Chapter II,²⁰⁵ Paul's paraenesis was determined not only by his theological convictions but also by his knowledge of the actual characteristics of the church he was addressing. This means that what he says will relate to the actual needs and conditions of the church; it also means that his paraenesis will reflect his assessment of what is appropriate and possible in a church of a certain size or structure. Both the pastoral purpose (and its underlying theological convictions) and the social implications of Pauline paraenesis are therefore legitimate subjects for investigation. Great caution is necessary in regard to the latter, of course, for while Paul's theological convictions and pastoral objectives lie on or near the surface of his paraenesis, its social implications are discernible only indirectly, if at all.

What social implications may legitimately be derived from the paraenesis in Phil? The most convenient way of answering this question will be to compare Phil with 1 Th. Our investigation of the paraenesis in 1 Th²⁰⁶ led to the conclusion that both Paul's acknowledgment of what was already true of the church and his exhortations concerning what he expected to become true of it suggested a relatively small church, one that could rightly be regarded as a "group" in the sense defined in Chapter I.²⁰⁷ This conclusion seemed to be required by both the range and depth of mutual interaction acknowledged and desired (1 Th 4:9-10, 18; 5:11, 14-15) and the extent to which "distributed participation" characterised the activities and responsibilities of all the believers. Phil seems to presuppose a quite different situation.

The emphasis on believers' mutual interaction that was so characteristic of 1 Th is noticeably absent in Phil, where the reciprocal pronoun occurs only in 2:3. Moreover, what is said there about mutual relations could be addressed to groups of any size, as is evident from a comparison with Gal 5:13-15, which is addressed to a number of churches. Phil also lacks any indication that "distributed participation" was, or was to be, characteristic of the church's functioning. By contrast with 1 Th, Phil is characterised by an emphasis on the solidarity of believers. Instead of a concentration on the various kinds of mutual interaction and individual responsibility incumbent upon believers, there is throughout the letter an emphasis on the unity of the church as a whole. This is explicit in 1:27-30, but it also underlies much of the remainder of Paul's paraenesis. It is evident in 2:14-16, where the believers in Philippi are to be united in their holiness and their commitment to the λόγος ζωῆς and are together to shine as φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ. The church as a whole has demonstrated partnership with Paul, in giving, in praying, in sending Epaphroditus²⁰⁸; the church as a whole is to make progress in the faith (1:25) and to stand firm in the Lord (1:27; 4:1). Paul everywhere presupposes the believers' solidarity in faith, in obedience, in joy, in vigilance.

The emphasis on the solidarity of the believers as a corporate entity and the absence of any emphasis on extensive mutual interaction and "distributed participation" together suggest the possibility that the Philippian church was considerably larger than that in Thessalonica. This cannot be regarded as anything more than a possibility; it is certainly not proved by the evidence we have considered. Further consideration will be given to this possibility in the following section.

As in 1 Th and 1 Cor, Paul addresses the whole church as the bearer of responsibility throughout Phil. All alike are responsible

for the church's corporate solidarity in the Gospel in the face of opposition and for mutual harmony between believers. What scope was there, then, for the emergence of local leadership within the church?

III. LOCAL LEADERSHIP:

In the course of defining an appropriate method for the study of local leadership in Paul's churches, we claimed that Phil 1:1, despite its brevity, is just as essential for an understanding of Pauline church order as 1 Cor 12-14.²⁰⁹ However, it is precisely the fact of its brevity that creates the most immediate and obvious difficulty for the attempt to understand the meaning of this verse.²¹⁰ What do the words ἐπίσκοποι and διακονοί mean here? What functions or roles in the church do they indicate? Why does Paul make special mention of those thus designated in the letter's prescript?--and why does he not refer to them again? Does the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνους refer to two groups or to one group which has two separate designations? These questions about the meaning of this phrase inevitably pose the question of method: how do we go about finding answers to them? What is the best starting point for interpretation?

In the light of these questions and difficulties, we will proceed as follows: we will begin by attempting to establish the meaning of the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνους in 1:1, paying particular attention to the question of method and giving detailed consideration to the various interpretations that have been proposed; we will then examine other material in the letter that may relate to the church's leadership; and finally, we will consider the implications of our findings in the light of the conflict between the current consensus about Pauline church order and the recent challenges to it.

1. The Meaning of σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις (1:1):

In this section we aim to provide a thorough discussion of the meaning of this phrase; we will therefore seek, as far as possible, to take nothing for granted, and will also seek to take account of all the significant views that have been advocated. We will begin by considering the authenticity of the phrase; we will then discuss the methodological question of how to determine the meaning of the phrase, and in this connection will consider the different theories about the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the church and about the reason for Paul's reference to them; and finally we will provide our own interpretation of the meaning of the phrase and the reason for its inclusion.

(a) The authenticity of the phrase:

The singularity of such an address by Paul to a particular group within the church has led some scholars to regard the phrase as a later gloss.²¹¹ It is difficult to see any justification for such a view, however.²¹² There is no obvious reason why such an interpolation should have occurred only in Phil²¹³, and there are no textual grounds for doubting the authenticity of the phrase.²¹⁴ To dismiss the words as an ecclesiastical anachronism²¹⁵, and thus of doubtful authenticity, not only reflects certain preconceived notions about the development of church order, but also smacks of tailoring the evidence to fit the theory.

An alternative solution to the problem of the singularity of this phrase is suggested by Schmithals.²¹⁶ He claims that the words σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις were inserted into 1:1 from the prescript of epistle C (3:2-4:3), which he regards as having been addressed to Timothy and the leaders of the Philippian church.²¹⁷ However, even if the validity of Schmithals' compilation hypothesis were to be accepted²¹⁸, this proposal would still remain (as he himself concedes) 'only a supposition.' It becomes a supposition without either foundation or

occasion if Phil is not the product of post-Pauline redaction.²¹⁹

There seems no good reason, therefore, to doubt the authenticity of the phrase, and so we must attempt to explain its present form and location.

(b) The meaning of the phrase: the question of method

As Paul neither explains his reference to ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι in 1:1 nor refers to them elsewhere in Phil, and as there is no comparable reference in any earlier letter of Paul's, we are confronted with the question of how we should attempt to determine the meaning of the phrase.

Three obvious starting-points suggest themselves: we may seek to establish the meaning of these terms and the significance of Paul's use of them at the beginning of the letter by (a) investigating other Christian usage of the terms; (b) examining pre-Christians usage of the terms; or (c) attempting to discover the meaning and occasion of the phrase from the letter itself. No one of these possible starting-points will be sufficient by itself, of course, for no hypothesis about the significance of this phrase can be seen to be plausible unless it can be justified from all three points-of-view. Various hypotheses might be formulated on the basis of the internal evidence of Phil itself, for example, which involve assigning meanings to the terms ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι for which there is no plausible pre-Christian antecedent. Such hypotheses would then be open to question on the grounds that they have not explained why it was ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι, rather than other terms, which were thought appropriate to

designate the roles or functions in question.

We will now consider each of these three possible starting-points in turn, with a view to discovering what contribution each makes to determining the meaning of the phrase.

(i) Christian usage of ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος :

It seems clear that it is methodologically invalid to allow other Christian use of these terms to determine their reference in Phil 1:1. This methodological principle is a necessary consequence of the fact that this occurrence of ἐπίσκοπος is almost certainly the earliest in the NT²²⁰, and thus the earliest extant Christian use of the term. To derive an understanding of the function of the ἐπίσκοποι in the Philippian church from later usage of the term is clearly an anachronistic, and thus invalid, procedure, for it cannot be assumed that the role of the ἐπίσκοποι in Philippi corresponded with that of those who were designated ἐπίσκοποι in other churches at a later period. On the other hand, however, it is a reasonable assumption that there would have been some correspondence between the function and position of the Philippian and later ἐπίσκοποι, for the term is hardly likely to have been used in entirely disparate senses in different areas or periods. But since the actual extent to which the Philippian ἐπίσκοποι were similar to other Christian ἐπίσκοποι cannot be determined a priori, it is necessary to establish what the term signified in Philippi before its usage can be compared with subsequent Christian usage. This means that while other Christian uses of ἐπίσκοπος cannot validly be used to determine the sense in which the term is used in Phil 1:1, they can be used as a useful test of the plausibility

of any hypothesis about the Philippian ἐπίσκοποι. Any interpretation of Phil 1:1 which attributes a sense to ἐπίσκοπος so different from that which it has in subsequent Christian usage as to leave no discernible connection between the various uses of the word must thereby be regarded as improbable.

What is true with regard to ἐπίσκοπος is also largely true in the case of διάκονος. While this term is used frequently in the Pauline correspondence prior to Phil, the fact of its close connection with ἐπίσκοποι here means that the function or position to which it refers must be able to be related in some plausible way to that to which ἐπίσκοπος refers. This means that many Pauline uses of the term prior to Phil may not be directly relevant in determining the meaning of the phrase in 1:1. However, just as the fact that ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος are coupled frequently in subsequent Christian usage means that διάκονος here cannot be interpreted in a way that has no discernible connection with this later usage, so the meaning given to it must be compatible with the sense it has in at least some of Paul's earlier use of the word. Again, Christian usage outside Phil 1:1 cannot be allowed to determine the precise meaning of διάκονος here, but it can serve to test the plausibility of proposed interpretations of this verse.

We will give further consideration to Christian use of the terms ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος later in our discussion of the meaning of the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνις.

(ii) Pre-Christian usage of ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος:

The extra-biblical usage, both literary and epigraphic, of ἐπίσκοπος and the cognate noun ἐπισκοπεῖν has been investigated thoroughly with a view to determining the likely background to their use in the NT.²²¹ It is unnecessary for these investigations to be reduplicated here; all that is necessary for our purposes is that their findings should be considered. The terms are applied to the activities of both

gods and men, and in the latter case are found in both secular and religious contexts referring to persons fulfilling a wide range of functions.

The LXX usage is entirely congruent with secular usage.²²² The word is used of God (Job 20:24; Wisd 1:6) and of men who performed a variety of civil, military or cultic functions.²²³

The wide variety of functions to which ἐπίσκοπος is applied, with the basic meaning of "overseer" or "supervisor", shows that it is used with a similar degree of generality to the English word "supervisor". The word itself does not indicate in what area supervision is exercised or what form it takes. Linton therefore terms ἐπίσκοπος 'ein inhaltleeres Beziehungswort',²²⁴ and says that it

besagt nur, dass der so Bezeichnete mit einer Aufsicht betraut war, nicht aber, worüber er Aufsicht zu üben hatte.²²⁵

Thus, examination of the pre-Christian usage of ἐπίσκοπος leads to the following conclusion about its meaning:

Ἐπίσκοπος ist einer, dem das ἐπισκέπτεσθαι obliegt (= Aufsicht führen, Fürsorge tragen), sei es im religiösen, politischen, kommunalen, wirtschaftlichen oder sonstigen Zusammenhang. . . .²²⁶

It also leads to the conclusion that the wide variety of contexts in which ἐπίσκοπος was used makes it unlikely that the origin of the Christian use of the term is to be found in any one particular background.²²⁷

Very similar results are obtained in the investigation of the pre-Christian use of διάκονος and the cognate verb διακονεῖν. This, too, has been thoroughly explored.²²⁸ The word was commonly used in the general sense of "servant, helper, assistant", but was also used to mean "messenger".²²⁹ It occurs only seldom in the LXX, and then in the same general sense that prevails in extra-biblical usage.²³⁰ As was the case with ἐπίσκοπος, διάκονος was used in a wide variety of contexts and with a high degree of generality, so that the word

itself does not specify what kind of service or assistance is rendered, and no one background has any special claim to be the principal influence on Christian use of the term.²³¹

This brief review of the findings that emerge from a study of the pre-Christian use of both terms leads us to endorse two particular assertions made by H.W. Beyer. The first concerns the terms themselves:

These were simple, widely known titles, yet not precisely defined and therefore in their very breadth of meaning capable of a new and specific use.²³²

He went on to observe in this connection that

the Christians chose modest words which did not of themselves raise any spiritual claims.²³³

The second assertion concerns the meaning of Phil 1:1:

As the words stand, they refer to those whose responsibility is that of ἐπισκοπεῖν and διακονεῖν, though we cannot deduce the exact nature of these tasks from this passage.²³⁴

(iii) Jewish models for ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι?

The attempt to identify a plausible background to the Christian use of ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος is often allied to the search for pre-Christian models which may have influenced the roles of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι. We have already concluded that the wide variety of contexts in which both terms were used precludes identifying any particular functionary to whom these designations were applied as the model on which the Christian ἐπίσκοποι or διάκονοι were based. However, the attempt has been made to find Jewish antecedents to both roles. The claim that the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι were modelled on the ἀρχισυνάγωγος and ὑπηρέτης of the synagogue has not attracted support²³⁵, but the possibility that the function and position of the Christian ἐπίσκοπος was influenced by the קב"ל of the Qumran sect is accepted by a significant number of scholars.²³⁶

The argument is based primarily on the linguistic affinity between מבקר and ἐπισκοπος and on the similarities in the roles

1	የጊዜ ምዕራፍ	የጊዜ ምዕራፍ
2	የጊዜ ምዕራፍ	የጊዜ ምዕራፍ
3	የጊዜ ምዕራፍ	የጊዜ ምዕራፍ

performed by each of them. In the LXX ἐπισκέπτεσθαι generally translates 𐤒𐤐𐤗, although it occasionally translated 𐤒𐤒.²³⁷ This means that ἐπίσκοπος would be an obvious equivalent for both 𐤒𐤐𐤗 and 𐤒𐤒, both of which occur in the Qumran texts and which are used as synonyms in IQS 6:12,20 (𐤒𐤒) and 6:14 (𐤒𐤐𐤗). Moreover, there are significant parallels between the role of 𐤒𐤒 as delineated in CD 13:7-16 and that of the Christian ἐπίσκοπος. The 𐤒𐤒 acts as a teacher (13:8) and is likened to a father and a shepherd in his care of the community (13:9).

Although the linguistic and functional links between 𐤒𐤒 and ἐπίσκοπος are significant, there are serious difficulties with the view that the latter was derived from or modelled on the former.

- (1) The monarchical role of the 𐤒𐤒 forms a clear contrast to the plurality of ἐπίσκοποι in Phil 1:1.²³⁸
- (2) There is no equivalent in the Qumran documents to the common association of ἐπίσκοποι and δῆκονοι in Christian writings.²³⁹
- (3) Any direct influence on the largely Gentile church in Philippi from the Palestinian Jewish groups responsible for the Qumran writings is highly unlikely.²⁴⁰
- (4) While there may be some similarities between the roles of the 𐤒𐤒 and the ἐπίσκοπος there are also some clear and important differences.²⁴¹

These arguments exclude any possibility of a direct borrowing from the structures and practices of the Qumran sect, and suggest that the parallels between the 𐤒𐤒 and the ἐπίσκοπος are the result of analogous but independent developments in the sect and early Christianity.²⁴² The 𐤒𐤒 can thus be seen as an analogue of, but not a model for the ἐπίσκοπος.

There is thus no more justification for the attempts to identify particular Jewish sources from which ἐπίσκοποι and δῆκονοι were derived than for attempts to specify a particular Hellenistic

background for the Christian use of the terms.

(iv) The ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the context of the letter:

Why does Paul refer to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι at the beginning of the letter? This question is important for at least two reasons. In the first place, reference to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι at this point in the letter may well indicate that they are involved in some particular way in one or more of the issues dealt with in it, so that the themes and objects of Phil may well provide some clue to their function. Secondly, since this is the only letter in the Pauline corpus to contain such a reference in the prescript, it is reasonable to suppose that it is an indication that either the structure of the Philippian church or the situation confronting Paul as he wrote to the church was distinctive in some way.

The principal attempts to explain the meaning of the phrase οὖν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις in the light of the contents of the letter are as follows.

(1) Lohmeyer suggested that Paul made special mention of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in order to ensure that the letter's contents were conveyed to them. Since the church's opponents had sought to attack it by attacking its leaders, the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι had been imprisoned.²⁴³

This suggestion remains pure conjecture, however, as Lohmeyer offers no substantiation of it beyond its congruence with the situation he sees underlying the letter. The fact that his interpretation of Phil as dominated by the prospect of martyrdom facing both apostle and church²⁴⁴ has not proved convincing²⁴⁵ leaves his proposal about the significance of 1:1 without foundation.

(2) D. Georgi has claimed that both the terms διάκονος and ἐπίσκοπος were 'Bezeichnungen für Verkündiger'²⁴⁶, and that Paul referred to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in 1:1 because of their contribu-

tion to the evangelistic activity for which he praises the church.²⁴⁷ Although this view has attracted support in some important recent studies²⁴⁸, it is not securely based.

In the first place, although the Philippians' "partnership in the Gospel" undoubtedly included their own evangelistic activity, that is not the principal referent of 1:5-7 or 4:15.²⁴⁹

Secondly, Georgi's claim that both terms used in 1:1 were designations of missionary preachers is open to question. There are two major difficulties with his attempt to show that outside the NT (and also within it) *διάκονος* is often used in the sense of "Bote" or "Gesandter" rather than "Diener", and that it thus refers to a missionary preacher.²⁵⁰ (1) J.N. Collins has shown that Georgi's derivation of the sense "Gesandter" from Epictetus' use of *διάκονος* is mistaken.²⁵¹ In Epictetus' usage, *διάκονος* simply means "servant" (Collins argues), and while the service of some men (the Cynics) may take the form of missionary preaching and teaching, there are many other kinds of service to be undertaken. Thus, although some of those to whom it is applied may be preachers, *διάκονος* is not used to mean "preacher" or "messenger". A similar observation can be made about Georgi's claim that NT usage of *διάκονος* concerns the role of the preacher: some of those referred to as *διάκονοι* in the NT may well have been preachers, but it is not *διάκονος* which designates them as such. (2) Even if Georgi's argument from Epictetus' use of *διάκονος* were largely correct, however, it is scarcely valid to claim that it applies to Phil 1:1, for the persons so designated are almost certainly not itinerant but members of the Philippian church.²⁵² They are therefore *διάκονοι* in the church, and may even be *διάκονοι* of the church (as Phoebe was in Cenchreae: Rom 16:1).

There are also difficulties with Georgi's argument that the use of *ἐπισκοπεῖν* in the Cynic-Stoic tradition to refer to 'popular-

philosophischer Predigertätigkeit',²⁵³ shows that ἐπίσκοπος was used synonymously with διάκονος as a designation of missionary preachers. What reason is there to suppose that Christian use of ἐπίσκοπος was influenced by Cynic-Stoic terminology and concepts rather than any other of the great variety of contexts in which the word was used in the NT period and earlier? Moreover, later Christian usage of the term shows little or no sign of Cynic-Stoic influence, and does not support the view that it designated preachers.

(3) E. Best suggested that the singularity of Phil 1:1 was best explained as due to Paul's quotation from a letter he had received from Philippi in which the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι had betrayed their 'desire for ecclesiastical position' by distinguishing themselves from the church as a whole.²⁵⁴ Paul counters this improper emphasis on status by omitting his customary self-designation and referring to himself as δοῦλος rather than ἀπόστολος.²⁵⁵

The obvious difficulty with this proposal is that there is no evidence that Paul had received a letter from the Philippian church. Best is unable to support his hypothesis by pointing to any other passage in Phil where a quotation from or allusion to the church's letter can be detected. A further difficulty is that while a letter from "all the saints together with the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι" may reflect a desire for ecclesiastical status on the part of the latter, there are other conceivable reasons for separate mention of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι which do not imply any hubris on their part.

(4) One such reason is that given by U. Brockhaus, who explains the reference to the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι as due simply to their position in the church:

. . . Paulus . . . die Episkopen und Diakone . . . besonders erwähnt, weil sie innerhalb der Gemeinde eine erkennbar besondere Funktion und Position innehatten . . . Die Anerkennung dieser Funktionsträger und ihrer Stellung in der Gemeinde

ist Paulus so selbstverständlich, dass er sie in die Adresse zusätzlich zu »allen Heiligen« mitaufnimmt.²⁵⁶

While this view correctly perceives that separate mention of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι need be no more than a simple recognition of their existence and their special role within the church, it does not go far enough, for it fails to explain why it is only in Phil that Paul makes special reference in this way to such functionaries within the church. Brockhaus himself argues that leaders of much the same kind are referred to in 1 Th 5:12²⁵⁷, thus raising the question why a similar reference is not found in 1 Th 1:1. Moreover, Brockhaus' view does not explain how the special role and position of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι is related to the purpose of the letter: what connection is there between what Paul says to the church and his mention of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the prescript?

(5) This question is given a clear answer in the most common view of the reference to the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι: they were instrumental in arranging the collection and despatch of the monetary gift Paul has received from the hands of Epaphroditus.²⁵⁸ Despite its popularity, this interpretation is unsatisfactory for several reasons.

In the first place, the letter does not state or imply any connection between the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι and the gift Paul has received. They are not mentioned at all in 4:10-20, where Paul thanks the church for this gift.²⁵⁹ Since Paul had many other purposes in writing to the church, the probability that there was some direct connection between the occurrence of this phrase in 1:1 and the purpose of the letter does not provide any direct support for this view.²⁶⁰

Secondly, the view often attached to this interpretation--that the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι were the church's administrative and financial officers--is open to several objections. (a) Neither the extra-Biblical nor the other NT usage of these two terms suggest that

they would have been obvious titles for financial officers.²⁶¹

(b) It is most improbable that

die Organisation dieser Geldsammlung einen besonderen und andauernden personellen Apparat erfordert hatte, vor allem nicht, dass die Organisatoren dann auch gleich Titel erhielten.²⁶²

Moreover, such a project is hardly likely to have resulted in the emergence of two different groups of treasurers or administrators.²⁶³

It may perhaps be argued in response to this that it was the position of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the church that led to them playing a leading role in organising the collection for Paul, not their role in organising the collection that led to their position in the church. Two rejoinders to this argument suggest themselves. (i) The fact remains that there is nothing in Phil to connect the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι with the church's gift to Paul. (ii) This argument means that the origin and nature of their position in the church remains to be explained.

While it may well have been the case that the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι played a prominent part in organising financial support for Paul, this collection is neither a sufficient cause for their position in the church nor a sufficient reason for Paul's reference to them.

This brief survey of the possible starting-points for the interpretation of the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις has led to a largely negative conclusion. We have argued that neither pre-Christian nor other Christian usage of ἐπίσκοπος or διάκονος permits us to determine the specific function of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in Philippi. We have also argued that none of the principal attempts to relate the meaning of this phrase to the internal evidence of Phil proves to be satisfactory.

Such negative conclusions are not uncommon, however. Indeed,

a largely negative consensus about the interpretation of Phil 1:1 seems to be emerging. It is widely accepted that its meaning cannot be determined by later ecclesiastical developments, and it is increasingly being recognised that what

die genaue Funktion der ἐπίσκοποι ist, lässt sich aus Phil 1,1 nicht unmittelbar erschliessen.²⁶⁴

In fact, J. Hainz's review of the interpretation of this verse concludes that it is not possible to define exactly what function was performed by the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι.²⁶⁵

There are two possible ways of responding to such a negative result. The first is to accept that the precise meaning of the phrase οὐν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις is beyond our grasp; the second is to regard the failure to achieve a more positive consensus as a spur to fresh exegetical endeavours. In line with the latter outlook, it is our intention to propose an alternative interpretation of the phrase to those that have been considered above.

Before detailing our own hypothesis, we need to note that the preceding discussion of method in the interpretation of Phil 1:1 leads to an additional conclusion to that just stated. Our consideration of the three possible starting-points for the interpretation of the verse provides three criteria which must be satisfied by any hypothesis about the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι. These are:

- (i) The proposed interpretation must involve an understanding of the meaning of the terms ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος which is plausible in the light of their pre-Christian usage.
- (ii) It must also be capable of being related in some plausible way to subsequent Christian usage of the terms.
- (iii) It must relate the function of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι to the purposes of the letter or the circumstances of the church (or both) in a plausible way.

We will now detail and defend our own proposal about the

meaning of the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις , seeking to show how it satisfies these criteria. In the course of doing so, we will also take up some of the questions about the meaning of the phrase that we have not yet considered (for example, does it refer to one group or two?).

(c) The meaning of the phrase: an alternative proposal:

In this section we will first state our hypothesis concerning the meaning of the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις and then adduce evidence to support it.

(i) The hypothesis stated:

Our proposal is that the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι were leaders of house-churches who formed a "co-ordinating committee" to provide necessary leadership for the Christian community in Philippi. The emergence of such a leadership-group is to be seen as a result of the fact that the believers in Philippi were too numerous to permit regular gatherings of the whole community; instead they met in separate house-churches. The ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι co-ordinated the activities of the Christian community as a whole and constituted the only permanent link between the various house-churches. Such a view is not entirely arbitrary, for it stands in recognisable continuity with our findings about local leadership in the churches at Thessalonica and Corinth. The role we have postulated for the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in Philippi can be seen as a plausible and natural development of the function of the προΐστάμενοι in Thessalonica and of Stephanas and the members of his household in Corinth, for in both cases we have argued that these leaders were heads and hosts of house-churches. Moreover, in Corinth there were other such leaders whose ministry Paul encouraged and asked the church to recognise. The move from a situation in which there are several house-churches with their own leaders active in service for the whole Church (1 Cor 16:15-16) to one in

which such leaders act in concert in their exercise of oversight seems on the face of it to be a quite natural one.

As was the case with our interpretation of προϊστάμενοι in 1 Th 5:12, this proposal is not entirely original. As long ago as 1838 F.C. Baur suggested that ἐπίσκοποι originally denoted the leaders of the house-churches in any given centre. He maintained that it was normally the case

dass derjenige, in dessen Hause man sich versammelte, ohne Zweifel in der Regel derjenige, der den übrigen mit seinem Glauben an das Christenthum vorangegangen war, dadurch das Recht einer gewissen Aufsicht oder Vorsteherschaft erhielt. Und wenn die kleine Gemeinde allmählig sich vergrösserte und zu gross wurde, um sich an einem Orte zu versammeln, so lag er wiederum ganz in der Natur der Sache, dass kleine Partikulargemeinden entstanden, deren jede sich um ein bestimmter Mitglied und ihre Mitte sammelte. So ging von Anfang an Alles von einer Einheit aus, und doch bildete sich zugleich eine Mehrheit neben einander stehender πρεσβύτεροι oder ἐπίσκοποι, welche wenn auch jeder derselben seinen eigenen nähern Kreis hatte, doch sich in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander nur als ein eng verbundener Ganzes betrachten konnten. 266

Although Baur made no specific reference to Phil 1:1 in connection with his proposal, its plausibility and potential fruitfulness as an interpretation of Paul's reference to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι seem not to have received adequate recognition. An important tribute to the merit of Baur's hypothesis is the fact that similar proposals have been made in a number of recent studies. H. Schürmann, for example, suggests that the προϊστάμενοι in Paul's churches are to be understood

als „Vorsteher“ von Hausgemeinden . . ., in die sich die Gemeinde einer Stadt aufteilen musste . . . 267

and adds,

Dass solche Vorsteher einzelner Hausgemeinden dann zu einen „Presbyterium“ oder „Episkopenkollegium“ zusammentreten konnten war eigentlich sehr naheliegend. 268

In connection with Phil 1:1 in particular, F.F. Bruce suggests that the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι were a 'city-wide college of leaders', exercising a supervisory role over the house-churches in Philippi. 269

The hypothesis we have stated is therefore not novel, but where our approach differs from both Baur's and that of more modern studies is that we will not simply state the hypothesis and rely upon its inherent plausibility to commend it, but will seek to substantiate it by means of arguments based on evidence from Phil itself and on other evidence.

However, before we proceed to consider the evidence that may be adduced in support of our hypothesis we must first ask why Paul refers to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι. Were these terms different designations of the one group, or do they distinguish separate groups? If the latter is the case, how can this be reconciled with our proposal that the reference is to a "co-ordinating committee" of house-church leaders?

A number of scholars have interpreted ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι as separate names for the same group. The earliest instance of this approach is that of John Chrysostom, who regarded both terms as epithets given to the church's πρεσβύτεροι.²⁷⁰ The most recent presentation of this view is that in G.F. Hawthorne's commentary²⁷¹, which takes up and develops the arguments of A. Lemaire and J.F. Collange.²⁷² Hawthorne offers the following seven points in support of this interpretation.

(1) Lemaire has shown that ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι is a stock phrase.²⁷³ (2) The same expression occurs in 1 Clem 42:4-5 and Did 15:1. (3) Clement amends Isa 60:17 LXX so that it refers to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι and the Hebrew parallelism suggests that the two terms were equated. (4) The καὶ can be taken in an epexegetical sense: "ἐπίσκοποι who are also διάκονοι". (5) In the NT ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος were synonymous terms. (6) Polycarp (Phil 5:2,3) appears to equate πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι with διάκονοι. (7) Although some early texts distinguish ἐπίσκοποι, πρεσβύτεροι and διάκονοι,

it is reasonable to assume that at one stage of the tradition elders may have been called "bishops and deacons", or "bishops and elders" may have been referred to as "deacons".²⁷⁴

Hawthorne's case is not compelling. Points (5)-(7) are not strictly relevant to the interpretation of the phrase, and the first four points do no more than show that his interpretation is possible. However, it cannot be regarded as probable in view of the way 1 Tim 3 clearly distinguishes the ἐπίσκοπος (v.1) and the διάκονος (v.8).²⁷⁵ While Phil 1:1, 1 Clem 42:4-5 and Did 15:1 could in the abstract be interpreted as referring to "ἐπίσκοποι who are also διάκονοι", it is difficult to imagine how the terms came to be applied to two separate functions (as is the case in 1 Tim 3) if "ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι" was so widely known and accepted as a stock phrase.

It seems likely, therefore, that the phrase refers to two groups, one known as ἐπίσκοποι, the other as διάκονοι. What, then, was the relation between these groups? In the absence of direct evidence, any answer to this question must be conjectural, but perhaps the most likely suggestion is that the ἐπίσκοποι were the hosts and leaders of house-churches (people like Jason in Thessalonica and Stephanas in Corinth), while the διάκονοι were those most closely involved in assisting them in their ministry (people like the members of Stephanas' household who were active with him in διακονία (1 Cor 16:15²⁷⁶) or the members of Philemon's family who served with him (Phm 1-2²⁷⁷)). Such an interpretation obviates the need for a decision as to whether the διάκονοι were termed such as servants of the church²⁷⁸ or as assistants of the ἐπίσκοποι²⁷⁹, for they were both. Like Phoebe (Rom 16:1), they would rightly be regarded as διάκονοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, even if their service took a somewhat different form from hers; they could also be regarded as the διάκονοι of those house-church leaders to whose family or household they belonged and in whose

ministry they were involved.

We have stated our hypothesis concerning the meaning of ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διακόνοι in Phil 1:1, and must now seek to substantiate it.

(ii) The hypothesis supported:

In this section we will consider three types of support for our hypothesis. We will examine evidence from Phil itself; we will provide corroborative evidence from studies in related areas; and we will consider whether the hypothesis satisfies the three criteria laid down on p. 557 above.

(1) Support from Phil:

Support for our hypothesis can be derived from Phil in three ways. The first involves a consideration of the way Paul addresses the letter. The recipients are identified as πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Φιλίπποις σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις (1:1). This address is notable not only because of the singular addition of the final phrase, but also because it uses ἅγιοι rather than ἐκκλησία. This latter is not unique, for of the letters in the Pauline corpus not addressed to individuals, Rom, Eph and Col also use ἅγιοι but not ἐκκλησία in the prescript.

This feature of Phil is commonly regarded as an incidental variation in terminology on the grounds that οἱ ἅγιοι and ἡ ἐκκλησία are virtually synonymous. This view is clearly expressed by Lohmeyer:

οἱ ἅγιοι ersetzt also das geläufigere ἐκκλησία θεοῦ, Beide Ausdrücke sagen das gleiche . . . ; deshalb ist aus dem Fehlen von ἐκκλησία wie dem Vorhandensein von ἅγιοι geschichtlich nichts zu schliessen.²⁸⁰

This view does not do justice to Pauline usage, however, especially those passages in which the two terms are used in juxtaposition. To regard them as equivalent reduces 1 Cor 1:2 (τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κλητοῖς ἁγίοις)

to a lengthy pleonasm. While it is not impossible for the verse to be understood in this way, it is more natural to read τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ as a designation of the Christian community and ἅγιοι as a designation of its members. This is confirmed by the reference in 1 Cor 14:33 to πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν ἁγίων - the ἐκκλησίαι are composed of ἅγιοι. The impression conveyed by these expressions is further reinforced by the studies which have shown that Paul's use of ἐκκλησία retains the normal secular sense of "assembly".²⁸¹ We may therefore distinguish the terms as follows: believers are ἅγιοι in their relation to God, by virtue of His gracious calling (1 Cor 1:2: κλητοῖς ἁγίοις); they constitute an ἐκκλησία when they assemble together, and a particular group of believers may be designated an ἐκκλησία when they meet with sufficient regularity to constitute a recognisable community, whether that be an ἐκκλησία κατ' οἶκον or the "whole ἐκκλησία" in a given city (Corinth, for example).²⁸²

The absence of ἐκκλησία in the address of a Pauline letter may be an indication, therefore, that the believers in the city concerned did not assemble together regularly as a whole community. This seems to have been the case in Rome. The fact that Paul does not refer to the Christian community in Rome as an ἐκκλησία plus the fact that Rom 16 indicates the existence of several Christian groups in the city²⁸³, may well be an indication that there were no regular meetings of the whole Christian community.²⁸⁴ Such a state-of-affairs may reflect the difficulty of coordinating the activities of several small and separated groups in a metropolis like first-century Rome²⁸⁵, the piecemeal manner in which the Gospel seems to have reached Rome²⁸⁶, and by the diversity of ethnic, cultural and religious communities in Rome²⁸⁷ from which the believers may have been drawn. The address of Col may imply that a similar situation applied there too²⁸⁸, while Eph is widely recognised as a circular letter to the Asian churches.

We therefore propose that the fact that Paul addressed Phil πᾶσιν τοῖς ἁγίοις κτλ rather than τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κτλ is to be seen as an indication that the Christian community in Philippi did not meet regularly as one body. The addition of the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις κτλ then reflects the fact that this "coordinating committee" provided the principal link between the various house-churches in the city and enabled them to act in concert in various ways (such as the collecting and despatch of a gift to Paul). The two unusual features of the address of Phil are therefore to be explained with reference to each other.

One obvious objection to the interpretation we have proposed is that 4:15 contains the words οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκωνώνησεν εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι, so that Paul does refer to the Christian community in Philippi as an ἐκκλησία. However, it should be noted that the words quoted are preceded by the words ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξηλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας. That is, the Christian community in Philippi was rightly designated an ἐκκλησία at the beginning of its life, when all the believers did meet together; now, however, a decade or so later, that is no longer the case. The most likely explanation of this fact is that in the period between its foundation and the writing of Phil, the church had become too large for all its members to meet together.

We will give further consideration to the question of the church's size below, but first we will examine a second feature of the letter that may be regarded as supporting our hypothesis. In 4:21a Paul gives the exhortation ἀσπάσασθε πάντα ἅγιον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. This is the only place in the NT where ἅγιος as a designation for God's people is not found in the plural. Paul's wording is usually explained as an expression of his concern to emphasise unity in the church: "you must greet every believer in Philippi without exception."²⁸⁹ However, not only would such an emphasis have been adequately conveyed

by Paul's customary ἀσπάζασθε ἀλλήλους²⁹⁰, but the wording of the exhortation reads more naturally as a direction to a certain group about their responsibility to every member of the Christian community in Philippi²⁹¹ than as a direction to the whole church.²⁹² This impression accords with our hypothesis about the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the Christian community: because there is no regular gathering of the whole Christian community, and because they form the only link between the various house-churches, it is through them that the letter will reach all the believers in Philippi. As they convey its contents to each Christian group in the city, they must ensure that greetings (Paul's and theirs) are given to every believer.²⁹³

The third way in which the contents of Phil provide support for our hypothesis has to do with the question of the church's size. We may begin by noting that the commonly held view that the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι were given special mention in 1:1 because of their role in organising the sending of a monetary gift to Paul seems to presuppose that the Philippian church was quite a large one. Otherwise, it is difficult to see why two groups of leaders needed to be involved in what would have been a relatively straightforward project. But is it likely that the Philippian church was too large to permit regular gatherings of the whole community? There is some second-century evidence that indicates such a situation for other Christian centres²⁹⁴, but is it likely to have been the case at such an early stage in the history of the Christian movement?

A comparison with the situation that prevailed in Corinth at the time 1 Cor was written²⁹⁵ suggests that it was possible for a church to grow quite quickly. Even though the size of the Christian community in Corinth undoubtedly owed much to the fact that both Apollos and Cephas had been active there after Paul founded the church, and there is no evidence of any comparable impetus to the growth of the Philippian

church, Phil was written at a significantly greater distance from the foundation of the church than was the case with 1 Cor.²⁹⁶ So if it was possible for the church in Corinth to consist of a number of house-churches meeting in addition to the regular meetings of the whole church, it is not impossible that the Christian community in Philippi consisted of a sufficient number of house-churches to prevent all its members from meeting together (presumably because no meeting-place large enough was available to them). Is there any evidence in Phil which might indicate that this was so?

There is no direct evidence in the letter concerning the size of the church, but we have already noted the possibility that the content of Paul's paraenesis in Phil, in contrast to that in 1 Th, suggests a church of some size.²⁹⁷ Although this cannot be regarded as anything more than a possible implication of the paraenesis, the emphasis on the unity and solidarity of the believers would be especially appropriate and necessary for a Christian community that was not able to meet regularly as a whole. Where believers gathered in separate house-churches and had no regular contact with the members of other such groups, the natural tendency would be for them to identify most strongly with their own group and to find it increasingly difficult to sustain any real sense of identification or solidarity with other groups. As we noted in Chapter I²⁹⁸, increase in group size tends to result in a decrease in group unity. The frequency with which Paul uses πάντες in Phil²⁹⁸ may be seen as a necessary reminder of the Philippians to look beyond the boundaries of their own separate house-churches to the Christian community as a whole.

It may be felt that such inferences are shown to be invalid by the fact that Paul addresses the church as one body throughout the letter, both acknowledging various ways in which it has acted as a corporate whole (1:3-8; 4:10,18) and exhorting it to continue to do so

(1:27-30; 2:12-16). However, since precisely the same characteristics are evident in Gal (N.B. especially 3:1-5; 4:6-20; 5:13-15), which was addressed to the ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Γαλατίας (1:2), this aspect of Phil cannot be regarded as excluding the possibility that Paul was addressing a Christian community which consisted of a number of separate house-churches.

We have now considered three features of Phil which may be seen as providing some support for our hypothesis concerning the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι. We have examined the implication of the way Paul addresses the church (1:1), of his exhortation concerning the greeting (4:21) and of the paraenesis, with its contrast to the "group" characteristics of the paraenesis in 1 Th and its emphasis on unity and solidarity. It would obviously be mistaken to claim any more for our discussion than that it confirms the possibility of our hypothesis; such slender support falls far short of proof. There is further support for our hypothesis from other areas of study, however.

(2) Support from studies in other areas:

Our hypothesis concerning the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the Philippian church finds support in two areas of study in particular. The first is the detailed study by J.B. Mathews of "Hospitality and the New Testament Church".³⁰⁰ One section of his work deals with "The Episcopal Responsibility for Hospitality"³⁰¹, and in examining the implications of the Pastorals' requirement that the ἐπίσκοπος be φιλόξενος (1 Tim 3:2; Tit 1:8), Mathews argues that those

in the early Church who had physical resources and the financial means to do so opened their homes as meeting places for the believers in their vicinity. As hosts of the church they became the heads of these local congregations or house churches, and in this capacity they shouldered a large portion of the responsibility for providing hospitality to wayfaring brethren, especially the itinerant evangelists and teachers. The hosts of these house churches were the local congregational authorities, the ἐπίσκοποι

of a later generation of Christians, whose hospitable character was a part of their qualification for the office which they held. Thus did the special episcopal responsibility for hospitality arise quite naturally in the course of the Church's growth.³⁰²

The title ἐπίσκοπος was thus applied to well-to-do householders who were able both to provide hospitality for travelling Christians and to sponsor meetings of the church in their homes. This conclusion is clearly plausible as an explanation of the requirement in the Pastorals for ἐπίσκοποι to be hospitable; it also lends support to our claim that the Philippian ἐπίσκοποι were the heads of Christian households and thus leaders of house-churches.

The second area of study from which support may be derived for our hypothesis is that to do with the nature of the early churches as house-churches. In this connection J. Rohde argued that it is reasonable to suppose that

die Einzelleiter der einzelnen Hausgemeinden an einen Ort ein Leitungsgremium der Gesamtgemeinde darstellen, denn die Hausgemeinden sind zweifellos die Ausgangspunkte der Orts-gemeindebildung gewesen.³⁰³

What Rohde has suggested as a probable development in most centres is what we have proposed for Philippi in particular; viz., that the house-church leaders formed the "Leitungsgremium der Gesamtgemeinde" there.

In his discussion of the same issue, J. Hainz refers to the distinction derived from 1 Cor between meetings of the ἐκκλησία κατ' οἶκον and ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη. He draws the following conclusions:

Aus diesem Nebeneinander von Hausgemeinden und Versammlungen der ganzen Gemeinde ergibt sich eine gewisse Strukturierung der Gemeinde durch ihre äussere Organisation. . .; denn man darf annehmen dass den Hausbesitzern auf Grund ihrer natürlichen Stellung in der ἐκκλησία, die sich in ihrem Hause zusammenfand, eine gewisse »leitende« Funktion zukam. Es wäre am naheliegendsten anzunehmen, dass ihre Funktion mit jener der προϊστάμενοι bzw. der ἐπίσκοποι in Zusammenhang steht³⁰⁴

Again, the idea that the ἐπίσκοποι were house-church leaders emerges as a probable interpretation of the tantalizingly sketchy data provided

in the NT. Moreover, the possibility that such house-church leaders exercised a leadership role in the wider Christian community in each centre is not only inherently likely, but is also in accord with our hypothesis about the meaning of Phil 1:1.

The fact that studies in two quite separate areas have reached conclusions about church leadership in general that correspond so closely with the hypothesis we have advanced about church leadership in Philippi may be regarded as providing not insignificant support for our hypothesis.

(3) The hypothesis tested by our three criteria:

At the conclusion of the section dealing with the question of method we arrived at three criteria which any hypothesis about the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in Phil 1:1 must satisfy.³⁰⁵ We must now ask whether our hypothesis succeeds in meeting these three criteria.

The first criterion requires that any interpretation of the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι should involve a use of the terms that bears some plausible connection with their pre-Christian usage. We have already shown that the probable sense in which διάκονος is used here is both natural in the light of the word's general meaning, "servant, helper, assistant", and consistent with its use elsewhere in Paul's writings.³⁰⁶ We may also claim that by virtue of its general use of "overseer" or "supervisor", ἐπίσκοπος would have suggested itself quite naturally as a suitable designation for house-church leaders who coordinated the activities of the Christian community. To return once again to the point made by Beyer, it was precisely because the term was so widely-known and used in such a great variety of ways that it involved no special claim and suggested no one type of association as background; it was available, neutral, and apt.³⁰⁷

There was, however, one particular association the word might have had for those steeped in the OT that would have made it

seem especially appropriate. In the LXX the stem ἐπισκεπ- (from which ἐπίσκοπος is derived) is linked with the stem ποιμαν- in a number of significant passages. In Jer 23:2 and Zech 10:3, 11:16 the Hebrew root translated by ἐπισκέπτεσθαι or its cognates is קָנָה; in Ezek 34:11-12, the root is קָנָה. The same association of terms is found in the Qumran writings: in CD 13:7-9 the קָנָה (v.7) is likened to a shepherd (קָנָה, v.9).³⁰⁸ The two word-groups continue to be linked in the NT and other early Christian writings.³⁰⁹ This suggests that early Christianity derived from its Jewish heritage the terminology in which to give expression to its conviction about the essentially pastoral character of church leadership. In view of this association between ἐπισκέπτεσθαι and ποιμαίνειν, the use of ἐπίσκοποι in the Philippian church may have reflected the recognition that the supervisory function of those so designated was not primarily administrative, but pastoral in nature.

Das Sachgebiet, über das der christliche ἐπίσκοπος zu »funktionieren« hat, ist vorgegeben: die christliche Gemeinde, die auf dem Evangelium aufgebaut ist. . . . Die spezifisch christliche Episkopenfunktion besteht also hauptsächlich darin, das konkrete Gemeindeleben in wachsender Sorge in den Bahnen des Evangeliums zu leiten.³¹⁰

The second criterion requires that any interpretation of the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι should be able to be related in some plausible way to subsequent Christian usage of the terms. To attempt to do this in any comprehensive way, however, would mean venturing into a complex field of inquiry in which there are many unresolved and controverted issues. As this is not possible within the limits of this study, we must confine our discussion to a few basic observations. These will concentrate on the evidence concerning ἐπίσκοπος, as in most of the later evidence the role of διάκονοι is linked to that of ἐπίσκοποι and that which does not indicate a direct relation between the two (e.g., 1 Tim 3:8-10) provides very little direct information about the διάκονοι and their function.

The most obvious point of comparison for our hypothesis is the evidence of the Pastorals concerning the ἐπίσκοπος (1 Tim 3:1-7; Tit 1:5-9). Although this evidence has been evaluated in a number of different ways, there is a remarkably strong correlation between our hypothesis concerning the role of the ἐπίσκοποι in the Philippian church and the findings of one of the most recent studies of the Pastorals.³¹¹ In this work D.C. Verner argues that the

church of the Pastorals emerges as a social entity of considerable size . . .³¹²

and suggests that 1 Tim 2:8

has in mind the specific situation of the church in Ephesus . . . worshiping in a number of different locations in smaller groups rather than as a single body in one location.³¹³

With regard to the leadership of the church, Verner argues that the Pastorals assume

that the official leaders came from among the well-to-do householders of the church. . . . It then appears that the governing group in the church of the Pastorals was something of an aristocracy in relation to the general membership. In this respect this church exhibits the same social structure which Judge and Theissen have found in the first generation Pauline churches, where the leading figures in the churches appear to have been well-to-do householders who brought their dependents into the church with them.³¹⁴

Although Verner inclines to the view that the Pastorals present a monarchical view of the episcopal role³¹⁵, he accepts the possibility that the church was governed by a council of πρεσβύτεροι= ἐπίσκοποι.³¹⁶

There is a quite striking (although not complete) correspondence between Verner's findings and the interpretation we have proposed of the role of the ἐπίσκοποι in the Philippian church. Although Verner's conclusions are unlikely to command universal assent, their similarity to our proposal about Phil 1:1 is sufficient to show that it is capable of satisfying the second of our three criteria.

The third criterion requires that our hypothesis relate the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι to the purposes of the letter or

the circumstances of the church (or both) in a plausible way. Our discussion of the features of Phil which may be regarded as providing support for our hypothesis has already indicated a number of such connections. If the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι are in fact a "coordinating committee" who form the principal (or perhaps, the only) tangible and continuing link between the various house-churches which compose the Christian community in Philippi, it is not at all surprising that Paul should make special mention of them in the letter's prescript. As liaison between the separate Christian gatherings in the city would be effected primarily through this leadership group, they would clearly have had an important role in organising the collection of the gift for which Paul expresses his thanks in the letter. Moreover, it would be through the ἐπίσκοποι, as leaders of the city's house-churches and "overseers" of the church's life, that the letter would reach all of the believers in Philippi, as it was read out in each of the meetings at which the ἅγιοι gathered.³¹⁷ Along with this, the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι would also convey the apostle's greetings to every Christian in the city (4:21). In addition, because of the oversight they exercised in the life of the whole believing community in Philippi, there is an important sense in which it would be the responsibility of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in particular to promote the unity of solidarity and harmony for which Paul appeals in the letter and to guard the church against the false teaching about which he warns.

In the preceding paragraphs we have argued that our hypothesis concerning the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι satisfies the three criteria arrived at in our discussion of the method by which the meaning of the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις was to be ascertained. This serves to provide additional support for our interpretation.

In considering the meaning of the phrase σὺν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις, we have reviewed the principal interpretations that have been offered and found none of them to be entirely satisfactory, we have proposed an alternative interpretation of our own, and then sought to show how it finds support from certain features of Phil, from findings reached in related areas of research, and from certain criteria that arose out of our consideration of the question of method. It is clear that the case we have presented falls far short of proof: our hypothesis still remains a hypothesis. However, since the evidence available to us is so slight as to require us to deal in possibilities and probabilities rather than certainties, the fact that our discussion has shown that this hypothesis is possible and plausible means that we have provided a significant alternative to current approaches to this important reference.

Before we turn to consider the implications of our hypothesis in the light of the debate about Pauline church order we must first examine other possible references in Phil to local leadership in the church.

2. Other Possible References to Local Leadership in the Philippian Church:

There are two passages which contain possible references to leaders of the Philippian church (namely 2:25-30 and 4:2-3), and we will consider each of them in turn. For reasons which will become obvious, we will consider 4:2-3 before examining the implications of what Paul has to say about Epaphroditus.

(a) 4:2-3:

In this passage Paul refers to a number of individuals in ways which suggest that they have a certain prominence in the church. We will examine what he says about each of them with a view to determining whether what is said implies that they have a leadership role in the church.

First, Paul addresses Euodia and Syntyche, urging them τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν κυρίῳ (v.2). Such an appeal in a letter to the whole church suggests that their lack of agreement is affecting the church³¹⁸ and thus that they have a prominent role in the life of the church³¹⁹--Paul is hardly likely to have brought this disagreement to the notice of the church in this way if it was no more than a private one, which had no direct bearing on the life of the church as a whole³²⁰. The likelihood that these two women were prominent in the church is increased by Paul's reference to them as αἵτινες ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ συνήθλησάν μοι (v.3). Although this need not imply that their participation in the mission took the same form as Paul's³²¹, so that Paul may be referring to their provision of material support for himself and others³²², it is perhaps more likely that he is acknowledging their work as preachers of the Gospel³²³, presumably during the church's foundation-period.³²⁴ Whether the reference embraces the former possibility or the latter, or both, it is clear that both women were known in the church as former associates of Paul, and that both must have been financially and socially independent to a significant extent. Schmithals' suggestion that they were house-church leaders³²⁵ is therefore a possibility--but no more than a possibility.

Secondly, Paul refers to Clement καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συνεργῶν μου (v.3). The μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος with which that phrase begins is to be connected with συνήθλησαν not with συλλαμβάνου³²⁶, and this means that Euodia and Syntyche are by implication labelled συνεργοί. It seems clear that Clement was a member of the Philippian church, since he is known to them by name and not mentioned elsewhere in the Pauline corpus.³²⁷ It is therefore likely that the other συνεργοί mentioned were also Philippians, and that their participation in the

mission took place while Paul was in Philippi, presumably in the period Paul refers to as the ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (4:15). This does not mean that all of those referred to were engaged in evangelistic preaching or that Paul regarded their participation in the mission as confined to the period of the church's foundation, for Paul's usage of συνεργός and συνεργεῖν is not restricted to Gospel-preaching and church-planting.³²⁸ They may continue to function as his συνεργοί by their continuing involvement in the intensive, church-building aspects of Paul's mission as responsible leaders in the Philippian church.³²⁹ However, the primary reference of Paul's statement is to that period in the past when Euodia, Syntyche, Clement and the others worked alongside him (συνήθλησάν μοι).

Thirdly, Paul refers to a particular individual as γνήσιε σύζυγε (v.3). Although many commentators treat this as a personal name³³⁰, it is more likely to be (along with the other συν-compounds in the verse (συναθλεῖν, συνεργός)) another of the mission-terms which Paul is so fond of coining³³¹, and should therefore be understood as a designation meaning 'a partner in the apostolic mission'.³³² Such a term is more likely to be applied to an individual than to the whole church³³³, but we have no means of telling who that individual was.³³⁴ The fact that Paul appeals to this σύζυγος to assist Euodia and Syntyche suggests that the person concerned was a leader in the church, someone it was natural to call on to help resolve a disagreement that was adversely affecting the whole church.³³⁵

The passage thus refers specifically to four of Paul's συνεργοί, along with an unspecified number of other συνεργοί, and does so in ways which clearly suggest that they were prominent in the church. The fact that our investigation of both 1 Th and 1 Cor has shown that Paul acknowledges as his associates and participants in the mission those who were the hosts and leaders of the

first Christian gatherings in the churches' foundation-period reinforces the possibility that some of the συνεργοί referred to here were house-church leaders, and thus ἐπίσκοποι. However, 4:2-3 does not permit us to identify the συνεργοί with the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι of 1:1. All that can be said is that it is possible, even likely, that the two groups overlapped: some of the συνεργοί here were ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι; some of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι were συνεργοί.

(b) Epaphroditus (2:25-30):

This passage is linked with 4:2-3 by the fact that Paul refers to Epaphroditus as his συνεργός (v.25). Paul's description of him as τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιῶτην μου (v.25) has been taken to imply that Epaphroditus has been involved in the work of the mission before, presumably in Philippi but perhaps also elsewhere.³³⁶ However the fact that the following phrases (ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον καὶ λειτουργὸν τῆς χρείας μου) constitute a hendiadys³³⁷, referring to Epaphroditus' journey as the church's representative bearing its gift to Paul, and forming a counterpart of the preceding τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συνεργὸν καὶ συστρατιῶτην μου, suggests that this latter phrase also refers to Epaphroditus' recent journey. If the Philippians' gift can be regarded by Paul as representing κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (1:5), then it is not difficult to imagine that he would regard Epaphroditus' journey and the assistance he has given since his arrival as a genuine participation in the work of the mission. If Epaphroditus' determination to fulfil the mission entrusted to him by the church meant that διὰ τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ μέχρι θανάτου ἡγγίσεν (v.30)³³⁸, he would thereby merit the designation συνεργός. It is likely, therefore, that Paul's acknowledgment of Epaphroditus as his ἀδελφός, συνεργός and συστρατιῶτης refers to the service he has undertaken in the period prior to the writing of Phil rather than at

some earlier time.

It seems that Epaphroditus' commission involved staying on to work with Paul as well as delivering the church's gift. This is the most likely explanation of the way Paul emphasises that Epaphroditus' return to Philippi is not his own decision--he is returning because Paul considered it to be necessary (v.25)--and also requests the church to give him a joyful and honourable welcome (v.29). The implication is that the Philippians had expected him to stay with Paul, and so may not be pleased to have him return so soon (σπουδαιότερως οὖν ἐπεμψα αὐτόν , v.28).³³⁹ However, this does not justify Ollrog's contention that

Paulus war . . . der Meinung, die philippische Gemeinde hätte zu ihm in die Missionsarbeit Vertreter, »Gemeindepandte« . . . zu entsenden.³⁴⁰

The ὑστέρημα τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας to which Paul refers (v.30) does not refer to any failure on the Philippians' part to send Paul a co-worker before. The use of λειτουργία recalls the λειτουργὸν τῆς χρείας μου of v.25³⁴¹, and thus refers especially to their financial gift--not to the gift alone, but to financial support as a tangible expression of that wider partnership in the mission which they have consistently demonstrated (1:3-5).³⁷² In the light of 1:3-5, the reference to the Philippians' ὑστέρημα cannot be interpreted as a rebuke for their failure. If there has been any "lack" in relation to what Epaphroditus has brought, it has only been because they had not had an opportunity to send support earlier (4:10)³⁴³, and the ὑστέρημα refers particularly to their present inability to serve Paul (except in such indirect, representative ways) because of their geographical separation.³⁴⁴

The likelihood that Epaphroditus had been sent by the church to stay with Paul and to work with him clearly suggests that he was regarded as a suitably gifted and experienced Christian worker. This

may suggest that he was one of the church's leadership-group, the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι, although this is not a necessary inference, of course. The fact that he was not expected to return to Philippi for some time suggests that if he was one of the church's leaders, he is more likely to have been free to be released by the church if he was a διάκονος, as the ἐπίσκοποι, as leaders of the house-churches, are less likely to have been free to leave for an extended period.³⁴⁵ It is possible, however, that Epaphroditus was a member of one of the house-churches whose gifts in evangelism or teaching had brought him to the notice of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι and made him seem a suitable candidate for membership in Paul's mission-team.

Our consideration of both 2:25-30 and 4:2-3 leads us to conclude that those referred to in these passages may well have been among the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι referred to in 1:1. In neither case, however, is this connection certain; and we lack the evidence which would permit us to be definite.

3. Ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι: Function and Office:

Phil differs from 1 Th and 1 Cor not only because it is addressed to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι along with the ἅγιοι but also because it contains no appeals from Paul for the due recognition of those who serve the church in leadership roles.³⁴⁶ The most obvious implication of these two facts is that the Philippian church had recognised the service of its leaders, who had accordingly come to hold clear and stable positions in the church. The use of the designations ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος, the distinction between them, and the separate mention of both groups alongside the whole church are most naturally taken as indications that the processes of role-definition and role-differentiation had reached a more advanced stage in the Philippian church than was evident in either 1 Th or 1 Cor.

Moreover, these features of 1:1 also suggest that the process of institutionalisation had advanced much further in the Philippian church than in those in Thessalonica or Corinth³⁴⁷, to the point where some kind of official status seems to have emerged.

In view of the debate we reviewed in the Introduction between the current consensus about Pauline church order and those who have challenged it, and in view of the different ways in which the implications or the wording of 1:1 have been evaluated, we cannot be content with impressions like those just stated. Rather, we must make a more careful assessment of the implications of the way Paul addresses this letter.

The most obvious point at which to begin a more detailed consideration of the implications of 1:1 is to ask in what ways it differs from what we have concluded about the form and function of local leadership in the churches of Thessalonica and Corinth. In view of the conclusions we reached about the role of the κοινῶντες in Thessalonica and of Stephanas and his colleagues in Corinth, and about the intention and effect of Paul's calls for their proper recognition by the churches, it is clear that the novelty of Phil 1:1

réside non pas dans l'attestation de fonctions stables dans la communauté, mais dans l'appellation qui distingue, parmi les chrétiens et sans les mettre à part, des hommes caractérisés par ces fonctions.³⁴⁸

Furthermore, in view of the obvious continuity between the function and status of the leaders referred to in 1 Th 5:12 and 1 Cor 16:15-18 and those attributed to the ἐπίσκοποι in particular in our hypothesis about the meaning of Phil 1:1, it is also clear that the

ἐπίσκοποι und διάκονοι sind ihrer Funktion nach von den in den übrigen Briefen des Paulus erwähnten Gemeindeleitungsfunktionen wohl nicht wesentlich verschieden; singulär ist jedoch die Verfestigung amtlicher Bezeichnungen bestimmter für das Gemeindeleben offenbar besonders wichtiger Funktionen.³⁴⁹

But are ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος used here as 'amtlicher Bezeichnungen'?

H. Merklein thinks not, arguing that

ἐπίσκοπος kein eigentlicher Amtstitel, sondern eine Funktionsbezeichnung ist.³⁵⁰

There are two related questions to be considered here: (1) are these terms used as "Funktionsbezeichnungen" or as "Amtstitel"? (2) does their use indicate the existence of offices in the Philippian church?

With regard to the first question, it must be said that Merklein's distinction is neither entirely valid nor especially applicable to this verse. The distinction between a "Funktionsbezeichnung" and an "Amtstitel" cannot always be made, as some terms can be both at the same time. For example, the word "pastor" is used in both capacities simultaneously in many churches today, and there is no a priori reason why the terminology of the early Christians could not have functioned similarly. Indeed, the fact that ἐπίσκοπος in particular was used in a variety of contexts outside the NT as a designation of a stable position with a clearly-defined set of duties³⁵¹ suggests that it would normally be understood to refer to both function and position. This is confirmed by the fact that, in distinction from 1 Th 5:12 and 1 Cor 16:16 (where participial designations are used), Phil 1:1 speaks of ἐπίσκοποι καὶ διάκονοι, not ἐπισκοποῦντες καὶ διακονοῦντες. While both ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος emphasise a particular function, therefore, it seems clear that they also have a titular sense in Phil 1:1.

Who was responsible for the use of these titles--Paul or the Philippians? There is no way of telling, and it is not vital to discover the answer anyway. If Paul introduced these titles, it seems clear that they were both intelligible and acceptable to the Philippians. If (as is perhaps more likely) the Philippians had introduced them it seems clear that Paul saw no difficulty in either the fact of their use or the type of development in the church's structure and functioning that this use represents.³⁵² Indeed, it might be argued that it is

precisely because the Philippians have given that recognition to their leaders which Paul urges upon the churches in Thessalonica and Corinth that stable positions for which such designations are appropriate have emerged. In Chapters II and III we argued that the of Paul's appeals for the due recognition of the churches' leaders and their ministry was to give significant impetus to the processes of role-definition and -differentiation and of institutionalisation.³⁵⁴ The existence of two groups within the Philippian church with titles that attest stable, recognisable functions and that distinguish the groups from each other and from the rest of the church clearly suggests that these processes had reached a fairly advanced stage. But how advanced?--had the process of institutionalisation reached the point where the formalisation which is a defining characteristic of office³⁵⁴ had been introduced? In other words, were the positions of the ἐπίσκοποι and δῆκονοι "offices"?

Some scholars return a negative answer on rather arbitrary and a priori grounds. J. Ernst, for example, states categorically that at the foundational epoch of the apostolic time there was no room for divided and structured responsibility³⁵⁵, despite the fact that the most natural reading of Phil 1:1 is that it attests precisely such 'divided and structured responsibility'! He goes on to assert that

in the Philippian community there existed no concurrent »offices« beside the authority of Paul.³⁵⁶

This approach is more like manipulation of the evidence than interpretation of it, as it appears to be more concerned to confirm some pre-conceived theory than to let the evidence speak for itself.

A more acceptable approach is evidenced by J. Dunn, who recognises that 1:1 points to

distinct groups within the church at Philippi . . . [who] had fairly clearly recognized functions³⁵⁷,

but denies that office can be inferred.

We certainly cannot assume from the words in the Pastorals and in later Catholicism that already in Philippi these ministries were offices to be filled by appointment and ordination. . . . The pattern of charisma and ministry in the other churches which Paul established suggests rather that these were charismatic ministries which the individuals concerned had taken upon themselves and whose role as regular ministries was recognized by the church in Philippi. . . .³⁵³

We have already had occasion to be critical of Dunn's argument at this point.³⁵⁹ In addition to the criticisms we have already made, we must observe two respects in which Dunn's argument is questionable. In the first place, our hypothesis about the function of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι means that theirs were not 'charismatic ministries' in Dunn's sense, i.e.,

activities for which no further qualification was needed than obedience to the inspiration of the Spirit.³⁶⁰

Those concerned exercised a pastoral function which was based not only on their spiritual sensitivity and maturity, but also on their social position as heads of Christian households and leaders of house-churches.³⁶¹

Secondly, while it is obviously illegitimate to read a later stage of ecclesiastical development into Phil 1:1, the question Dunn does not adequately consider is whether this verse suggests the existence of office. It will not do to brush the question aside by observing that we must not assume that a later form of office existed here already; the question is whether office in a form appropriate to this relatively early stage of church life

is suggested by the reference to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι. In view of the use of these titles³⁶², it begins to look like special

pleading to deny that the functions and positions so designated are in any sense official.³⁶⁸

It seems undeniable that the phrase οὖν ἐπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις indicates positions in the church which involve (to refer once more to Brockhaus' analysis of the concept of "office"),

1. Das Element der Dauer, 2. das Element der Anerkennung durch die Gemeinde (ein Indiz für Dauer und Anerkennung ist die feste Amtsbezeichnung), 3. die Sonderstellung einzelner gegenüber der Gemeinde. . . .³⁶⁴

It may well be true (as Dunn claims) that there have been no formal appointments or no ordinations, but that would surely be because these positions in the church have gradually reached their present level of stability and definition over the entire period since the church in Philippi was founded, and were not inserted into the church's structures and functioning "ready-made". The transition to a new generation of leaders may well see 'die geordnete Beauftragung (Handauflegung)', and perhaps even 'das rechtliche Element, die rechtliche Sicherung der Funktion'.³⁶⁵

In Chapters 2 and 3 we argued that the references to local leadership in 1 Th and 1 Cor showed a clear tendency towards conformity with the above three elements of office.³⁶⁶ Our discussion of Phil 1:1 has shown that in all three respects the position of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the Philippian church is significantly more stable and formal than those of the leaders in the churches in Thessalonica and Corinth. It seems clear, therefore, that the verse refers to offices, though of a rudimentary kind.³⁶⁷ How those offices may have developed, and how Paul may have regarded the possible lines of development, is beyond the scope of both this verse (and the letter to which it belongs) and this study.

There is one significant point that remains to be made, however.

Paul did not address himself to these "officers" over the head of the congregation. Rather, as was his custom elsewhere in his letters, he addressed the congregation; he addressed the bishops and deacons second and only in conjunction with the congregation. . . . One can infer from this that Paul did not perceive these as "lords" over Christ's church, but as individuals designated for special service within the church. . . .³⁶⁸

It is clear both from the manner in which Paul addresses the letter

and from our hypothesis about the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι that their offices are entirely functional in character. They are clearly not constitutive of the church³⁶⁹; nor are they in any sense sacral.³⁷⁰ The offices concerned are neither before the church nor over the church, but in the church and for the church. While those concerned are distinguished from the other believers as ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι they stand alongside them as ἄγιοι³⁷¹ and ἀδελφοί (1:12; 3:1,13,17; 4:1,8). The relations between all members of the believing community are to be characterised by mutual ταπεινοφροσύνη and mutual service (2:3-4), and this precludes any distinctions other than those of a purely functional kind, based on and expressing role differences, from being recognised or accepted in the church. Our discussion in Chapters II and III has indicated that distinctions of social status were an important component in the emergence of role differences in the leadership of the churches, but it is now clear that these status distinctions are validly recognised in the church only to the extent that they become the occasion for humble service. Honour is to be given to those to whom it is due (Rom 13:7): in the church it is due to every believer as a brother in Christ (2:3-4; cp. Rom 12:10), and especially to those who give themselves for the sake of the Gospel and the church (cp. 2:29-30).

What we suggested earlier in this study has now been confirmed: Paul's theology does not exclude office as such, but rather sets limits to the forms it may take and the way it is perceived.³⁷² Paul is not against structures or institutions; he is against authoritarianism and self-centred pride. The conclusion we reached in Chapter 1 is thus validated in relation to Phil 1:1:

The vital question about Pauline church order is . . . , not whether office exists (for that is only a function of the degree of institutionalisation that has occurred in the churches), but how it is understood when the churches' growing size and complexity, and the formalisation that this generates, leads to its emergence.³⁷³

This also leads us to endorse once more von Campenhausen's claim that office

is not unspiritual just so long as it remains obedient to the Spirit of Christ, and performs that service of the Gospel of Christ for which it was appointed.³⁷⁴

In Chapter 1, in the course of defining the scope and aims of this study, we indicated that one of the principal questions we would be concerned with was, "What evidence is there of an emergent leadership in the churches?", and further specified the implications of that question by asking,

Do certain members display a functional dominance in areas central to the church's functioning such that they come to exercise a clear leadership-role in the church? Is there any evidence of the legitimisation of particular kinds of influence (power) in the church's life, so that certain members come to have authority in the church? Is there any evidence of a tendency for leadership functions to become clearly-defined positions? In other words, is there any discernible movement from "function" to "office"?³⁷⁵

Although the evidence of Phil does not relate as directly to the first two of these questions as the material in 1 Th 5:12-13 and 1 Cor 16:15-18 does, it does permit a very clear "Yes" to the latter two questions. It seems obvious, therefore, that the answer to the first two questions would also have been in the affirmative had more evidence been available--a probability that is strengthened by the continuity suggested by our hypothesis concerning the meaning of 1:1 between the role of the κοινῶντες in Thessalonica and of Stephanas and his οἰκία in Corinth and that of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in Philippi.

In our consideration of groups and leadership in Chapter 1, we noted that increasing stabilisation and increasing size lead naturally to increasing complexity and formality in a social group.³⁷⁶

The emergence of settled, regular patterns of interaction in a group

and their reinforcement and perpetuation is what constitutes institutionalisation.³⁷⁷ When this stabilising process is accompanied by increasing size, complexity develops and formality emerges.³⁷⁸ The former involves both role-differentiation and the emergence of sub-groups on the horizontal plane, and the emergence of distinctions of power and prestige on the vertical plane.³⁷⁹ The latter consists of the replacement of informal working arrangements and implicit understandings with more explicit guidelines and procedures.³⁸⁰

As a general principle, increasing size and complexity are both often associated with greater formality, since a certain amount of standardisation and predictability is necessary to maintain a large and complex pattern of ordering and achieving collective goals.³⁸¹

All of this has a very significant bearing on the emergence and consolidation of leadership-roles. Increasing size and complexity in a social group create an increasing need for coordination of communication and activity in the group³⁸², and this results in a strengthening of the position in the group of those who provide necessary coordination and control. As the need for specifying procedures and patterns of interaction becomes greater, that is, as "group" moves towards "organisation", so the leadership-role tends towards "office".³⁸³ The emergence of office represents a particular stage in the development of both institutionalisation and formalisation, which in turn reflect a significant growth in stability, size and complexity in the group.

The existence of a rudimentary form of office in the Philippian church can thus be seen as a reflection of greater age (thus greater stabilisation of patterns and structures) and greater size and complexity (thus greater formalisation of roles) than were evident in either the Thessalonian church or the Corinthian church. This provides further indirect support for our hypothesis about the size and structure of the Christian community

in Philippi, which in turn supports our proposal about the function and position of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι.

IV. CONCLUSIONS:

Phil differs from 1 Th and 1 Cor in two significant ways. It is probable that it was written a decade or so after the foundation of the Philippian church, and was thus addressed to a much older church than the other two letters were. Secondly, its contents and purposes were determined nearly as much by the situation from which it was written as by that to which it was written. Both of these things have a marked influence on the way the letter characterises the relationship between the apostle and the church. One aspect of that relationship is the church's partnership with the apostle. This has been evident from the time of the church's foundation and has been focused throughout on the mission, the εὐαγγέλιον (1:5). Although it has involved both evangelistic activity by the Philippians and their continuing intercession for Paul in his task of defending and proclaiming the Gospel, the particular expression of this partnership for which Paul conveys his gratitude in the letter is the financial gift they have sent with Epaphroditus (2:25; 4:10-20). They have demonstrated their partnership with Paul in the mission in the same way on a number of previous occasions (4:15-16). The way in which Paul describes and acknowledges this partnership throughout the letter is a clear indication of his recognition of the interdependent, collaborative character of his mission.

A second aspect of the relationship between apostle and church is the apostle's leadership of the church. The means by which he exercises responsible oversight of the church in his

absence from it are (as in 1 Th and 1 Cor) his prayers, his example, his envoy, and his letter. However, the setting in which he provides this leadership for the church is rather different in Phil than it was in 1 Th or 1 Cor. The decade or so since the foundation of the church will have made it clear that the demands of the mission are such that he can visit the church only occasionally, and thus that, although he remains potentially accessible, his leadership will normally be exercised indirectly. The fact that he is facing a possible death-sentence as he writes means that, although he is confident of release and a return to Philippi (1:25-26; 2:24), both apostle and church have to contemplate his eventual permanent absence through death. Both of these things mean that there is greater scope for the emergence of a recognised, established local leadership alongside the continuing, but usually mediated, leadership of the apostle.

As in 1 Th and 1 Cor, any local leadership in the Philippian church will be exercised in the context not only of apostolic leadership but also of the corporate responsibility and ministry of the church as a whole. So throughout the letter Paul addresses all the believers together as responsible participants in the church's life and mission. He is especially concerned that they maintain the church's unity in the face of both external opposition and internal discord. With regard to the former, he appeals for their corporate solidarity in commitment to, and contending for, the Gospel (1:27-30), while in relation to the latter he appeals for their mutual harmony in love and humble service (2:1-4). To live a communal life that is worthy of the Gospel (1:27a) requires a unity involving both side-by-side solidarity and face-to-face harmony.

The contents of the paraenesis in Phil, and the contrast between it and the paraenesis in 1 Th, suggest the possibility that the church in Philippi was somewhat larger than a "group", as defined in Chapter I. This possibility is reinforced by an examination of the reference to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in 1:1. The major interpretations of this reference prove on inspection to be unsatisfactory in various ways. A suggestion made by F.C. Baur a century and a half ago, and which also occurs in some recent studies, proves to be more plausible: the ἐπίσκοποι are the leaders of the various house-churches in Philippi, with the διάκονοι as their assistants; and the two groups form a "coordinating committee" effecting liaison between, and exercising oversight of, the house-churches and their members. Paul addresses Phil to the ἅγιοι rather than to the ἐκκλησία because there is no regular meeting of the whole Christian community in Philippi, and also to the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι because they provide the principal link between the separate house-churches, and so it is through them that the letter will reach all the believers in Philippi. This interpretation of the reference to ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι can therefore be related in a plausible way to the circumstances of the church and the intention of the letter; it also understands both the terms themselves in a way which is readily intelligible in the light of their pre-Christian usage and also the functions to which they refer in a way that is compatible with later ecclesiastical usage of the terms. This proposal about the role of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι also means that there is a recognisable continuity between the function and position of both the προϋστάμενοι in Thessalonica and Stephanas and other such leaders in Corinth and that of the ἐπίσκοποι in Philippi.

The use of the terms ἐπίσκοπος and διάκονος points to stable, recognised functions and positions, and indicates that the processes of role-differentiation and role-definition have advanced considerably beyond what was evident in 1 Th or 1 Cor. Their evident titular force is suggestive of a degree of stabilisation that presupposes a reasonable age for the church, and a degree of complexity and formality that implies a reasonable size for the church. This titular use of the terms attests to the existence of office in the Philippian church, even if they are only rudimentary in character. The manner of Paul's reference to these officials, and the nature of his paraenesis, clearly show that the distinctions indicated within the Christian community are merely functional; there is no question of office that is sacral or constitutive in character.

CHAPTER IV: NOTES:

¹As was the case with 1 Th, the authenticity of Phil has been challenged by both F.C. Baur and other members of the "Tübingen school", and also by A.Q. Morton on the basis of statistical analysis of Pauline vocabulary. Neither of these cases against the letter's authenticity has proved convincing. On the arguments of Baur and others, see F.F. Bruce: "St. Paul in Macedonia: 3. The Philippian Correspondence", BJRL 63 (1980-1), pp.260-84 (at pp.261-2); Lightfoot, pp.74-7; Moffatt: Introduction, pp.170-2, and on Morton's arguments, see (in addition to the studies referred to in n.1 of Chapter 2 (p.261)) J.L. Houlden: Paul's Letters from Prison (SCM Pelican Commentaries) (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1977), pp.39-40.

²Important studies of the question which conclude in favour of partitioning the letter are G. Baumbach: "Die von Paulus im Philipperbrief bekämpften Irrlehrer", in K.-W Tröger (ed.): Gnosis und Neues Testament: Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie (Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh, 1973), pp.293-310 (at pp.293-8); F.W. Beare: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians (BNTC) (A. & C. Black Ltd., London, 1959, 1973), pp.1-5, 24-9; G. Bornkamm: "Philipperbrief"; Collange, pp.3-15; G. Friedrich: Der Brief an die Philipper (NTD) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1976), pp.126-35; Gnllka, pp.5-18; J. Müller-Bardorff: "Zur Frage der literarischen Einheit des Philipperbriefes", in Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Jena: Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe 7 (1957-8), pp.591-604; B.D. Rahtjen: "The Three Letters of Paul to the Philippians", NTS 6 (1959-60), pp.167-73; Schmithals: Paul, pp. 67-81; Suhl: Paulus, pp. 149-61; N. Walter: "Der Philipper und das Leiden: Aus den Anfängen einer heidenchristlichen Gemeinde", in R. Schnackenburg, J. Ernst, and J. Wanke (eds.): Die Kirche des Anfangs: Für Heinz Schürmann (Verlag Herder, Freiburg, 1978), pp. 417-34 (at pp. 418-20).

³A detailed review of the debate is provided by R.P. Martin: Philippians (NCB) (Oliphants, London, 1976), pp. 10-22. B. Mengel's Studien zum Philipperbrief: Untersuchungen zum situativen Kontext unter besonderen Berücksichtigung der Frage nach der Ganzheitlichkeit oder Einheitlichkeit einer paulinischen Briefes (WUNT 2/8) (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1982) was not available to me.

⁴See pp. 151-56 above.

⁵As a glance at the table provided by Suhl (Paulus, p.150) will show, there is no unanimity as to where each of these passages is thought to end.

⁶See, for example, Kümmel: Introduction, p. 333; Caird, p. 100; G.F. Hawthorne: Philippians (WBC) (Word Books, Waco, 1983), pp.xxxi, 123; Houlden, p. 96.

⁷See, for example, Lightfoot, p. 69; T.E. Pollard: "The Integrity of Philippians", NTS 13 (1966-67), pp.57-66 (at p.61); Wiles: Prayers, p.201.

⁸Dalton: "Integrity", p.99f; Hawthorne, p.xxxi; Houlden, p.105f; Pollard: "Integrity", pp.64-65.

⁹So, for example, Gnilya, p.8; Rahtjen: "Letters", pp.170, 172; Schmithals: Paul, pp.70-71 (he connects 4:4-7 with 3:1 (p.72)).

¹⁰See Houlden, p.90.

¹¹Note 1 Th 4:1; 2 Th 3:1, and see Hawthorne, p.124f; Houlden, p.106; B.S.MacKay: "Further Thoughts on Philippians", NTS 7 (1960-61), pp.161-70 (at p.163f); Moule: Idiom-Book. p.161f.

¹²F.F. Bruce: Philippians (GNC) (Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1983), p.76; Caird, p.131f; Gnilya, p.165; Hawthorne, p.124.

¹³Caird, p.132; Houlden, p.106; H. Gamble: Textual History, p.146.

¹⁴So, for example, Beare, p.4; Collange, p.5; Bornkamm: "Philliperbrief", p.196; Schmithals: Paul, p.77.

¹⁵So, for example, Collange, pp.6-7; Friedrich, p.127; Gnilya, p.9; Schmithals: Paul, p.75.

¹⁶Martin, pp.15, 63-64; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, pp.22-5, 41-6; but see the arguments against this interpretation by Hawthorne (p.16f).

¹⁷K. Barth: The Epistle to the Philippians, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1962), p.15f; Beare, p.7; Collange, p.44f; Dibelius, p.53; Hawthorne, p.19; Lightfoot, p.83; J.H. Michael: The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians (MNTC) (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1928), p.11f; M.R. Vincent: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon (ICC) (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1897), p.7; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, pp.24-25; G. Panikulam: Koinonia in the New Testament: A Dynamic Expression of Christian Life (AnBib 85) (Biblical Institute Press, Rome, 1979), pp.83-85.

¹⁸Beare, p.33; Caird, p.107; Martin, p.65.

¹⁹Caird, p.100; Houlden, p.112; Mackay: "Thoughts", p.169. The claim that Paul had sent his thanks previously (Michael, pp.209-12; Wiles, p.198) is unlikely.

²⁰Hawthorne, p.194; Gamble: Textual History, p.146. Note the use of ἀπέχω at 4:18, a term which occurs in the papyri as a technical term in receipts for payment: see Deissmann: Light, pp.110ff; Gnilya, p.179 (with n.151). On the whole passage as a "receipt", see especially J.P. Sampley: Pauline Partnership in Christ: Christian Community and Commitment in Light of Roman Law (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1980), pp.52-60.

²¹loc. cit.

²²These are not the only grounds, of course, on which the case for the partitioning of Phil rests. For a fuller discussion see the review in Martin (n.3 above), which includes a consideration of the external evidence which proponents of the compilation hypotheses sometimes adduce (see also Hawthorne, p.xxxi).

²³See Houlden, p.41; R. Jewett: "The Epistolary Thanksgiving and the Integrity of Philippians", NovT 12 (1970), pp.40-53 (at pp.49-53); Mackay: "Thoughts", pp.167-68; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p.37f; Pollard: "Integrity", passim; Wiles: Prayers, pp.197-202.

²⁴Jewett: "Thanksgiving", p. 53; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, pp.37-40; Wiles: Prayers, pp.203-14.

²⁵Dalton: "Integrity", p.100f; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p.46; Schubert: Thanksgivings, p.77; Wiles: Prayers, pp.104-6.

²⁶Dalton: "Integrity", p.101.

²⁷See our comments on p.153 above.

²⁸Houlden, p.25. Cp. also the comments of Hawthorne (p.xxxi).

²⁹See, for example, Dalton: "Integrity", p.98; Kümmel: Introduction, p. 334; Hawthorne, p.xxxii.

³⁰Cp. p.155 above.

³¹See p.153 above.

³²Prayers, p.197.

³³Note the references to Paul's δεσμοί in 1:7,13,14,17. T.W. Manson denied that Paul was in custody as he wrote (Studies, pp.151-55), but his arguments are not convincing: see Suhl: Paulus, pp.162-67; also Caird, pp.1-2; Martin, p.38.

³⁴For a Caesarean provenance: E. Lohmeyer: Der Brief an die Philipper (KEK) (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 141974), pp.3-4, 38-49; L.Johnson: "The Pauline Letters from Caesarea", ExpT 68 (1956-57), pp.24-26; Gunther: Paul, pp.98-120; Robinson: Redating, pp.60f, 77-79; Hawthorne, pp.xxxvi-xliv.

For a Roman provenance: see the list in Kümmel: Introduction, p.325 n.5, to which must be added Bruce, pp.xxi-vi; Caird, pp.2-6; Houlden, pp.41-44.

³⁵Perhaps the most determined champion of this hypothesis, first advanced by A. Deissmann, has been G.S. Duncan: see his St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry: A Reconstruction with special reference to the Ephesian origin of the Imprisonment Epistles (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1929); "A New Setting for St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians", ExpT 43 (1931-32), pp.7-11; "Important Hypotheses Reconsidered: VI. Were Paul's Imprisonment Epistles written from Ephesus?", ExpT 67 (1955-56), pp.163-66. For other supporters of this hypothesis see Bruce, p.xxxi (n.38).

³⁶See the full list of advocates of this view in Kümmel: Introduction, p. 329 n.21, to which must be added Collange, pp.15-9; Suhl: Paulus, pp.144-202.

³⁷S. Dockx: "Lieu et Date de l'Épître aux Philippiens", RB 80 (1973), pp.230-46.

³⁸ See the criticisms of Dockx's argument in Hawthorne, p.xlif; Martin, p.45.

³⁹ Introduction, p.332.

⁴⁰ According to Manson (Studies, p.155f), Collange (p.18-19), and Suhl (Paulus, p.144), Phil is to be dated before 1 Cor.

⁴¹ These figures are not exact, of course. On the problem of Pauline chronology see Chapter 2, n.22 (pp.264-5 above).

⁴² On which see Beare, pp.18-19; P. Bonnard; L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Philippiens (CNT) (Delachaux & Niestlé, Neuchâtel/Paris, 1950), p.10; Collange, p.16; Hawthorne, p.xxxviii; Bornkamm: "Philipperebrief", p.198f; Dockx: "Lieu", pp.233-34; Kümmel: Introduction, pp.325f,326f.

⁴³ Advocates of this hypothesis claim that Phil indicates that Paul has not been in Philippi since his initial visit, and thus that it could not have been written from Caesarea or Rome: see Bonnard, p.10; Martin, p.42f; Dockx: "Lieu", p.234; Kümmel: Introduction, pp. 326, 331; Manson: Studies, pp.156-57.

Paul's indications in Phil that he plans to return to Philippi after his release (1:25; 2:24) are thought to be indicative of an early date in view of the plans announced in Rom for a western mission (so, for example, Collange, p.16; Gnifka, p.21; R. Jewett: "Conflicting Movements in the Early Church as reflected in Philippians", NovT 12 (1970), pp.362-90 (at pp.363-64)), and in view of the way the plans announced in Phil coincide with Acts' account of Paul's movements after his departure from Ephesus (so, for example, Bonnard, p.10; Martin, p.43; Kümmel: Introduction, p.325; Robinson: Redating, p.60f).

⁴⁴ For an account of the number and length of the journeys pre-supposed in Phil which does not preclude a considerable distance between Paul and Philippi see Bruce, p.xxvf; Caird, p.100; Houlden, pp.91, 112; C.O. Buchanan: "Epaphroditus' Sickness and the Letter to the Philippians", EQ 36 (1964), pp. 157-66 (at pp. 159-61). The data of Phil do not necessarily show that Paul has had no personal contact with Philippi between his initial visit and the writing of the letter (see Beare, p.24), and there is no reason to suppose that changed circumstances could not lead Paul to change his plans for a western mission (see Beare, p.19; Bruce, p.xxivf).

⁴⁵ These difficulties can be summarised as follows:

(i) The absence of any reference to the collection in Phil and the fact that Paul has accepted a monetary gift for himself are both highly unlikely if Phil was written from Ephesus, when the collection was in train (so, for example, Caird, p.5; Hawthorne, p.xxxix; Robinson: Redating, p.59).

(ii) Despite claims to the contrary, the praetorium referred to in 1:13 can hardly have been located in Ephesus: see especially Bruce, p.xxii.

(iii) 1:20-24 most naturally suggests that Paul's detention may have ended in a sentence of death, but this could have been avoided in Ephesus by an appeal to the Emperor (Caird, p.5; Hawthorne, p.xi; Martin, pp.54-56).

(iv) In view of the way Ephesus was a centre of Pauline activity for an extended period, it is difficult to imagine that Paul's need of support and finance was so great as to lead Epaphroditus to risk his life to ensure that Paul was not left in the lurch (Beare, p.17).

⁴⁶Paul, p.116.

⁴⁷Cp. Hawthorne, p.xxxix: 'The fatal flaw in the Ephesian imprisonment hypothesis is that it is totally built on conjecture.' The extent to which the force of this fact is minimised by some advocates of this hypothesis may be seen in the fact that Collange concedes that 'There is no direct evidence for this imprisonment . . .' (p.18), yet on the same page asserts, 'We . . . regard an Ephesian imprisonment . . . as beyond dispute. . . .'!

⁴⁸Ephesian Ministry, pp. 95-107.

⁴⁹This does not preclude the possibility that Paul's discussion of his circumstances had other motivations as well. Note, for example, the suggestions by Martin, p.32; Jewett: "Movements", p.367f.

⁵⁰The recent arrival of Epaphroditus would have ensured that Paul's grasp of the situation was reasonably accurate and up-to-date.

⁵¹See pp. 533ff.

⁵²For this understanding of the verse, see Beare, p.68; Bruce, p.33; Friedrich, p.146; Gnilka, p.99; Houlden, p.65; Martin, p.83; Michael, p.69; Vincent, p.34.

⁵³Hawthorne, p.62; Pfitzner: Paul, pp.116-18.

⁵⁴As claimed by Lohmeyer (passim).

⁵⁵So Caird, p.116; Gnilka, pp.99f,102.

⁵⁶See especially Walter: "Die Philipper".

⁵⁷The repeated emphasis on joy throughout the letter (1:18,25; 2:17-18; 3:1; 4:4) may reflect a tendency on the part of the Philippians to be downcast by the sufferings they were undergoing. The reference in 2:14 to γογγυσμοί and διαλογισμοί is more likely (especially in view of the way the passage alludes to Deut 32, and recalls the behaviour of Israel in the wilderness) to refer to complaining against God than to internal wrangling in the church (as Collange (p.111) and Hawthorne (p.101) understand it), and this may well have been a reaction to their sufferings.

⁵⁸A clear indication of the lack of consensus in this area is provided by the list of 17 different viewpoints assembled by J.J.Gunther in St. Paul's Opponents and their Background: A Study of Apocalyptic and Jewish Sectarian Teachings (NovT Suppl XXXV) (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1973), p.2.

⁵⁹Gnilka, p.8.

⁶⁰So Collange, p.13; Lightfoot, p.68. Jewett's claim ("Movements", pp.376-77) that those referred to are former members of the Philippian church who were expelled by Paul and the church leaders during his initial stay in the city lacks any real basis in the text.

⁶¹Agreeing with Barth, p.47f; Gnilka, p.49; Martin, p.83; Michael, p.69, against those who regard 1:28 and 3:2 as references to the same group (for example, Collange, p.75; Hawthorne, p.58; Schmithals: Paul, pp.79ff)

⁶²The fact that Paul does not simply dismiss their views as obviously false (cp. Rom 16:17-18, for example), but takes up most of the chapter responding to them probably reflects his awareness of how persuasively the false teachers concerned were able to put their case.

⁶³3:17-18 clearly implies that other models of Christian conduct than Paul's have been available to the Philippians, and that it cannot be taken for granted that those contrary to Paul's would be automatically rejected as invalid by the Philippians. See further pp. 525-6 below.

⁶⁴Against Martin, pp.31-33; Jewett: "Movements", pp.373-76, for example.

⁶⁵See pp. 156-9 above.

⁶⁶Note the way the intercession focuses on the extension and completion of what is already present: their love is to "abound" (ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον περισσεύη, v.9), and they are to be πεπληρωμένοι in the fruit of righteousness (v.11). Cp. the "more than" motif in 1 Th (pp.161-3, 166 above).

⁶⁷For this understanding of the passage, see especially Lincoln: Paradise, pp.89-93.

⁶⁸Cp. 1 Th (see p.166 above).

⁶⁹See Beare, p.15; Caird, p.107; Lightfoot, p.66f.

⁷⁰Cp. the two-sided character of the relationship between Paul and Timothy, as described in 1 Th (see pp.177-9 above), 1 Cor (see pp.352-4 above), and also in Phil (see pp.527-9 below).

⁷¹Barth, p.9f; Bruce, p.2; Collange, p.36; Gniska, p.30; Lightfoot, p.81; Michael, p.2.

⁷²Caird, p.105.

⁷³Collange, p.36; Lohmeyer, p.9. For the Pauline concept of believers as δοῦλοι Χριστοῦ see Rom 14:18; 16:18; 1 Cor 7:21-23; Col 3:24; 4:12; cp. Eph 6:6 and K.H. Rengstorff: TDNT II, pp.274-76.

⁷⁴The connection between 1:1 and 2:7 is noted by Collange, p.36; Houlden, p.47.

⁷⁵Collange, p.36; Friedrich, p.136; Hawthorne, p.5; E. Best: "Bishops and Deacons: Philippians 1,1", SE IV/TU 102 (1968), pp.371-76 (at pp.374-75).

⁷⁶Houlden, p.48.

⁷⁷G. Sass: "Zur Bedeutung von δοῦλος bei Paulus", ZNW 40 (1941), pp.24-32 (especially pp.29-32); Gniska, p.30f; Martin, p.60; Michael, p.3; Vincent, p.2f; Rengstorff: TDNT II, p.276f. Cp. Rom 1:1; also Tit 1:1.

⁷⁸Noted by Hawthorne, p.19; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p.39; idem: "The Fellowship Theme in Philippians", RTR 37 (1978), pp.9-18; Panikulam: Koinonia, p.80f; L.-M Demailly: "La Part Prise à l'Évangile (Phil., I,5)", RB 80 (1973). pp.247-60 (at p.247).

Of the 13 occurrences of κοινωνία in the Pauline corpus, 3 are in Phil, as are 1 of the 5 uses of κοινωνεῖν 1 of the 3 uses of συγκοινωνό and 1 of the 2 uses of συγκοινωνεῖν.

⁷⁹As argued by Friedrich, p.138; F. Hauck: TDNT III, p.804f.

⁸⁰εὐαγγέλιον is best understood here as a nomen actionis: see especially O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p.24 n.22; Dewailly: "La Part", pp.250-51.

⁸¹On the active sense of κοινωνία here see M. McDermott: "The Biblical Doctrine of ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ", BZ 19 (1975), pp.64-77, 219-33 (at p.226f); O'Brien: loc. cit.

⁸²For the variety of forms this partnership took see Barth, p.16; Bruce, p.7; Gnilka, p.45; Hawthorne, p.19; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p.25.

⁸³See p.506 above, with nn.17,18.

⁸⁴Barth, p.18f; Lightfoot, p.85; Martin, p.66; Michael, pp.15-16; Vincent, p.10; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p.25 n.30.

⁸⁵Manson: Studies, p.151. No doubt Paul would also have had in mind the grace which upheld him in his suffering for, and proclamation of the Gospel (cp. 2 Cor 12:9).

⁸⁶See A. Satake: "Apostolat und Gnade bei Paulus", NTS 15 (1968-69), pp.96-107.

⁸⁷Bruce, pp.10-11; Caird, p.108; Collange, p.47; Hawthorne, p.23; Dewailly: "La Part", p.251f.

⁸⁸Friedrich, p.139; Gnilka, p.48; Hawthorne, p.23; Lightfoot, p.85; Lohmeyer, p.26.

⁸⁹Dibelius, p.54; Houlden, p.53.

⁹⁰Note the important link between τῆς χάριτος in 1:7 and ἐχαρίσθη in 1:29.

⁹¹Following Bruce, p.127; Gnilka, p.177; Hawthorne, p.202 against Martin, who understands it as a reference to the tribulations of the end-time (p.164).

⁹²See O. Glombitza: "Der Dank des Apostels. Zum Verständnis von Philipper IV 10-20", NovT 7 (1964), pp.135-41. Glombitza's concern to emphasise the deeper, personal aspects of the Philippians' partnership with Paul leads him to underrate the extent to which this passage (4:10-20) was prompted by the Philippians' gift to Paul.

⁹³Some scholars regard this passage's evidence that the Philippians have sent money to Paul on several occasions as an indication that in the case of the Philippian church he made an exception to his normal practice of refusing to accept financial support from his churches (so Barth, p.127; Friedrich, p.173; Gnilka, p.174f; Lightfoot, pp.164, 165f; Lohmeyer, p.185). This view is not well-founded, however. In the first place, Paul did accept financial support from other churches besides that in Philippi, as 2 Cor 11:8; 12:13 shows (Martin, p.166). Secondly, Paul

seems to have refused financial support from a church only during his ministry in it: 'Financial remuneration at the place of service was declined; financial fellowship in work elsewhere was not.' (Bowers: Studies, p.118 n.1; cp. also Caird, p.107; Dungan: Sayings, p.32; Holmberg: Paul, p.94). Thirdly, it appears that Paul refused all financial support for himself during the period of the collection (Bruce, p.124). His receipt of money from the Philippian church does not therefore constitute an exception to his normal policy.

⁹⁴McDermott: "KOINONIA", p.72. Cp. also Friedrich, p.174; Gnllka, p.177f; Lohmeyer, p.185; Martin, p.165f; Michael, p.221; Dewailly: "La Part", p.253. Pace Hawthorne, p.204f; Lightfoot, p.165; Vincent, p.148, Paul is using commercial terminology to refer to a partnership which includes, but is much broader than, financial transactions (their $\delta\delta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and his $\lambda\eta\mu\psi\iota\varsigma$).

⁹⁵See pp. 340-54 above.

⁹⁶See pp. 169, 175 above.

⁹⁷In 2:15 the Philippians are τέκνα θεοῦ.

⁹⁸Sampley: Partnership, p.11.

⁹⁹p.51

¹⁰⁰pp.52-70.

¹⁰¹pp.52-53.

¹⁰²pp.53,59,61,71,103f,107. In this connection Sampley argues that $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ in 2:25 and 4:16 is to be translated as "request" rather than "need" (pp.54-55)--i.e., Paul asked the Philippians for money (a view also held by Collange (p.149)). This is improbable: $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ normally means "need" (BGD does not give the meaning "request"), and 4:11-13 does not read like the assertions of a man who is supposedly returning thanks for a gift he solicited.

¹⁰³See pp. 214f, 406f above. One particularly clear indicator of Paul's recognition of the interdependent, collaborative nature of his mission is his frequent use of words compounded with the prefix $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ -- (see, for example, Ollrog: Paulus, pp.63-72). This is an important feature of the language of Phil: see Dewailly: "La Part", p.259 n.44.

¹⁰⁴2:12 is understood as a reference to the Philippians' obedience to God by Friedrich, p.155; Michael, p.100f; S. Pedersen: "»Mit Furcht und Zittern« (Phil.2,12-13)", StTh 32 (1978), pp.1-32 (at pp. 16-17, 20-21).

¹⁰⁵Paul is thought to be referring here to the Philippians' obedience to the Gospel by Collange, p.109; Hawthorne, p.98; Lightfoot, p.115f; Martin, p.102.

¹⁰⁶Cp. Bruce, pp.56-57.

¹⁰⁷H. Balz rightly says that the point of the verse is that 'during Paul's absence the Philippians should remember their own responsibility to his previous proclamation and admonition.' (TDNT IX, p.214 n.134.)

¹⁰⁸The usual interpretation of this passage--namely, that Paul was awaiting trial, and although he knew that it might result in his being sentenced to death, he had come to the conviction that he would be acquitted and released-- faces the difficulty that it requires us to evade the most natural meaning of some of Paul's assertions. He speaks as though the outcome of his imprisonment depended on him (v.22 refers not to what he wishes but to what he will choose), and declares that he knows (οἶδα, v.25; cp. πέποιθα, 2:24) that he will live and return to Philippi. In view of this, Collange argues (pp.8-10) that Paul is able to secure his release by revealing his Roman citizenship (thus presupposing that Phil was not written from Rome), and that 1:12-26 is designed to show (against those who felt that he should have been willing to face martyrdom) that his choice was determined by his commitment to the glory of Christ and the service of the churches. His argument involves the denial that 1:21-24 and 2:17 refer to the impending death of the apostle. This is also the position argued by Hawthorne, who maintains (pp.43-44) that 1:20ff expresses Paul's total commitment to Christ and does not indicate that he was facing death, and also argues (pp.105-6) that 2:17 refers to Paul's ongoing sufferings for the Gospel, not to his impending martyrdom. Although these issues cannot be pursued further here, the plausibility of the exegetical arguments of Collange and Hawthorne raises both serious doubts about the traditional understanding of 1:19-26 in particular and also important difficult questions about the nature of the situation from which he wrote.

¹⁰⁹See pp. 171-3 above.

¹¹⁰On the textual variants here see Metzger: Textual Commentary, p.611; Collange, pp.48,50; Gnllka, p.53.

¹¹¹See n.24 above.

¹¹²See p. 172f above.

¹¹³O'Brien, Thanksgivings, pp.38-40; Wiles: Prayers, p.214.

¹¹⁴See p.172 above.

¹¹⁵Wiles: Prayers, p.215.

¹¹⁶See pp. 173-77 above.

¹¹⁷See pp. 341-52 above.

¹¹⁸Gnllka, p.101f; Hawthorne, p.62; Houlden, p.65f.

¹¹⁹Pfitzner: Paul, p.118; Schulz: Nachfolgen, p.323.

¹²⁰Cp. Gnllka, p.101; Lohmeyer, p.79.

¹²¹Pace Vincent, p.140; Schulz: Nachfolgen, p.324, the α καί at the beginning of the verse does not signify that what v.8 lists formed the content of Paul's preaching.

¹²²Lohmeyer, p.176. Cp. also Lightfoot, p.162; Michael, p.206; Vincent, p.140. Although ἡκούσατε could mean "what you heard me preach" (Caírd, p.152; Gnllka, p.222), it is more likely (because the two preceding terms cover this concept) to mean "what you heard about me", as in 1:30 (Hawthorne, p.190).

¹²³See especially Gnika, p.222f; Hawthorne, p.190; Martin, p.160; de Boer: Imitation, p.187.

¹²⁴Gnika, p.223; Hawthorne, p.190; Lohmeyer, p.176; Martin, p.160; Vincent, p.140.

¹²⁵Hawthorne, p.190.

¹²⁶See Betz: Nachfolge, pp.145-53. The prefix συμ- serves to emphasise that the Philippians are to imitate Paul together (Collange, p.136; Hawthorne, p.160; Lightfoot, p.154; Martin, p.142; Michael, p.168; Vincent, pp.115-16; Betz; Nachfolge, pp.151-53), and this serves to reinforce the letter's call for unity in the church (Lohmeyer, p.151; de Boer: Imitation, pp.177-79; Schulz: Nachfolgen, p.313; Stanley: "Imitators", p.871).

¹²⁷de Boer: Imitation, p.176.

¹²⁸Barth, p.112; Beare, p.135; Caird, p.147; Collange, p.136; Friedrich, p.165; Gnika, p.203; de Boer: Imitation, p.184.

¹²⁹Hainz: Ekklesia, p.221.

¹³⁰Gnika, p.203; Lightfoot, p.154; Martin, p.142; Michael, p.170f; Vincent, p.115; de Boer: Imitation, pp.182-83.

¹³¹Caird, p.146; Collange, p.136; Hawthorne, p.160. Pace Lohmeyer, p.152, there is no evidence that the reference is to martyrs.

¹³²See p. 528 (n.139) above.

¹³³Lohmeyer, p.151f.

¹³⁴Caird, p.146.

¹³⁵The ἡμᾶς refers to Paul: see especially Hawthorne, pp.160-61.

¹³⁶See L. Goppelt: TDNT VIII, p.249 on τύπος as "definitive example".

¹³⁷Hawthorne, p.160f; W. Michaelis: TDNT IV, p.667f; Schulz: Nachfolgen, p.313f.

¹³⁸The prominence of the first person singular throughout the letter shows that there is no question of Timothy's joint-authorship.

¹³⁹The way v.21 echoes the μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος σκοποῦντες of 2:4 suggests that another aspect of Paul's intention in this commendation of Timothy is to hold him up as another example of that selfless service the Philippians are to practise, having already shown how it is exemplified in Jesus (vv.5-11) and in himself (v.17). He then proceeds to show how the same outlook is evident in Epaphroditus (vv.25-30). See Bruce, p.73; Hawthorne, pp.108-114.

¹⁴⁰Cp. pp. 177-9, 352-4 above.

¹⁴¹Cp. 1 Cor 4:17 (on which see p.352 above).

¹⁴²Hainz's comment (Ekklesia, p.213) that 'Sendung bedeutet . . . immer schon Abhängigkeit und gehorsame Unterordnung des Gesandten gegenüber dem Sendenden', while correctly noting the implication of subordination in Timothy's being sent, tends to impute a somewhat too authoritarian character to his relationship to Paul. It was surely more a matter of a request with which Timothy readily complied than of an instruction he obeyed.

¹⁴³Bonnard, p.54 p.4; Collange, p.116f; Hawthorne, pp.109-10; Houlden, p.92; Vincent, p.73.

¹⁴⁴Bruce, p.67. The following verse is intended more as a commendation of Timothy than a condemnation of others: Bonnard, p.55; Martin, p.118.

¹⁴⁵P. Christou: "ΙΣΟΨΥΧΟΣ", Phil. 2,20", JBL 70 (1951), pp.293-96; Barth, p.85.

¹⁴⁶Lightfoot, p.120.

¹⁴⁷As the καὶ γὰρ implies: Collange, p.116; Hawthorne, p.109; Michael, p.113; Vincent, p.73.

¹⁴⁸Cp. Beare, p.97: 'Paul is not sending him as a fact-finding commission merely, but as a responsible and trusted lieutenant who will press home the appeals made in the letter.'

The claim that Timothy is being sent to restore the church to orthodoxy (Collange, p.116) not only reads too much into the text, but presupposes a view of the church's condition which runs counter to the most natural reading of the letter as a whole (see pp.512-4 above).

¹⁴⁹This conclusion is reinforced by Funk's delineation of the form and significance of the "apostolic parousia", of which 2:19-24 is an instance ("Apostolic Parousia", p.249,260).

¹⁵⁰Cp. pp.181f, 342 above. Note also Lohmeyer's comment on the fact that the letter begins and ends with 'ein liturgischer Gnadenwunsch':

Das ist ein deutliches Zeichen, dass diese Briefe mehr sind und sein wollen als persönliche Schreiben; sie sind vielmehr bestimmt, die mündliche Predigt des Apostels in den Versammlungen der Gemeinde zu ersetzen. (p.191).

¹⁵¹Bruce, p.177; Caird, p.132; Dibelius, p.66; Hawthorne, p.124; Lohmeyer, p.124; Schmithals: Paul, p.71.

¹⁵²Barth, p.91; Collange, p.125; Friedrich, p.158f; Gnllka, p.185; Martin, p.124; Michael, pp.131-32; Vincent, p.91f.

Barth, Friedrich and Vincent consider this to be an indication that Paul had written previously to the Philippians, a view that is sometimes supported by reference to Polycarp's statement that Paul ἔγραψε ἐπιστολὰς to the Philippian church (Phil 3:2). For a discussion of the significance of Polycarp's words see Lightfoot, pp.138-42; also Hawthorne, p.xxxi; Martin, pp.11-12.

¹⁵³V. Furnish: "The Place and Purpose of Philippians III", NTS 10 (1963-64), pp.80-88 (at pp.86-88).

¹⁵⁴The difficulty with the second view is that the words τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν ὑμῖν must be understood to mean either "to write the same things to you (sc., as I have said before)" (which is not the most natural way of interpreting them) or "to write the same things to you (sc., as I have written before)" (which implies the existence of correspondence for which we have no other evidence (on the significance of Polycarp's statement in this regard see the works referred to at the end of n.152)). The difficulty with the third view is that these words read more naturally as a comparison with what Paul has done than with what Timothy or Epaphroditus may do.

To the objection urged against the first view that repetition of the call to rejoice is hardly likely to have been irksome to Paul (Lightfoot, p.125; Furnish: "Place", p.83), it must be replied that it wasn't, as Paul himself says! The point of his statement is to anticipate how others may react to his repetition, not to indicate how he feels about it.

¹⁵⁵There is an important sense in which all of Paul's letters can be said τὰ αὐτὰ γράφειν as in all of them Paul rehearses, expounds, and applies the truths of the Gospel in the light of the particular needs and circumstances to which the letter is responding.

¹⁵⁶See pp. 182-4 above.

¹⁵⁷On which see p.168 above.

¹⁵⁸Cp. p. 184 above.

¹⁵⁹Pace Collange, p.116, Paul's intention to visit Philippi after Timothy's visit does not necessarily mean that he regarded the church situation as serious. What the letter discloses about the problems created for the church by the opposition it is experiencing (1:27ff) and the false teaching to which it is likely to be exposed (ch.3) is sufficient to account for Paul's desire that both he and Timothy should have an opportunity to offer the church support and help in person.

¹⁶⁰Hainz (Ekklesia, pp.210-14) regards 2:19-23 as Paul's attempt to establish Timothy as his successor in the eyes of the church, in order to ensure that his death will not leave the church leaderless. This interpretation is doubtful not only because it sees implications in the passage which are not obvious, but also because it ignores the obvious implications of 1:25-26 and 2:24.

¹⁶¹See Manson: Studies, p.162; Pollard: "Integrity", pp.59-60 in addition to the references given in n.163 below.

¹⁶²See n.103 above. Although some of these συν- compounds refer to the relation of believers to Christ (3:10,21), most of them refer to the unity of the church or to relations between Paul and the church (1:7,27; 2:2,17,18,25; 3:17; 4:3,14).

¹⁶³Note 1:1,4,7,8,25; 2:17,26 (cp. also 4:21). On this aspect of the letter see Beare, p.143f; Bruce, p.7; Friedrich, p.136; Gnllka, p.31; Hawthorne, p.5; Lightfoot, pp.67f,83; Lohmeyer, p.10; Michael, p.41; O'Brien: Thanksgivings, p.33.

¹⁶⁴Collange, p.73; Friedrich, p.146; Lohmeyer, p.74.

¹⁶⁵So, for example, Dibelius, p.59; Houlden, p.66; H. Strathmann:

TDNT VI, pp.526, 534.

¹⁶⁶"The Meaning of Politeuesthe in Philippians I 27", JBL 73 (1954), pp.76-83 (at p.77).

¹⁶⁷pp. 78-80.

¹⁶⁸"Πολιτεύεσθε in Philippians 1.27: Some Philological and Thematic Observations", JSNT 15 (1982), pp.86-96.

¹⁶⁹"Meaning", p.83.

¹⁷⁰See pp.87-89.

¹⁷¹Πολιτεύεσθαι was used as an antonym of ἰδιωτεύειν (Lightfoot, p.105).

¹⁷²Beare, p.66f; Bonnard, p.34; Bruce, p.35; Collange, p.73; Gniska, p.98; Lightfoot, p.105; Lohmeyer, p.74; Michael, p.63; Vincent, p.32.

The idea that the members of this community are citizens of heaven (see, for example, Friedrich, p.146; Martin, p.82; Michael, p.63) does not become explicit until 3:20 (on which see especially the careful and illuminating discussion by Lincoln (Paradise, pp.97-101)); the focus here is simply on the Philippian church as a distinct community.

¹⁷³The parallel with the following μιὰ ψυχῇ shows that ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι refers to the Philippians' spirit (Bruce, p.35; Hawthorne, pp.56-57; Houlden, p.66; Lightfoot, p.106; Vincent, p.33) rather than to the Holy Spirit (as claimed by Bonnard, p.34; Collange, p.74; Gniska, p.99; Martin, p.83).

¹⁷⁴As claimed by Lightfoot, p.106; Lohmeyer, p.75f.

¹⁷⁵The συν- of συναθροόντες points not to τῇ πίστει, but to an implied ἀλλήλοις (Hawthorne, p.57).

¹⁷⁶τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου means "for the faith of the Gospel" (i.e., 'the faith which belongs to, and which comes from, the Gospel' (Pfitzner: Paul, p.116)) (so Collange, p.74; Hawthorne, p.57; Houlden, p.66; Michael, p.67), rather than "by the faith which comes from the Gospel" (Bonnard, p.34f) or "in faithfulness to the Gospel" (Martin, p.82). For a similar dative of advantage or interest see Jude 3.

¹⁷⁷On the force of this word (a hapax legomenon in the Greek Bible) see Lightfoot, p.106.

¹⁷⁸Paul's use of this term (both here and in 1 Cor 16:9) may well have been derived from Isa 41:11 LXX, whose context would have seemed to him of obvious relevance to his mission. Note the allusion to Isa 41:10 in Acts 18:9.

¹⁷⁹On which see pp. 524f above.

¹⁸⁰Cp. Bonnard, p.36.

¹⁸¹Collange, p.75f.

¹⁸²Beare, p.68; Martin, p.85.

¹⁸³On the general theme of the preceding verses as the antecedent of ἡτις see Bruce, p.35; Dibelius, p.59; Lightfoot, p.106; Vincent, p.35.

¹⁸⁴His view is explained and defended on pp.58-60.

¹⁸⁵The antecedent of τοῦτο is the ἐνδείξις (so Beare, p.68; Bruce, p.36; Caird, p.116; Gniska, p.100; Lightfoot, p.106) not the opposition (Martin, p.84; Vincent, p.35).

¹⁸⁶Bruce, pp. 36,113; Caird, p.117,149.

¹⁸⁷Collange, p.142; Martin, p.152; Ollrog: Paulus, p.29.

¹⁸⁸See pp. 163-6 above.

¹⁸⁹On which see pp.573ff below.

¹⁹⁰Barth, p.54. Cp. Hawthorne, pp.xlviii,97; Martin, pp.85-86.

¹⁹¹On which see p.513 above.

¹⁹²See p.521 above.

¹⁹³For similar evaluations of this passage see Gniska, p.107; Lohmeyer, p.81f; Michael, p.74.

¹⁹⁴Beare, p.72; Caird, p.117; Hawthorne, pp.xlviii,97; Michael, p.78.

This assessment of the passage is stated in opposition to those who interpret it as directed at divisions with a theological basis (for example, Jewett: "Movements", pp.373-74; Schmithals: Paul, pp.97-98).

¹⁹⁵Bruce, pp.38,41; Caird, p.117; Collange, p.78f; Friedrich, p.148; Gniska, p.104; Hawthorne, pp.67-68; Lohmeyer, p.85; Michael, pp.78-79.

¹⁹⁶G. Bertram: TDNT IX, p.233.

¹⁹⁷This is the only occurrence of σύμψυχος in the Greek Bible; Hawthorne suggests that Paul may have coined it (p.68). τὸ ἐν φρονεῖν and τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν are virtually synonymous, although the former expression is a little stronger (Hawthorne, p.68; Lightfoot, p.208; Michael, p.79).

¹⁹⁸The normal meaning of "conceit" is perfectly appropriate for κενοδοξία here (Hawthorne, p.68); the suggestion that it refers to a false claim to present δόξα (Collange, p.79) or to a false rivalling of God in His δόξα (Martin, p.89)--both of which are seen as reflections of an over-realised eschatology--seems to read too much into Paul's wording.

¹⁹⁹See p. 576f below.

²⁰⁰Martin, p.86; Vincent, pp.53,55.

²⁰¹This may well be the implication of the οὖν in 2:1; although it could be an indication of the necessary link between harmony and solidarity (Martin, p.86), it probably refers back to 1:27a (Bonnard, p.37; Friedrich, p.147; Gniska, p.103; Vincent, p.53).

²⁰²Note the similarity between the exhortations in 2:2 and those in Rom 12:16; 15:5; 2 Cor 13:11; 1 Pet 3:8.

²⁰³See pp. 163-6 above.

²⁰⁴See pp. 520-22 above.

²⁰⁵See pp. 202-6 above.

²⁰⁶See p. 205 above.

²⁰⁷pp. 85-6 above.

²⁰⁸See pp. 516-20 above.

²⁰⁹p. 71 above.

²¹⁰Cp. Beare, p.50: 'This passing reference does not provide us with any crumb of information about the status or function of episcopoi and diakonoi at Philippi. . . .'

²¹¹See Moffatt: Introduction, p.171 (with references to 19th century studies). Cp. also Michael, pp.4-5. Schmithals (Paul, p.76 n.47) allows the possibility that the editor who formed Phil out of three Pauline letters added these words 'to give support to the struggle of the guardians of the tradition, namely the bishops and deacons, against the reaction of the Gnostic pneumatic at the time of the redactor.' (Cp. also his Gnosticism, p.89 n.14).

²¹²See J. Hainz: "Die Anfänge des Bischofs- und Diakonenamtes". in idem (ed.): Kirche im Werden: Studien zum Thema Amt und Gemeinde im Neuen Testament (Verlag Friedrich Schöningh Munich, 1976), pp.91-107 (at p.92). Best asserts that such 'supposed glosses are a counsel of despair.' ("Bishops", p. 372 n.1).

²¹³Cp. Beare, p.50: '. . . it is impossible to imagine circumstances under which such an interpolation would be made in one letter of the Pauline corpus without being extended to others.'

²¹⁴The variant reading συνεπισκόποις καὶ διακόνοις (B² K 33 et al.) is explained by Lohmeyer as arising 'aus deutlichen dogmatischen und kirchenrechtlichen Gründen. . . .' (p.10 n.6).

²¹⁵See Moffatt: Introduction, p.170.

²¹⁶Paul, p.76 n.47.

²¹⁷It is clear that Schmithals regards this hypothesis as preferable to that referred to in n.211 above.

²¹⁸But see pp. 504-8 above.

²¹⁹Similar reservations must be expressed about the claim by Lemaire (Ministères, p.97) that 1:1 results from the redactor's combination of the prescripts of the two letters comprising Phil.

²²⁰The others are Acts 20:28; 1 Tim 3:2; Tit 1:7; 1 Pet 2:25.

²²¹See, for example, H.W. Beyer; TDNT II, pp. 608-15; Dibelius, p.51; Lemaire: Ministères, pp. 27-31; Lietzmann: "Verfassungsgeschichte" pp. 101-6; Linton: Problem, pp.105-7; C. Spicq: Saint Paul: Les Épîtres Pastorales (EB) (J. Gabalda & Cie., Paris, 1969), pp.440-42.

²²²Beyer: TDNT II, p.614; Spicq, p.442.

²²³See Beyer: TDNT II, p.614f; Spicq: loc. cit.; Caird, p.106.

²²⁴Problem, p.107.

²²⁵Ibid. Cp. also Lemaire: Ministères, p.29; Lietzmann: "Verfassungsgeschichte", p.105f; E. Lohse: "Die Entstehung des Bischofamttes in der frühen Christenheit", ZNW 71 (1980), pp.58-73 (at p.62f.

²²⁶Merklein: Amt, p.374. Cp. Hainz: "Anfänge", pp.94-95.

²²⁷This applies equally to Georgi's attempt to show that the Christian use of ἐπίσκοπος (at least in Phil 1:1) reflected Cynic-Stoic usage (see pp.552-4 below for a discussion of his views) and to Hatch's well-known claim that the Christian use of ἐπίσκοπος (and the role to which it referred) was derived from its use in private associations as a title for financial officers (The Organization of the Early Christian Churches (1880 Bampton Lectures) (Rivingtons, London, 1891), pp.36-48).

²²⁸See, for example, H.W. Beyer: TDNT II, pp.82-83, 91-92; Dibelius, p.51f; Lemaire: Ministères, pp.31-33; Lietzmann: "Verfassungsgeschichte", pp.106-8.

²²⁹In addition to LS, BGD and other standard lexicons, see Beyer: TDNT II, p.91.

²³⁰Beyer: loc. cit.; Lietzmann: "Verfassungsgeschichte", p.106.

²³¹On Georgi's interpretation of the origin of the Christian use of διάκονος see pp.552-4 below.

²³²TDNT II, p.619.

²³³Ibid.

²³⁴TDNT II, p.616.

²³⁵See especially Beyer: TDNT II, p.618; Hainz: "Anfänge", pp.97-98.

²³⁶Perhaps the most significant presentations of this view are those by J. Jeremias (Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period, ET (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1969), pp.261-62) and W. Nauck ("Probleme des frühchristlichen Amtsverständnisses (I Ptr 5,2f)", ZNW 48(1957), pp.200-20 (at pp.203-7); others are listed in H. Braun: Qumran und das Neue Testament, Vol.II (J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1966), pp.329ff. Amongst more recent proponents of this view are Brown: Priest, pp.67-69; Goppelt: Apostolic, pp.188-89; Spicq: Pastorales, pp.448-49; B.E. Thiering: "Mebaqquer and Episkopos in the Light of the Temple Scroll", JBL 100 (1981), pp.59-74.

²³⁷See Beyer: TDNT II, p.601.

²³⁸Beyer: TDNT II, p.619; Braun: Qumran, II, p.330; Caird, p.106.

²³⁹So, for example, Beyer: TDNT II, p.619; Gnilka, p.37; Hainz: "Anfänge", pp.98ff; Lohse: "Entstehung", p.70f.

²⁴⁰So, for example, Braun: Qumran, II, p.332; Gnilka, p.37f; Küng: Church, p.400; Lohse: "Entstehung", p.70f; Merklein: Amt, p.374.

²⁴¹See especially Braun: Qumran, II, p.331; Merklein: Amt, p.377.

²⁴²See B. Reicke: "The Constitution of the Primitive Church in the Light of Jewish Documents", in K. Stendahl (ed.): The Scrolls and the New Testament (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1958), pp.143-56 (at p.155).

²⁴³p.12f.

²⁴⁴See especially pp.5-7.

²⁴⁵See, for example, Jewett: "Integrity", pp.49-50; Walter: "Philipper", pp.417-18.

²⁴⁶Gegner, p.35.

²⁴⁷Gegner, p.35f.

²⁴⁸For example, Ellis: Prophecy, pp.8-10; Ollrog: Paulus, pp.74, 84 n.115.

²⁴⁹See pp. 516-20 above.

²⁵⁰Gegner, pp.32-34.

²⁵¹"Envoys", pp.90-96.

²⁵²Ellis: Prophecy, p.9f.

²⁵³Gegner, p.35.

²⁵⁴"Bishops", pp.374, 376.

²⁵⁵"Bishops", pp.374-75.

²⁵⁶Charisma, p.100. Cp. Gnilka, p.40:
Die Erwähnung der Episkopen und Diakone wird aus der Tatsache abzuleiten sein, dass die philippische Gemeinde gegenüber den anderen paulinischen Gemeinden . . . die erste war, die nicht nur „Hilfeleistungen, Führungen“ . . . , d.h. bestimmte, von bestimmten Männern ausgeübte Funktionen besass, sondern in der auch diese Funktionen die später sich durchsetzenden Namen Episkopos und Diakonos erhielten

²⁵⁷Charisma, pp.105-9.

²⁵⁸So, for example, Barth, p.11; Beare, p.49; Dibelius, p.52f; Friedrich, p.137; Houlden, p.49; Lightfoot, p.82; Martin, p.61; Michael, p.7; Vincent, p.42; Lietzmann: "Verfassungsgeschichte", p.109 n.1; Lohse: "Entstehung", pp.63-64.

²⁵⁹Gnilka, p.40; Best: "Bishops", p.373; Brockhaus: Charisma,

p.100; Hainz: "Anfänge", p.93; Ollrog: Paulus, p.84 n.115.

²⁶⁰See Best: "Bishops", p.373.

²⁶¹See the works referred to in n.225 above on the wide range of functions to which ἐπίσκοπος was applied. Cp. also Collange, p.41.

²⁶²Georgi: Gegner, p.34.

²⁶³Cp. Caird, p.106.

²⁶⁴Merklein: Amt, p.326. Cp. the quotation from Beyer on p.550 above (n.234).

²⁶⁵"Anfänge", p.106.

²⁶⁶"Über den Ursprung des Episcopats in der christlichen Kirche: Prüfung des neuesten von Hrn. D. Rothe hierüber ausgestellte Ansicht", in K. Scholder (ed.): Ferdinand Christian Baur: Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben, I (Friedrich Fromann Verlag, Stuttgart-Bad Constanz, 1963), pp.321-505 (at p.406). This study was originally published in the Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie 3 (1838), pp.1-185.

²⁶⁷"... Und Lehrer": Die geistliche Eigenart des Lehrdienstes und sein Verhältnis zu anderen geistlichen Diensten im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter", ErfThSt 37 (1977), pp.107-47 (at p.135).

²⁶⁸loc. cit., n.121.

²⁶⁹"Macedonia.3", pp.282-83.

²⁷⁰See Lemaire: Ministères, pp.100-2.

²⁷¹pp.9-10.

²⁷²Lemaire: Ministères, pp.97-103; Collange, pp.38-39. This view was previously maintained by E. Haupt in his commentary on Phil in the Meyer Kommentar (this work was not available to me), and is accepted by Houlden, p.50 ('just possible') and J. Knox: The Early Church and the Coming Great Church (The Epworth Press, London, 1957), p.92; idem: "The Ministry in the Primitive Church", in H.R. Niebuhr and D.D. Williams (eds.): The Ministry in Historical Perspective (Harper & Row, New York, 1956), pp.1-26 (at p.10).

²⁷³Hawthorne refers here to Lemaire: Ministères, pp.97-103.

Lemaire makes the implausible suggestion that the phrase owed its origin to the expression "judges and officers" in Deut 16:18 (pp.97-98).

²⁷⁴p.10.

²⁷⁵So Gnllka, p.36; Beyer: TDNT II, p.89f.

²⁷⁶See especially pp. 403ff above.

²⁷⁷See Chapter 2, n.311.

²⁷⁸So, for example, Ridderbos: Paul, pp.459-60.

²⁷⁹So, for example, Schweizer: Church Order, 24g (p.199 n.747).

²⁸⁰p.10 n.3. Cp. also Gniska, p.31; Michael, p.3.

²⁸¹See pp.327-29 above, and the works referred to in Chapter 3, n.147. Reference should also be made to K. Berger: "Volksversammlung und Gemeinde Gottes: Zu den Anfängen der urchristlichen Verwendung von »ekklesia« ZThK 73 (1976), pp.167-207; J.Y. Campbell: "The Origin and Meaning of the Christian Use of the Word ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ", JTS 49 (1948), pp.130-42; Merklein; "Ekklesia", passim.

²⁸²Note the expression ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλη in 1 Cor 14:23 (on which see p. 328f above).

²⁸³See Chapter 3, n.158.

²⁸⁴E.A. Judge and G.S.R. Thomas argue that the Christian community in Rome was built up mainly through the migration of converts from the East, . . . without any regular organisation or public preaching; that it avoided any conflict with the synagogues, providing such extra religious facilities as it needed on a domestic basis; and that it was only launched as a 'church' in opposition to the synagogues after Paul's arrival. ("The Origin of the Church at Rome: A New Solution?", RTR 25 (1966), pp.81-94 (at p.81f).)

²⁸⁵The size and congestion of Rome did not make for ease of travel or communication (see J. Carcopino: Daily Life in Ancient Rome (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1956), pp.13-32, 57-64). It is significant that the Jewish community in Rome, unlike that in Alexandria, had no central organisation coordinating and supervising the affairs of the many synagogues (Penna: "Juifs", p.327; W. Wiefel: "Die jüdische Gemeinschaft im antiken Rom und die Anfänge des römischen Christentums: Bemerkungen zu Anlass und Zweck des Römerbriefs", Judaica 26 (1970), pp. 65-88 (at p.74f) [now in ET in K.P. Donfried (ed.): The Romans Debate (Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, 1977), pp.100-19 (at p.108)]).

²⁸⁶The most likely explanation for the silence of both Rom and Acts about the origin of the Christian community in Rome is that the Gospel reached the metropolis through the independent evangelistic activity of numerous Christians who travelled from the East on business or to settle. It seems clear that at the time Rom was written there had been no apostolic ministry in Rome (see Cranfield, I, pp.16-17; Kümmel: Introduction, pp.307-9; Minear: Obedience, pp.7ff).

²⁸⁷See G. La Piana: "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire", HTR 20 (1927), pp.183-403.

²⁸⁸See Chapter 3, n.159. Note, however, that ἄγιοι may be used adjectivally rather than nominally in Col 1:2.

²⁸⁹So Collange, p.154; Friedrich, p.174; Lohmeyer, p.191; Martin, p.169.

Best ("Bishops", p.375) interprets the verse to mean that Paul is leaving every member of the church to decide 'whether he belongs to the category "saint" or not--for Paul everyone does but do the bishops and deacons count themselves differently?' This interpretation is

scarcely possible: if Paul's intention was to force the Philippians to consider who was to be considered as a "saint", the exhortation would make the believers wonder about whom they should greet. The exhortation says, "Greet every saint", not "Let every saint give greetings"!

²⁹⁰Rom 16:15; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; cp. 1 Th 5:26 (on which see Chapter 2, n.116).

²⁹¹πάντα ἅγιον clearly refers to the members of the Philippian church, not to believers in general.

²⁹²Beare, p.157; Bruce, p.132; Hawthorne, p.213.

²⁹³A similar interpretation is given by Bruce, p.132; Gniska, p.181.

²⁹⁴See, for example, Goppelt: Apostolic, pp.88,205.

²⁹⁵See pp. 324-31 above.

²⁹⁶Depending on whether it was written in Caesarea or Rome (see pp. 508 ff above for a discussion of the provenance of Phil which finds the Ephesian hypothesis the least likely), Phil was written at a chronological distance from the foundation of the church 2-3 times greater than the period between the founding of the church in Corinth and the writing of 1 Cor.

²⁹⁷See pp. 522-4 above.

²⁹⁸See pp. 88-89, 92 above.

²⁹⁹See n.163 above.

³⁰⁰See Chapter 2, n.306.

³⁰¹pp.263-70.

³⁰²p.269

³⁰³Amt, p.45.

³⁰⁴Ekklesia, p.346.

³⁰⁵See p. 557 above.

³⁰⁶See p. 561 above.

³⁰⁷TDNT II, p.619 (quoted on p. 550 above).

³⁰⁸See Goppelt: Apostolic, p.188f; Merklein: Amt, pp.375-78.

³⁰⁹A full list of references is given in Nauck: "Probleme", pp. 201ff.

³¹⁰Merklein: Amt, p.375.

³¹¹D.C. Verner: The Household of God: The Social World of the Pastoral Epistles (SBLDS 71) (Scholars Press, Chico, 1983).

312 p.180.

313 p.167.

314 p.159. His discussion of "The Leadership of the Church" is on pp.147-60.

315 pp.147-50, 152-53.

316 pp.149-50.

317 The reference to the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the address of the letter may imply that it was to be delivered to them in order for it to reach the ἅγιοι.

318 Bruce, p.113; W.D. Thomas: "The Place of Women in the Church at Philippi", ExpT 83 (1971-72), pp.117-20 (at p.118).

319 Hawthorne, p.179; Lohmeyer, p.167.

320 Contra Hainz: Ekklesia, p.217f.

321 Cp. 1:27, where the whole church is urged to be συναθροῦντες τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

322 Bonnard, p.74. Cp. Phoebe, who was said by Paul to have been προστάτις πολλῶν . . . καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ (Rom 16:2) (see pp.223-5 above).

323 So Hawthorne, p.180; G. Friedrich: TDNT II, p.237; Thomas: "Women", p.119.

324 Barth, p.119; Friedrich, p.167; Gnllka, p.166; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.217; Ollrog: Paulus, p.28; Pfitzner: Paul, p.120.

325 Paul, pp.114.

326 Hawthorne, p.180f; Michael, p.193; Vincent, p.132.

327 Gnllka, p.168; Hawthorne, p.181; Martin, p.153; Vincent, p.132. On the speculative, even fanciful, theorising which the occurrence of this name attracted in the last century see Lightfoot, pp.168-71.

328 See our discussion of 1 Cor 16:16 (pp. 406ff above).

329 The claim that the reference to the book of life indicates that those whose names are said by Paul to have been written in it have died (Barth, p.119; Beare, p.145) is improbable (see Hawthorne, p.181).

330 Barth, p.119; Dibelius, p.72; Gnllka, p.166f; Michael, p.191; Vincent, p.131. One problem for this view is that there is no attested use of such a name.

331 Note 2:25 for example; and see Pfitzner: Paul, p.119.

332 Martin, p.153. Cp. also Bonnard, p.74; Friedrich, p.167.

333 Against Hawthorne, p.180; Houlden, p.110.

³³⁴For a listing of the various speculations see Gnilka, p.167; Martin, pp.152-53.

³³⁵Cp. Gnilka, p.167; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.218; Ollrog: Paulus, p.29.

³³⁶Bonnard, p.56 n.2; Caird, p.129; Gnilka, p.162; Hawthorne, p.116; Hainz: Ekklesia, p.223 n.3.

³³⁷Bruce, p.74; Caird, p.129; Lightfoot, p.123; Michael, p.121.

³³⁸Although τὸ ἔργον (the reading of C) is defended as original by Lightfoot, p.124; Lohmeyer, p.121 n.1, the wording given (the reading of p⁴⁶ B F G etc.) has better claim to be original (Metzger: Textual Commentary, p.614; Gnilka, p.164 n.53; Hawthorne, p.114; Vincent, p.77).

³³⁹See Bruce, pp.70-71; Gnilka, p.161 n.29; Hawthorne, pp.117, 119, 121; Lohmeyer, p.119; Martin, p.122; Michael, pp.118, 122, 126.

³⁴⁰Paulus, p.99. A similar view is expressed by Lohmeyer (p.119).

³⁴¹In the light of 4:16, 19; Rom 12:14; Eph 4:28; 1 Th 4:12, the χρεῖα referred to was primarily financial (Bonnard, p.57; Collange, p.120; Lightfoot, p.123).

³⁴²Cp. Bruce, p.75.

³⁴³See n. 93 above.

³⁴⁴Barth, p.89; Beare, p.99; Bruce, p.75; Caird, p.130; Friedrich, p.158; Hawthorne, p.120; Lightfoot, p.125; Martin, p.123; Michael, p.129; Vincent, p.78; H. Strathmann: TDNT IV, p.227; U. Wilckens: TDNT VIII, p.599.

³⁴⁵Stephanas' absence from Corinth is no argument against this, as it was a result of the pressing and rather exceptional needs of the Corinthian church (see pp. 407ff above).

³⁴⁶2:29-30 does not invalidate this assertion: it is not an appeal to recognise the validity and worth of leadership exercised in the church, but to welcome Epaphroditus with honour because he fulfilled his commission as fully as was possible under the difficult circumstances which overtook him.

³⁴⁷Cp. Merklein: Amt, p.326; 'Hier sind wir einer Art Institution sehr nahe. . . .'

³⁴⁸Delorme: "Diversité", p.296.

³⁴⁹Hainz: Ekklesia, p.347.

³⁵⁰Amt, p.374.

³⁵¹See Beyer: TDNT II, pp.611-14.

³⁵²Hainz: "Anfänge", p.106; von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.68.

³⁵³See pp. 249-54, 429-33 above.

³⁵⁴See pp. 107-9 above.

³⁵⁵"From the Local Community to the Great Church, illustrated from the Church Patterns of Philippians and Ephesians", BTB 6 (1976), pp.237-57 (at p.239).

³⁵⁶p.240.

³⁵⁷Jesus, p.288.

³⁵⁸p.289.

³⁵⁹See pp. 51-55 above.

³⁶⁰Jesus, p.290.

³⁶¹See pp. 558-62 above.

³⁶²'We are dealing with established terms for offices, one might say with titles. . . .' (von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.68).

³⁶³As do also Beare: "Ministry", p.14f; Hort: Ecclesia, p.212f; Knox: "Ministry", p.18f.

³⁶⁴Charisma, p.24 n.106.

³⁶⁵ibid.

³⁶⁶See pp. 249-54, 429-33 above.

³⁶⁷So Beyer: TDNT II, p.616 (with n.27); Best: "Bishops", p.371; von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, p.68; Hainz: "Anfänge", pp.103-4; Lietzmann: "Verfassungsgeschichte", pp.111-12.

³⁶⁸Hawthorne, p.7f.

³⁶⁹On this see Bultmann: Theology, Vol.2, pp.100-8.

³⁷⁰See von Campenhausen: Ecclesiastical Authority, pp.68-69; Bultmann: Theology, 2, pp.108-11.

³⁷¹The οὐν in 1:1 is inclusive in force: cp. Best: "Bishops", p.372 f.

³⁷²See pp. 41f, 44-45, 50, 53-54 above.

³⁷³p.110 above.

³⁷⁴Ecclesiastical Authority, p.80.

³⁷⁵p. 114 above.

³⁷⁶See pp. 88-95 above.

³⁷⁷See p. 87 above.

³⁷⁸See pp. 89-94 above.

³⁷⁹See pp. 89-93 above.

³⁸⁰See p. 93 above.

³⁸¹Olsen: Process, p.121.

³⁸²See p. 103 above.

³⁸³See pp. 107-9 above.

CONCLUSIONS

We began this study by noting the emergence in recent decades of a consensus concerning the distinctive charismatic order of the Pauline churches, and by considering the thrust of the most recent challenges to that consensus. This introductory discussion led us to conclude that the focal point of the debate concerned the nature and forms of local leadership in Paul's churches, and that one of the most important areas of disagreement which needed careful investigation was that of methodology. Accordingly, the first chapter begins with an extended discussion of the methodological implications of the challenges to the consensus-view. We sought to identify the methodological defects of the consensus approach through an examination of two representative studies (those by von Campenhausen and Dunn), and then in this light delineated an appropriate method for the study of Pauline church order. In line with this method, which requires a situational, developmental, and two-dimensional (i.e., both theological and sociological) approach to the data, we then analysed the nature, basis, and emergence of group-leadership in the light of modern sociological and social psychological studies. This understanding of leadership was to be tested for "fit" against the Pauline data.

On the basis of the foundation laid in Chapter I, we then proceeded to undertake a detailed exegetical study of 1 Th 5:12-13 (Chapter II), 1 Cor 16:15-18 (Chapter III), and Phil 1:1 (Chapter IV) in the light of the situation in each of the churches concerned, and in the context of the leadership provided by Paul on the one hand and the mutual ministries and corporate responsibility exercised by all church members on the other hand. In each case the implications of the passage concerning the nature and form of church-leadership were explored with the aid of the discussion in Chapter I, and were com-

pared with the consensus-view.

As the specific conclusions reached were summarised at the end of each chapter, it is not necessary to repeat them here. Our approach here is more synthetic, seeking to ascertain what general patterns or tendencies can be discerned in the material we have considered.

We may begin by observing that the impression conveyed by the three passages we chose to study -- viz., that Paul was referring to a leadership-group within the church--was validated when we assessed the implications of each passage in the light of the understanding of group-leadership arrived at in Chapter I. By following this procedure we were able to conclude that in each case, the passage does indicate the existence of a group of leaders within the church concerned. This procedure also served to demonstrate that the concept of group-leadership delineated in Chapter I is an appropriate and valid model to employ in the study of the Pauline evidence, for it proved to match the data in a way that permitted a precise and thorough analysis of its implications.

A second conclusion to be drawn from our study is that although the situations to which each of the three letters was addressed were markedly different from each other, the type of leadership indicated was the same in each case. In all three churches the leaders Paul refers to were heads of Christian households who provided both patronal and pastoral leadership for their church. Their leadership was patronal in character, as they served the church as its hosts, sponsors, and protectors--its "patrons". It was pastoral in orientation, as their patronal service aimed not at securing gratia for themselves, but at encouraging and enabling the church's progress in the faith.

The leadership of the "patrons" derived from a combination of factors. It was rooted in their association with Paul in the foundation of the church and their consequent seniority in the faith; in their initiative in, and commitment to, Christian service; in their social position as heads of Christian households and hosts of the church, with resources of property, finance, influence and ability to put at the disposal of the church; in their giftedness as "ministers of the Word". It was all of these factors together, rather than any one of them in isolation, that constituted those concerned as church leaders.

This conclusion is based on the cumulative weight of the material in 1 Th 5:12 and 1 Cor 16:15-18; neither of these passages presents the above picture of the church's leaders in its entirety. However, the fact that there are so many terminological and conceptual links between them suggests that it is not invalid to infer for one passage what is explicit only in the other one. In similar vein, we may infer that this picture will also have applied to the ἐπίσκοποι in the Philippian church if they are rightly understood to have been heads and hosts of house-churches.

The conclusion that the leaders of the churches in Thessalonica, Corinth, and Philippi were distinguished by their patronal as well as their pastoral function means that leadership in at least three of the Pauline churches was not "charismatic" in the sense intended in the consensus-view. Their ministry is not solely the product of a 'direct divine endowment', and is not in principle open to all. It was, of course, "charismatic" in the sense that we have argued Paul intended: it was a ministry that was to be acknowledged as a manifestation of God's grace because it served the church and resulted in its upbuilding.

This conclusion about the nature and basis of the churches' leadership also means that Pauline church order was not charismatic

in the sense that it was the prophets and teachers who constituted the churches' leadership-groups. For although prophets and teachers (along with many others) did provide leadership by their "ministry of the Word", such participation in the life of a church did not automatically create a leadership-role. Moreover, those whose leadership Paul acknowledges and calls upon the churches to receive and recognise were the churches' patrons; although they may also have been prophets and/or teachers, it was not simply as prophets and teachers that they became the churches' leaders.

The local leadership of the hosts, sponsors, and pastors of house-churches was exercised in the context of both Paul's own leadership and also the ministry and responsibility of all believers.

The increasing demands of the mission, in both its extensive (missionary) and intensive (pastoral) aspects, meant that Paul's leadership of the churches had to be exercised in an indirect, mediated way. His sense of pastoral responsibility for the churches found expression in his constant prayer, his provision of an example, and his sending of both envoys and letters. With the increasing age of each church went the increasing recognition that such indirect leadership was the normal mode of relationship with the absent apostle, and this obviously provided greater scope for the emergence of established local leadership.

Local leadership was exercised in the context of the activity and responsibility in ministry of all members of the church, where all were (or were to be) engaged in mutual ministries and bearers of responsibility for the church's life. In a "group" (such as the young church in Thessalonica), "distributed participation" was the norm; in a larger body, functional differentiation would be more evident, and there would be (as is the case in Phil) more emphasis on the

side-by-side than on the face-to-face unity of the believers. Yet even in the former case, the believers' corporate responsibility may be exercised representatively by some only, and an emergent leadership-group was distinguishable.

Neither apostolic leadership without nor mutuality and responsibility within the church, then, precludes the emergence of a leadership-group. In fact, Paul explicitly calls for patronal-pastoral leadership to be welcomed and recognised, and does so in letters addressed to two very different church-situations (1 Th 5:12-13; 1 Cor 16:15-18). These appeals for the recognition of leaders are a significant element of the discernible tendency towards the consolidation of leadership-positions in the churches.

This tendency is part of a larger pattern of development that emerges from our findings. 1 Th was addressed to a small, young (house) church, one that still displayed the characteristics of a "group" in the sense defined in Chapter I. 1 Cor was addressed to a church whose members met together regularly as a "whole church" and in separate house-churches. Phil was addressed to a Christian community that consisted of several house-churches whose members were unable to meet regularly as a whole.

Corresponding to this development in the size and structure of the churches was a tendency for the position of the churches' leaders to move from the clearly informal position of the "labourers" in Thessalonica to the clearly official position of the "overseers" in Philippi. This development can be seen as a natural result of the increasing stabilisation and role-differentiation that accompanies increasing age, size and complexity. Paul gave significant impetus to this process by calling for that clear and continuing recognition which, together with recognisable and continuing function, creates a distinct role and position.

Far from being excluded by Pauline theology, then (as maintained by the consensus view), stable structures and official positions did exist in Paul's churches, and the tendency in that direction that was evident already in 1 Th was assisted by Paul himself.

The preceding review of the principal conclusions to emerge from our study shows that in general we endorse the challenges to the consensus-view offered by Brockhaus, Martin, and Holmberg. However, we may claim that this study represents a significant advance upon their works in two areas. In the first place, we have given explicit attention to the question of methodology, both in the sense that we have provided an analysis of the principal methodological flaws underlying the consensus, and also in the sense that we have defined a method that is adequate to deal with both the evidence and the questions concerning Pauline church order. Secondly, we have provided a detailed exegetical study of three key passages that necessarily figure in any investigation of Pauline church order. This has led to the emergence of some plausible new hypotheses, and to the renovation of some insufficiently-aired old hypotheses, about the meaning of these passages. It has also meant that, by means of the sociological and social psychological concepts and models that we were able to bring to bear on the passages, their church order implications were able to be assessed with much greater care and precision. This has clearly demonstrated the validity and the value of our "two-dimensional" approach.

In view of the paucity of the evidence available to us, much that we have proposed and concluded remains tentative, at least to some degree. This means that this study should serve as an impetus to further research; it cannot pretend to be the "final word" on Pauline church order. Our findings suggest three areas in which further research would be productive.

(1) Our study points to the household, rather than the synagogue or the associations, as a primary influence on the shape and functioning of the churches. More detailed attention to the structure of the household, especially in the urban areas of the eastern half of the Empire in the first century A.D., promises to lead to a clearer understanding of the emergence and nature of the order of Paul's churches.

(2) It would be obviously beneficial to apply the method developed and used in this study to other material in the Pauline corpus, especially with a view to discovering whether our conclusions about local leadership in the churches hold good for other letters than those we have studied. In particular, our findings suggest that there is room for a reappraisal of the evidence of the Pastorals, to see whether it portrays a quite different situation and outlook than is evident in Paul (as the consensus-view maintains) or whether it represents only a more developed version of what is evident in 1 Th, 1 Cor, and Phil (as our conclusions may suggest).

(3) The obvious relevance and usefulness of the sociological and social psychological concepts and findings we used points to the value of a more refined and informed application of this material to the Pauline data. A genuinely inter-disciplinary study of Pauline church order promises to further our understanding significantly.

Our study of local leadership in Paul's churches finds its justification, therefore, both in the clearer understanding of the meaning and implications of 1 Th 5:12-13, 1 Cor 16: 15-18, and Phil 1:1 that it has produced, and also in its capacity to point to fresh approaches in which greater illumination may be sought.

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